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THE MODERN LANGUAGE
REVIEW

VOLUME XII

1917

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THE
MODERN LANGUAGE
REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY
OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE
AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY

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AND

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A THEORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE.

I.

THERE have been many signs of recent years that philologists have begun to doubt, and even seriously to question, the validity of the traditional and accepted theories of linguistic science. The classical and mediaeval grammarians, whose ideals were utilitarian rather than scientific, naturally regarded language merely as an instrument of communication. Their methods of investigation and analysis were largely determined by this purely practical conception of language. To them it was living speech, and the study of language implied little more than an acquisition of a knowledge of its spoken and written forms. Hence the dissection of the forms of speech into syllables and sounds, into roots, stems, inflections, suffixes, prefixes, etc. Hence, too, for the purpose of instruction in the spoken language, the careful classification of the sounds of speech and the system of learning a language by beginning with the pronunciation of the individual sound. This traditional array of the material of language—made with a purely utilitarian object—is still the commonest in modern grammars of foreign tongues; and the majority of teachers of foreign languages retain it, either from mere conservatism or from reasoned conviction of its value, as the basis of their instruction.

But what is more noteworthy is that the modern philologist, who approaches the material of language with entirely different ideals and in an entirely different spirit, retains it also. Modern philology, especially modern comparative philology, was founded almost entirely on a minute and careful comparison of words and of the separate sounds of words. The study of sound changes and of the word-forms which are the—apparent—result of those changes has been so highly successful that the study of sound laws has become, especially in the

hands of the 'Junggrammatiker,' the pivot upon which the whole of linguistic science turns. Moreover, it is not only in the province of comparative philology that the investigation of sound laws has been so fruitful in results. The greater part of our knowledge of the history of each separate language or dialect is derived from the same source. The greater part of the labours of the student of language has been connected, directly or indirectly, with the history of sound change and its effects on word-forms. One may even go so far as to affirm that if we were to subtract from the sum of our knowledge of languages all that part which is either itself phonology or directly based on phonology, not very much would remain to us. With all this to its credit, therefore, it is scarcely a matter for wonder that phonological research should have held the supreme position which it has held in linguistic science.

Perhaps it is just because of the very great services which the investigation of sound laws has rendered to philology that its real function has been somewhat misapprehended, even by its greatest exponents. What was originally only a convenient *modus operandi*, either in the teaching of a living tongue or in the investigation of the history of a particular language, or the relationship of a group of languages, has, at a bound, become a chain of causation. The traditional classification of the material of language into phonology, accident, and syntax is doubtless very useful for the purpose of surveying the facts of language, but it becomes a serious source of error when at the same time it is claimed for it that it represents the stages, in the relation of cause and effect, of the development of language. It may be ever so useful for practical purposes, but it no more constitutes the whole of language than does the anatomist's enumeration of the parts of the human body constitute man. In point of fact language as it really exists, that is to say as an instrument for the communication of thought, only exists in the form of complete sentences, and therefore any further analysis of the sentence into words, syllables and sounds is, whatever its value as a grammatical exercise, purely artificial. It is clear, however, that the century-long tradition of analysing the sentence into its component parts, combined with the more modern practice of investigating sound changes, has obscured the recognition of this fact. Concurrently the belief has grown up that the sound or the word is the unit of language, even though a moment's reflection would show that neither sound nor word exists independently in language except in a few exclamations and commands. One of the consequences of the exclusive attention which has been

paid to sound changes, and of the great success which has attended the investigation of them, is that they have been credited with powers which are not theirs at all. The historian of English, for example, observes that a final unstressed *e* tends to disappear in M.E. and that therefore O.E. *worde* appears as *word* in M.E. He then goes on to explain that since there was nothing to show the syntactical relation in the sentence of *word*, the preposition *to* was introduced in order to get out of the difficulty. All this change, then, is due to the phonological change of an unstressed final *e*. The logical blunder involved in this argument is sufficiently clear. It consists in the assumption, without any evidence of proof whatever, that of two observed facts one necessarily is the cause of the other. It is as if one were to argue: I put up my umbrella. It is raining. Because I put up my umbrella, it is raining; for the logic in the two cases is exactly parallel. The philologist, in other words, from his habit of investigating the sound first, the word next, and the syntax last of all has imagined that what he as a matter of convenience examines first is also a cause of what he examines subsequently. In exactly the same way a change in the form of a word—already assumed to be due to a change in its separate sounds—is assumed to be the cause of a change in the syntax of the sentence of which it forms a part. Thus the development from *worde* to *word* is assumed to be the cause of the syntactic novelty, *to the word*. In both cases the conclusion may be correct; but in both cases it is based on an unproved assumption.

In order that it may not be thought that we are tilting at wind-mills, we give two more well-known illustrations of this kind of argument, one of which is derived from the history of the English language, and the other from the history of the French language. In the first place, it is commonly assumed, even in the most recent works on the subject, that the weakening and loss of the final uninflected vowels of O.E. made it impossible to maintain the old grammatical gender, and that therefore some other method of determining gender had to be devised. Here is just the same argument: because a sound or a word changes, therefore the syntax changes. This may in fact have been the process, but one cannot help wishing for some further proof of it. One wonders what the process was. Did people suddenly find they had lost from their speech the elements denoting gender in nouns, and equally suddenly resolve to cut their losses and start anew with logical gender? Or did the marks of grammatical gender disappear very gradually and words fall into their logical category as soon

as the process of decay was complete? One wonders, too, how it is that the same cause has such different effects. Modern German has also lost its marks of grammatical gender, but there is not, so far as I know, any confusion which can be attributed to this cause. French, Swedish, and Danish have also lost the distinguishing marks of grammatical gender, but they have not substituted logical gender. The average German knows the gender of his nouns, with or without final vowels or suffixes, simply because he learns them in the living speech, and not in isolation in the chapter of grammar which is headed nouns. Every word he hears repeatedly in association with some form of the article, pronoun or adjective. And so every generation knows its genders and its grammar and its syntax, and is not at all confused by any loss of inflections. Why then should those who spoke Middle English be an exception to the rule? The second example of this method of argument is to be found in the development of the French verb from Latin. It is said that the loss of the Latin personal endings made it impossible to distinguish the persons of the verb in Old French, and that therefore it was necessary to reintroduce the personal pronoun. Now quite apart from the question whether or not any real confusion existed, or rather would exist, in consequence of such weakening of personal inflections, one wonders again how the change took place. Was there a period with neither personal pronoun nor personal inflection? Or is it not more probable that the emphatic use of the personal pronoun in Latin spread, as there is a constant tendency for the use of emphatic words to spread, and to lose their emphasis by common use, and hence for the personal endings to become superfluous and disappear?

Whatever be the proper explanation of these two phenomena, it remains true that the explanations commonly given are based upon an unproved assumption in support of which no evidence has been brought forward. It is an assumption which is based on the logical fallacy of supposing that the smallest element into which we can analyse a thing is necessarily the cause of the thing itself. But it is not alone in its bad logic that the theory of causation—sound change, word change, syntax change—is insufficient. The two conclusions arrived at by this theory which have just been mentioned may be correct, though they have not been proved. Granting them to be correct, however, the theory still falls far short of rendering a complete account of the principles of language development, because it restricts itself exclusively to the purely formal side of language, and loses sight

entirely of the fact that language has meaning as well as form, and that the former is vastly more important than the latter. Even the strictest of the 'Junggrammatiker' does not attempt to explain semantic change in terms of sound changes, though even he, we must suppose, would admit that the form or sound of a word is entirely subservient to its meaning. It is, indeed, just at this point that the theory of language which we have been considering breaks down completely, for, being concerned only with the lifeless, meaningless, detached elements of language, it misses that which is vital and essential—thought and meaning.

In seeking to discover the laws of growth in language we are confronted at the very outset, then, with the question whether it is the form and sound of language which is the essential thing or the thought and meaning which is conveyed by form and sound. Modern philology has tended, owing to its methods, and owing principally to its pre-occupation with the written forms of language, to seek in those written forms the principles of growth. Two examples of this tendency have already been given, and they might easily be multiplied an hundred-fold. But the theory of development which begins with sound change, as its first cause is not only unsupported by evidence, it also fails to explain all the facts. We are driven, then, to seek an alternative theory which, while it still accounts for all formal change, will also explain change of meaning.

If mere sound change is not the cause of language development it may be an effect, and if this is so, we must invert the series sound change—word change—syntax change. If, further, we regard syntactical change as one of the manifestations of style, and style as the manifestation of personality and individuality, we shall have the additional advantage of being able to unite the purely formal and the purely psychical sides of language, and of fixing our attention at the same time on what is really essential in language—its meaning.

Language has two aspects: the physical and the psychological. The former is revealed in the mere forms of speech, in sounds, and in accent and rhythm; the latter is revealed in the thought or meaning which the sounds convey. The essential, the vital thing in language is the thought, and not the words and sounds, for these latter are only the dress to the thought. We have pointed out that it is not possible to account for the growth of this vital element of language in terms of sound change. Even those who would account for the development of the formal side of language in this way do not claim it. It therefore

remains to be seen whether it is possible to reverse the process and account for the change of form in terms of change of meaning. At first sight, perhaps, it would appear that this is impossible, and that the two processes are separate and independent, for it is a fact in language that forms may change while the meaning remains constant, and, *vice versa*, that meanings may change while the form remains constant. But this independence of development is only apparent, as we hope to show later.

To sum up this somewhat lengthy prelude, the position appears to be this: current theory tends to the opinion that all change in the mere form of language is directly caused by the gradual change in individual sounds. It is thought that the sound changes first and then, in consequence, the word changes, and, as a final result, the syntax changes. This theory regards language as something purely formal. It leaves to literary criticism the problem of style, though curiously enough it does not eschew syntax. It leaves to the semiologist the explanation of the development of the meaning of words, and is, therefore, on its own admission, incomplete. On the other hand, a theory which in the processes of the development of thought and meaning would discover the causes of the development of form in language would not suffer from this serious defect. It would base its arguments on the observation of what is vital and universal in language, on thought rather than on the dead and broken fragments which lie entombed in the dictionary and in the grammar. Its material would be derived from language in being, from the living written and spoken language as shown in the complete unit of thought, the sentence, rather than from any purely abstract and theoretical analysis. It is not, of course, pretended that the method of analysis and subsequent reconstruction is useless, but only that it is superfluous where the living thing is before our eyes. The examination of fossils may, indeed, by a process of reconstruction yield a picture of prehistoric plants or animals, but we should scarcely have recourse to the same methods if we wished for an account of the habits of life of the ordinary domestic cat.

It would not be possible, of course, within the limits of an article such as this to follow out in all its bearings such a theory of the development of language. The physiological factor may not be neglected, and rhythm and stress play a very important part in the development of the formal side of language. Both of these would require separate treatment, though both, in our view, are subordinate

to the psychological motive in the development of language. Rhythm and stress, moreover, are as much psychological phenomena as physiological. They too, as may be seen later, have a definite relation to the purely psychological side of language. All that can be attempted here, therefore, is a necessarily brief account of the purely psychological influences at work in the moulding and shaping of language. Any account of how these latter react on word-forms and on sounds must be reserved for another article or for fuller treatment elsewhere.

Language is an instrument for the communication of thought, and like any other instrument it is fashioned in order to serve certain ends. Whether or not it is consciously and deliberately fashioned we need not stay to discuss now. But what is quite certain is that language exists only in order to convey thought, either in speech or writing, and takes on the form which is best calculated to convey that thought. It is a more or less accurate image, composed of audible or visible symbols, of the thought which is present in our minds. The essential thing, therefore, that which informs language and that which language always seeks to follow, is thought. Now if we look at two kindred languages such as English and German or French and Italian, what strikes us most on a superficial examination is the difference of form. This impression is deepened by our study of the grammar of these languages, and is intensified by our knowledge of current philological theory. But on a closer examination we shall see that there is another difference, not so obvious, indeed, but infinitely more subtle and infinitely more deep-rooted. This difference is one of spirit, a difference which to the majority of those who wish to master a foreign language presents an almost insuperable difficulty. All communities, whether they be divided by racial, by social, by geographical or by political boundaries, are separated in their speech by this difference of spirit. All have their own peculiar speech, and on a lower scale, with less appreciable variations, even all the individuals of the same speech-community have their special peculiarities of speech.

The language of such a community is everywhere the product of the special social, physical, political, mental and moral conditions which constitute its normal life. It obviously cannot escape these, and it obviously cannot import into its thought, and therefore into its language, any elements which are not contained in these conditions, or which, if imported from outside, have not some close affinity with them. Wherever the continuity of these conditions is sharply broken we shall find different languages. If the break is not so sudden and not so

marked, we find different dialects, and where the differences of conditions are so slight as not to be calculable we find the variations of individual speech. It is just this difference of spirit in languages, which is so subtle as to defy analysis and yet on a broad survey so strikingly clear in its presence, which makes it so difficult to have a complete mastery of any language other than one's own; it is this which makes a good translator as rare as a good poet; and it is doubtless an appreciation of how much this difference of spirit stands for that has led to the demand that students of modern languages in the schools of our universities should have some knowledge of the social and political history, of the institutions and traditions of those foreign countries whose tongues they study. It is above all things this difference of spirit which is the most characteristic thing about a language, which makes it just what it is. Mere differences of form and grammar may be learned by an exercise of the will, but the spirit of a language can only be seized by living the life and thinking the thoughts of the people who speak it. In the turn of a phrase, not less than in the associations of a word, is this characteristic spirit revealed. The words *Heim* and *home* are almost identical in pronunciation, differ but little in the written form, and are of common origin, but what a vast difference in meaning and in the associations which they call to mind. *Home* is rich and mellow with centuries of tradition; it is steeped in reminiscences of English domestic life; it is saturated with our English social ideals; it has connotations innumerable drawn from the depths of our national character, and for that very reason it defies the translator. Indeed there are few words which do not in one way or another bear the impress of the national character. Nor is it only in the finer shades of meaning in words that the spirit of language reveals itself. It is equally clear, though not at all so easy to analyse, in idiom and syntax. In a thousand subtle ways the expression of thought varies from race to race, and the variation is a mirror of a deeper and more significant informing spirit. The syntax of every language is shaped and moulded by the mental and emotional attitude towards life of those who speak it. If the Englishman says *I am writing* as well as *I write*, whereas the Frenchman only says *j'écris*, there is in the difference a clear indication of a different way of thinking about the action of writing. And so examples might be multiplied.

The gulf between separate and distinct languages represents the extreme stage of divergence in language. The nearest approach to

it is to be found in the different periods in the history of the same language. Old English, for example, differs as much from Modern English as Modern English differs from Modern German. Here also the difference is not one which can be accounted for by the mere loss of inflections or changes of word-form. It is again one of spirit and atmosphere; we feel that we are in a different world; we feel that Old English represents another outlook on life and that the form of the language is only a reflection of that outlook. Scarcely less marked is the spirit which breathes through the English of the sixteenth or seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. The written forms have scarcely changed at the present day, the syntax is very much the same and the vocabulary is still quite familiar to us, and yet the language of these centuries has characteristics all its own. What, then, do we mean when we speak of an eighteenth century style as distinct from a seventeenth century style? We surely mean something more than the individual styles of, say, Addison and his contemporaries; we mean something which is common to all of them, which is a part of their common spirit and of their common inheritance, something which the writers neither of the preceding nor of the succeeding centuries could possibly possess. It is the reflection of the conditions of life peculiar to that century, conditions not to be found again in any other century or in any other country. Put quite crudely, there were no motor-cars and no picture theatres in those days and therefore there is not only no mention of these things in the language of the eighteenth century, but there is also no sign of what these things stand for, or of the type of civilisation which produces them, or of the effect which such things have upon the national character. The eighteenth century style is therefore the expression of the individuality of that century. No other century could possibly produce it, nor could the eighteenth century produce the style of any other century. It could only be itself. As well might we expect an Eskimo to write *The Egoist* as expect Addison to have written *The New Machiavelli*.

The difference of spirit between two distinct languages or between two periods of the same language which we have just been discussing is, of course, the product of smaller differences in the speech of the individuals who constitute the speech-community. It represents a sort of average of the mental, moral and emotional equipment of the community. It is necessary, therefore, to examine next how this collective or average spirit is produced and how it is composed. Ultimately it is, of course, an average of the speech habits—and of all that these

imply—of individuals; but before considering the effects which individual peculiarities of speech may have on the language of the community, we may pause to notice one or two larger units, intermediate between the whole of the community and the individuals who compose it. The most important of these is the dialect, to which the same remarks apply as to separate languages. But in addition to purely local differences in language there are others which spread beyond and over these local boundaries. These are the product of the social and professional cleavages in society. They are, fundamentally, due to the same causes as the differences of languages, dialects and periods; that is to say, a different environment produces a different speech. Different circumstances, a varying experience of life and changing environment, must inevitably influence the speech of the various ranks, classes and professions of society. It would be just as reasonable to expect similarity of style in the work of two men drawn from widely separated classes as it would be to expect such similarity in the works of Bunyan and Bernard Shaw. The habits of mind, the education and experience are so different, the whole material for reflection so sundered, that such a resemblance is impossible. No matter what subject of thought we take, we can be sure that individuals drawn from different classes will regard it differently. The sea to the leisured person or to the child is associated with holidays and liberty or with sand-castles and donkey-rides, but to the fisherman or the sailor it is associated with a hard struggle, in winter and summer, in sunshine and storm, for the means of existence. For the one it is a passing incident, but for the other it is the most important thing in life. It enters into his whole conception of life to such an extent that he measures all his other experiences by standards derived from his knowledge of it, and expresses himself in terms derived from his experience of it.

The spirit of every language, then, will be found to be composed of elements derived from the speech of the various more closely knitted bodies within the race which speaks it. These heterogeneous elements, being based on a wide and varied experience of life, constitute the real wealth of any language; they represent the sum total of its interests and activities, in short, its civilisation, and are in this sense a most faithful national autobiography. It is no accident that the English language, to mention one only of its characteristics, is rich in words, idioms, and metaphors derived from its indulgence in all sorts of sport; or that the French language is characterised by certain

qualities of clearness and logical precision; or that German has a certain abstract vagueness and heaviness.

But the pattern of language is still more complex, and the lines and tones which produce the final effect are supplied by the individual, and it is ultimately in the speech of the individual that we must seek for the causes of all change in language. How this happens may perhaps best be seen by a brief analysis of the nature of style.

It is of the essence of style that it is individual and not general. When we speak of a national style, an eighteenth century style, an academic style or an affected style, we mean that the style referred to is peculiar to a nation, a period, a class or a person. Two persons thinking of the act of blushing will give expression to their thought differently according to their equipment. One of them might write: 'She did not blush,' but the other, with a larger fund of imagination and greater powers of analysis, might write as Meredith did: 'There was not a sign of the torch in the blood.' Both expressions are correct grammatically, but it is clear that the latter is a much more personal and individual expression than the former. The one is a bare and economical statement of a fact; the other is suggestive of the play of fancy of the writer, it gives us a glimpse into his mind, and it brings us much closer to his actual thought. It is, therefore, a purely personal expression. In fact, as every writer or speaker knows, we are all of us constantly struggling with the material of language, with words and with combinations of words, until we find the fitting expression for our thoughts. We all of us shift our ground, and change our words and idioms until we find the desired expression for it. Or if we are stubborn, we may prefer to leave something unsaid rather than satisfy ourselves with an incomplete rendering of what is within us. But whoever will accept no compromise, whoever persists in the analysis and clarification of his thought until he finds an adequate expression for it, will often have to wrestle long with the material of language before it yields itself captive to him. Nothing is so real about language as the fact that it binds us down and clips the wings of our thought. We all of us feel the restraint which it exercises on us; we cannot write down even the simplest thought without feeling that language pinches somewhere. This fact is of prime importance in any discussion of the influence of style on the development of language, for it is of the very essence of style that it is an intimate revelation of the personality of the writer or speaker. And this intimate revelation is

not possible without sincerity, or, in other words, without the constant effort to give exact expression to thought. All this implies the constant wrestling with the material of language of which we have just been speaking.

One of the consequences of the quest for the apt phrase or word is that the stylist must perforce create for himself. Unlike grammar, style is progressive and creative. Grammar on the other hand is conservative and prescriptive. It knows nothing of all those idioms and constructions which have not yet come into general use. All those new meanings of words, all those experiments in grammatical construction which are always present in language, and which may be fighting the battle for existence, are unknown to the grammarian. They are all outside his province, or if he accepts them at all, they are 'exceptions.' Even these must be on the way to victory or else he will dub them errors. Hence it is that grammar always lags behind the spoken language and is always founded on the usage of a generation past. But the stylist welcomes any change which enriches the language and adds to the available means of expression. He cares nothing for the rule of grammar if he can add to the beauty of his expression. Hence in every generation there exists a large amount of fluid material which is, as it were, on trial, and in each generation a certain amount of this material flows into and broadens the stream of language. That this is what actually occurs we need not invoke the evidence of a Browning, a Meredith, or a Carlyle to prove; it is known to all who have ever made an honest effort to give expression to their thoughts. And indeed it is not strange, for with the growing complexity of human interests it is impossible that language should stand still. The creative impulse in man must always be too strong to allow of that, for a stationary language implies a stationary civilisation and a stagnant unchanging life. In fact, each one of us in using language turns it to his own purpose, moulds it and adapts it, and in so doing helps to enable it to outstrip grammar, to liberate itself and grow freely. That such a conflict between the form and the substance should take place is in the nature of things, and springs from the simple fact that whereas the number of thoughts is unlimited the number of words is limited. In the case of every one of us thoughts and feelings are linked by association with other thoughts and feelings, and the nature and variety of these associations are only limited by the extent and quality of our mental, moral, spiritual and emotional experience and education. And since there are no two individuals who have quite the

same fund of experience, it follows that in no two cases will the thoughts and feelings of two individuals be the same concerning any given thing. But if the possibilities of association of ideas are limitless, and if it is of the essence of style that it gives an honest and faithful rendering of thought, then, indeed, there must always be a great force at work modifying and amplifying the material of language.

It seems to be clear, then, that that which distinguishes the language of one race, district, class, or individual from that of another is a certain spirit which is the product of many forces, which for the sake of brevity we may call the forces of education and environment. That such a difference of spirit exists will scarcely be disputed; the only question which concerns us here is whether or not this difference of spirit is sufficient to explain the many changes which occur in language, from the changes of idiom and word meaning right down to the loss of an unprotected final unstressed vowel. We hold that it can.

Now, one of the most marked developments of a progressive language is to be seen in the development of new words or of new meanings attached to old words. A glance at the most active principle in the formation of new meanings of words will show that this is the direct consequence of the deliberate intention to find an expression for our thoughts. Sir Walter Raleigh has written: 'In such a phrase as "the Angel of the Lord," language mocks the positive rivalry of the pictorial arts, which can offer only the poor pretence of an equivalent in a young man painted with wings.' How is this? It can only be explained by a consideration of the way in which we use words. In the dictionary they may mean anything or nothing, for they are dead there, and the meanings appended to them are but epitaphs. Living words are the most sociable of beings; they are never found alone. They are, too, the most sympathetic of beings, for they always assimilate some of the qualities of their nearer or remoter neighbours. They are like water-colours, if you place one on another the two will run together. The result of the union is not double or treble, but single, and the manner of the union is infinitely subtle. Words assume the manners of the company they keep; they may be ennobled or debased by their companions. There is no word which is not thus sensitive to its surroundings. Put together a dozen of them and the combination will yield you something more than was to be found in the sum of the separate members, for the association for a particular purpose gives birth to a new surplus of meaning, in much the same way as the com-

bination of a dozen men united for a common end will develop an *esprit de corps* which was not before in existence. It is just this subtle word chemistry, this possibility of endless suggestion, this faculty of conjuring up a vast mental imagery, which makes the mastery of the use of words the great and fundamental quality of style. It cannot be analysed, for it is the consequence of the countless millions of associations which are always going on in the inner recesses of the mind. When we breathe life into words by combining them to form a sentence, what we really do is to select and associate our thoughts, and the more associations there are in the mind, the more thought passes into language, the more readily words spring up to do their duty. The great stylists are those who have learnt the secret of the inner meanings of words, which fluctuate with the company they keep, and who know how to harvest the surplus of meaning which comes from the association of words. In this sense the words which a writer uses are the biography of his inner life; they show the circles of thought in which he moves and in which he is most intimate; for he cannot use a word properly until he has thoroughly assimilated it and has made it a part of his mental equipment. Nor can he do this until he has realised to the full its powers and functions, until he has seen the word in all sorts of contexts, with all its possibilities of meaning displayed.

When we say a *dark woman* or a *dark night*, we do not mean the same thing by the word *dark*; the context alone tells us which of its various meanings is intended. If we say a *dark deed* we mean something different again. Examples might be multiplied, but what is of importance in them is that the changing meaning of the word *dark* is the result of the changed context, and is not inherent in the word, as the dictionary might lead us to suppose. What has actually occurred is that somebody happened to combine one of the numerous associations connected with the word *dark* with the word *woman* and another of them with the word *deed*. In other words, the new meaning of the word *dark* is the result of a deliberately creative act, an act of a kind which is occurring every day. In this way every word has numerous associations which are the direct result of individual experience. The sound of the word is like a trumpet call which awakens the slumbering memories and associations in the chambers and recesses of the mind. But it is the context which stands as a gaoler at the threshold of consciousness and only liberates those associations which are required at the moment.

A word, then, changes its meaning because one or other of the

elements of that meaning can be associated with one of the elements of meaning of some other word. It does so by a kind of extension of meaning which is made possible only by the context of the word. This it is which shows without ambiguity what was the original association of ideas which gave rise to this new use. In other words it is the whole thought-complex, or its equivalent the sentence, which determines ultimately such development. But the spell which one word casts over another is of varying strength and intensity. In English, an adverb placed at the head of a clause or sentence is supposed to modify the whole of the clause or sentence, but when it immediately follows or precedes its verb it modifies the verb only. Hence the same cause—the desire to give accurate expression to thought—may also determine the word order of the sentence. In other words, it determines the direction of a very large part of syntactical change. Indeed, a very large part of syntactic change is composed of such changes in the order of words in the sentence. Thus, for example, the difference of meaning between *a black boot* and *a bootblack* is determined by the difference of word order alone. Similarly a careful analysis of the characteristics of the style of any particular writer, and more particularly an examination of the new effects which he secures, will be found to be based almost entirely upon the new shades of meaning which he attaches to words themselves, or upon the new syntactic combinations of words which he makes in order to express his meaning. It is in this way, too, that another important change in the syntax of a language is produced. The transition from noun to verb, or from adjective to adverb and *vice versa*, is due to exactly the same causes. So, too, other changes to which we have referred in speaking of the national spirit in language, are due to a like cause. The prevalence of such analytic forms as: *I am writing, I do write, I shall write, I shall be writing*, etc., all point to a certain analytic cast of mind which reveals its activities in every branch of our grammar and syntax, and may very well among other things account for the analytical case constructions with prepositions which have replaced the synthetic inflectional constructions of Old English. In this last case, at least, this is much more probably the explanation of the change than the current one that it was caused by the prior loss of the inflections. If it were really the loss of inflections which caused the change, then it would be difficult to explain why it is that in modern German the construction with *von* is very common even though the pure inflected dative is still in universal use. The example of Modern German is, indeed, highly instructive in this connection, for we find

there that the functions of the construction with *von* in the dative and the construction with the inflected dative are carefully kept distinct. This amounts to a corroboration of the view here put forward; for the careful specialisation of function of the two constructions is evidence of a deliberate analysis of the underlying thought and a corresponding reflection of that analysis in the spoken and written language.

If we survey the sum of the changes in the syntax of English which have occurred during the last eight hundred years there is little that cannot be ascribed to the causes here mentioned. Subtract from the total change all that is due to a change of word order, of grammatical function of the parts of speech, of the meanings of words, or to the loss of the inflectional system, and there does not remain very much. In the domain of syntax there is, too, an interesting corroboration of the view that the national spirit in language is one of the chief determining factors in growth. For it is just here that foreign influence has been least active. French, which influenced our vocabulary so much, has left our syntax practically unchanged. This is exactly what we should expect. That we should borrow the names for new things and new institutions is natural, but that we should alter our habits of thinking about things, should alter our perspective and all our associations of ideas—which is what a change of syntax implies—is in the highest degree unnatural, and under these particular circumstances impossible.

We may summarise the foregoing briefly as follows: Man lives and thinks. In the social state his intelligence is developed by intercourse with his fellow men. In the simplest forms of civilisation the material of his language will be simple, and commensurate with the circumscribed activities of his existence. With the change of environment, or the development of civilisation, his language as a means of communication must perforce change too. With a ripening intelligence he must needs amplify his language material, whether by analysis or by synthesis does not matter. In either case the cause is the same; it is sheer necessity, whether practical or ideal, and it is certainly conscious. The development is either a synthesis or analysis on the formal side of language, but whichever it be, it is determined not by the change of the separate sounds of the language, but by the effort to make the material of language bear the burdens which are imposed upon it. The result of this change, either synthetic or analytic, is that new rhythmic groups arise, and the play of accent and stress begins. Then, finally, as a consequence of the effects of stress, the separate sounds themselves begin to change.

But this opens a new and complicated chapter, which must be postponed for the present. That the great majority of sound changes are due to the operation of stress, which is itself the consequence, through changing sentence rhythm, of the development of meaning which we have been discussing, we hope to show in another article. Also it may be shown on the same principle why sounds change *as they do* and not otherwise, e.g., why in any given language *a* should develop into *e* and not into *o* or some other vowel.

E. CLASSEN.

LONDON.

DISTANT DISSIMILATION.

IN his work on *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*, Zachrisson, within the limits he prescribed for himself, has given attention to the question of dissimilation, as well as that of assimilation. He has dealt only with the liquids *l, n, r*, and he has considered the matter from the point of view of Anglo-Norman influence. In the present paper the object is to collect and examine such names as occur in Yorkshire, dealing only with dissimilation, and only with examples where the same consonant is repeated—or rather where the same symbol is repeated, for in the earliest forms of the suffix *ing* the *n* represents *ȝ*.

The abbreviations NR, ER, WR, stand respectively for the North, East, and West Ridings. The date 1086 refers to the Domesday record, 1285 to Kirkby's Inquest, 1303 to Knights' Fees, and 1316 to *Nomina Villarum*—all found in Vol. XLIX of the Surtees Society's publications.

1. *The sequence n : n.*

We take first a series of names where early forms present the sequence *n : n*, but where more modern forms possess only one *n*. Most interesting among the examples are six names where the first element, *Cuninges* or *Coninges*, represents the gen. sing. of ON. *konungr*, a king:

Coniston ER 1086 *Coningesbi* 1285 *Connyngeston*
Coniston WR 1303 *Conyngston* 1316 *Conigeston*
Coniston (Cold) WR 1086 *Coningeston* *Coneghestone*
Conisborough WR 1086 *Coningesburg* *Cuningesburg*
Coneysthorpe NR 1086 *Coningestorp* 1302 *Conigesthorp*
Coneythorpe WR 1316 *Conyngesthorpe* 1275 *Conigthorp*

Early forms of Conisborough include several where the second *n* has disappeared, e.g. 1002 *Cunugesburh*, 1379 *Conesburgh*. Similar to the

Conistons are two names where the first element is Peninges, the gen. sing. of an unrecorded personal name Pening :

Penistone WR 1086 *Pengeston Pengestone Pangeston*
 1227 *Penigheston* 1232 *Peningeston* 1258 *Peningstone*
 Penisale* WR 1290 *Peningeshale* 1307 *Peningesale*
 1308 *Peningesale* 1358 *Penesale*

The course of development in all these examples may be summarised thus: (1) *inges*, (2) *iges*, (3) *is*. The fundamental change is the loss of *n*, a loss which presented itself as early as 1002 in the case of Conisborough and 1086 in that of Cold Coniston; and the cause of the loss is doubtless dissimilation—the sequence *n : ing* has become *n : ig*. In the Domesday forms of Penistone—*Pengeston*, *Pengestone*, *Pangeston*—there has been simplification of another kind; the vowel *i* in *Peningeston* was lost between the two *n*'s, and *Penngeston* became *Pengeston*, just as OE. *cyning* became ME. *king*. Passing to other examples, we take first two names where the second *n* is lost:

Mennythorpe ER 1267 *Meningtorp* 1300 *Menigthorp*
 Spennithorne NR 1086 *Speningetorp* 1302 *Spenigthorn*

Secondly, two names where the first *n* has been lost:

Darringham ER 1282 *Derningham* 1327 *Derningham*
 Darrington WR 1086 *Darnintone Darnitone*
 1205 *Darthington* 1307 *Dernington* 1535 *Darrington*

The last is a particularly interesting set of forms which cannot, however, be discussed at this point.

It will be interesting to supplement these Yorkshire examples by means of names drawn from a wider area. First, three where the second *n* is lost:

Barnacle Warw. 1086 *Bernanger* later *Bernangul*
 Benniworth Lincs. 1303 and 1316 *Benynsworth*
 Wantage Berks. 1086 *Wanetinz* 1238 *Waneting*

Next four names where the first *n* is lost:

Arrington Cambs. 1086 *Erningetone* 1302 *Arnington*
 Barrington Glos. 1086 *Bernintone Bernitone*
 Claydon Suff. 1086 *Claindune Claindone*
 Croydon Surr. 1086 *Croindene* 1316 *Croydon*

But best of all parallels is the common word 'penny,' from OE. *pening*. Stratmann gives such ME. forms as *peni* and *panig*, as well as OE. *penig*.

2. The sequence *l : l*.

No better illustration can be found than that provided by three Yorkshire names where the first element represents Hildar, the gen. sing. of the Scandinavian personal name Hildr:

Hinderskelf NR 1086 *Hildreschelf*
 Hinderwell NR 1086 *Hildreuwelle* 1285 *Hilderwell*
 Hilderthorpe ER 1086 *Hilgreþorp* 1285 *Hilderthorp*

In Hinderskelf and Hinderwell the sequence *l : l* has become *n : l*; but in Hilderthorpe there is no second *l* to set up dissimilation, and Hilder is maintained. Other examples where *l : l* becomes *n : l* are

Bartindale ER 1285 *Berkildale* 1387 *Barkendale*
 Kendale ER 1086 *Cheldale* 1202 *Keldale*
 Givendale ER 1256 *Gyveldale* 1316 *Geveldale*
 Givendale WR 1228 *Gyuendale* 1316 *Gevildale*

The two names last mentioned are derived from Dan. *gyvel*, broom. Among instances of a different kind there are two where the first *l* has entirely disappeared:

Emswell ER 1086 *Elmesuuelle* 1249 *Elmeswell*
 Snaisgill NR 1180 *Snelesgile*

and in the two names following a similar loss is shown in the folk-pronunciation:

Elmsall WR (pron. Emsall) 1268 and 1379 *Elmeshale*
 Popplewell WR (pron. Poppiwell) 1338 *Popilwell*

Further, a single example changes *l : l* to *r : l*:

Underdale ER 1308 *Hundolvesdale* 1275 *Hundeldale*

Thus, in a dozen instances Yorkshire names bear witness to dissimilation in this sequence. At the same time two other points are clear: (1) the dissimilation is due to English sound-change, and (2) suffixes like *gill*, *dale*, *well*, are regularly maintained, and in consequence any loss or change falls on the earlier *l*. Two examples from outside the county may be given in corroboration:

Apperknowle Derby 1317 *Apelknol*
 Mundesley Norf. 1086 *Muleslai* 1444 *Moneslee*

The former is particularly interesting, indicating, as it does, the true etymology of the various Apperleys, viz. 'apple lea.'

3. *The sequence r : r.*

Examples involving the sequence *r : r* occur less frequently. A group of five where the terminal is *thorpe* shows, as we might expect, the loss of the first *r* :

Caythorpe ER 1086 *Caretorp* 1285 *Carethorp*
 Foggathorpe ER 1086 *Fulcartorp* 1316 *Folkerthorp*
 Kennythorpe ER 1286 *Kenerthorp* 1316 *Kenerthorp*
 Osgathorpe WR 1267 *Hosgerthorp* 1574 *Osgarthorp*
 Tholthorpe NR 1285 and 1316 *Thoraldethorp*

A sixth name in *thorpe* changes *r : r* to *n : r* :

Skelmanthorpe WR 1086 *Scelmertorp* 1296 *Skelmarthorp*

Of quite another kind are the two following :

Arden ER 1297 *Arderne* previously *Erderne*
 Thurgoland WR 1202 *Turgarland* 1379 *Thurgerland*

Here there is no such check as that provided by *thorpe*, and in consequence the second *r* is lost. An interesting instance in the West Riding is the occasional pronunciation *pimrose* for *primrose*, a pronunciation shown in a document of 1560 in the name *Pymrose yeard*.

Other counties supply many interesting examples. First among them we must quote two parallels to Skelmanthorpe :

Ashmansworth Hunts. formerly *Æscmeresworth*
 Rickmansworth Herts. 1303 *Rikemarèsworth*

Secondly, examples where one *r* is lost :

Barbon Westm. 1086 *Berebrune* 1226 *Berburn*
 Mathern Monm. formerly *Martherne*

Thirdly, examples where *r : r* becomes *r : l* :

Pressall Lancs. 1168 *Presoura* 1177 *Pressore*
 Spernal Warw. 1086 *Spernore* 1327 *Spernoure*
 Tirril Westm. 1238 *Tyrergh* 1318 *Tirergh*

In the last three examples the terminals were not well known in later days and therefore lost their *r*. A glance at the list as a whole shows that the dissimilation exhibited is due to English sound-change.

4. *The sequence k:k.*

Examples of this sequence are by no means plentiful. Two East Riding names show *k:k* changed to *k:th*, and one shows *k:k* changed to *k:g*:

Monkwith ER 1086 *Moncuuic* 1363 *Monkewyk*

Skipwith ER 1086 *Schipeuuic* *Schipewic*

Scagglethorpe ER 1086 *Scachetorp* 1607 *Skagilthorpe*

and the folk-pronunciation of another East Riding name shows the sequence *k:k* changed to *k:t*:

Escrick ER (pron. Escritt) 1285 *Eskerike* *Eskeryk*

These must be compared with the following:

Hatlex Lincs. formerly *Hakelakes* *Haclaks*

Winwick Lincs. formerly *Winequic* *Wynquic*

In the former *k:k* has become *t:k*, and in the latter the first *k* has disappeared.

5. *The sequence t:t.*

Here we can only quote two Yorkshire examples—examples, however, which are alike in converting the sequence *t:t* to *t:d*:

Todwick WR 1086 *Tateuuic* 1285 *Totewyk*

Todmorden WR 1247 *Totmardene* 1298 *Todmereden*

From other counties we get the following parallels:

Coddington Notts. 1086 *Cotintone* 1175 *Cotintona*

Toddington Suss. 1086 *Totintune* 1278 *Totyngton*

Here the change is the same as in the two Yorkshire examples, but the conditions are varied in the name Coddington.

6. *The sequences s:s and th:th.*

There is only one example in each case; but each is particularly interesting, and each gives support to the other. The first is from the East Riding:

Thixendale 1086 *Sixtendale* 1316 *Sixendale*

And the second is from Cumberland:

Southwaite 1315 *Thogthwaite* 1380 *Thoughtwaite*

In the first, which must be interpreted as 'Sigsten's dale,' the sequence $s:s$ has become $th:s$; but in the second the change is in the opposite direction, and $th:th$ has become $s:th$.

7. *Summary.*

Although the subject is by no means exhausted, results of some importance have become clear. There is frequent evidence of dissimilation in the sequences $n:n$, $l:l$, $r:r$, and there are occasional instances in the sequences $k:k$, $t:t$, $s:s$, and $th:th$. This dissimilation, moreover, is English in origin; it is not due to the Normans. Further, when the terminal is a well-known word like *thorpe* or *well* it is maintained intact, and loss or change, if any, takes place elsewhere; but in other cases the element of least stress is the one which suffers.

A. GOODALL.

WAKEFIELD.

ORRERY'S 'THE TRAGEDY OF ZOROASTRES.'

ALTHOUGH Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, is an important figure in our dramatic literature, not so much perhaps from any outstanding poetical merit as from his position as the pioneer and a prominent purveyor of heroic tragedy, it will be found that the history and bibliography of his theatre have up to the present time been by no means clearly presented, but that several points which care and research might have elucidated are left doubtful and obscure. Quite recent discovery has indeed finally settled the vexed question as to the originator of the rhymed heroic drama in England and, by proving that Orrery was the first to use the rhymed couplet in this fashion, emphasized the point and pertinency of Dryden's dedication to *The Rival Ladies* (4to, 1664), showing that his address and the defence of 'following the New way...of writing Scenes in Verse' are no mere partial phrase and compliment, as many critics have thought, but must be taken to be literally and definitely true.

The collected edition of Orrery's works, 2 vols. 1739, 'for R. Dodsley in Pall Mall,' unfortunately enough excludes his comedy *Mr Anthony* (4to, 1690), and gives in its place the insipid *As You Find It* by Charles Boyle. There seems no reason for this eclecticism, save the carelessness or caprice of the editor, but we are accordingly not surprised to find that he did not trouble to print—even if he knew of its existence—Orrery's last work, *The Tragedy of Zoroastres* which still remains in MS. (Sloane, 1828), unedited and practically unknown. Clarence in *The Stage Cyclopaedia* has, it is true, duly noted this play, but we find no mention of it in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VIII, nor yet in Ward, nor in Nettleton. As it has never been printed and is almost totally forgotten there should be an account of this strange and, in some ways, representative play.

The Tragedy of Zoroastres, which bears as a motto Ovid's line 'Omne genus Scripti gravitate Tragoedia vincit' (*Tristia* II, 381), and the Horatian 'Scribimus indocti doctiq.—' (*Ep.* II, 1, 117), has inscribed

beneath the title 'Written in 1676.' There seems no reason to dispute this date, about which time Orrery was living in the south of Ireland. The dramatis personae are set out as follows:

The Persons Names	Represented by
Zoroastres King of Bactria y first Magician	
Oroandes Young King of Armenia	} Ally's to Zoroastres
Phylander Prince of Macedon	
Daemolgoron son to Zoroastres	
Woemen	
Juliana	} Daughters to Zoroastres
Polynice	
Cyane	Phylander's sister
Trivia	Governess to y 2 Princesses
High Priest	Ambassadour
Guards	
Spirits	
Ghost	
Attendants	
The Scaen Bactria	

The Scaen Bactria

There is neither prologue nor epilogue, a fact which together with the absence of performers' names I shall notice later.

The first act opens with 'The scene a dark grove on ♀ side of a Rock, at ♀ bottom ♀ Ocean with ships riding is seen. out of the grove Zoroastres comes attended severall spirits ascending and meeting him, all with burning lamps in their hands. strange sort of Noises are heard in the air with flashes of lightning & thunder. Zoroastres comes forward & speaks :

- K. How great's my Pow'r? Whose hand Hell's throne can shake
 And Drousey Ghosts from beds of Earth awake.
 Pluto himself does frightnd Trembling stand
 And dreads his Treasure when I wave my wand.

Experience goes to show that the old authors seldom wrote elaborate stage-directions, and that these were generally added by the prompter. (This must not of course be taken as applying to semi-operatic and spectacular performances.) Orrery however was a striking exception to this rule, and the opening direction here may be paralleled with that in *Henry the Fifth* (1664) at the commencement of Act IV, and again with the elaborate scenario of *The Black Prince*, produced 19 Oct., 1667. These were smartly parodied by Buckingham (see my edition of *The Rehearsal*, p. 137). A back-cloth of the ocean or a river with ships was a favourite set in heroic tragedies, doubtless as affording a stately prospect and giving scope to the scene-painter; cf. John Webb's design for D'Avenant's *Siege of Rhodes*, I, 1 (Chatsworth collection, box A,

drawing No. 13 (b)), of which a reproduction is given in *The Burlington Magazine*, May, 1914. So we have in *The Rival Ladies*, Act IV, 'Scene the Third. Through a Rock is discover'd a Navy of Ships Riding at a Distance'; in Settle's *The Empress of Morocco*, Act II, 1, 'The Scene opened, is represented the Prospect of a large River, with a glorious Fleet of Ships, supposed to be the Navy of Muly Hamet.'

Zoroaster dismisses his Spirits, and as they depart he spies his son, Daemolgoron, walking in a grove,

Melancholy, as if hee were in Love.

In a few moments he overhears him confess his love for Cyane, and at the same time his fear to avow it. Daemolgoron 'falls in a Trance on a Couch' and the King, cursing his passion, and resolving to 'tare him from her Arms,' goes out. Thereupon 'Two spirits in shapes of woemen clad all in white with Wands fly down and stand before Daemol: who all y while lays asleep on a Couch.' They sing and invoke Cupid who appears 'brandishing a dart, y 2 spirits fly up to him. And on a sudden y stage darkens & y cave and grove vanish.' The scene then 'shifts into a Pallace.' Oroandes and Phylander enter. In sonorous lines—amongst the best in the play—Oroandes declares his eagerness for action and war. Proud Persia who is last 'to adore y Rising Sun' must be subdued. Phylander asserts his darling wish to follow Oroandes, when they are interrupted by Juliana and Polynice who are seen 'hand in hand at y other end of y Stage.' Phylander falls into a rapture, but Oroandes tries to drag him away, shouting 'To War—to War!' 'Whilest Phylander stands talking to himself y two princesses goe of y stage as hee goes to follow 'em two Cupids fly down & stand before him One Like a handsome boy y other a Young Girl.' These aerial visitants sing, and the Girl says:

The smallest hair I have shall bee thy Chain
And you shall liue my slaue whilst I doe Reign.

They then vanish. It is impossible here but to be reminded of Pope's 'And beauty draws us with a single hair,' *The Rape of the Lock*, II, 28. Scenes in which spirits descend and sing were frequent in the heroic drama, and are prime favourites with Orrery. One may refer to the beginning of the Second Act of *The Black Prince* for a salient example. Presently Juliana and Polynice re-enter to Phylander, who wishes to retire since

Our Ancient Bards did write men ought to dye
And they approach'd Diuinity too nigh.

Upon a little encouragement however he tells his name :

My Name 's Phylander & my father Reigns
Ouer ſ Great & large Pharsalian Plains
Renown'd for Battles—,

and even proceeds to declare love to Polynice. She is now mild, now imperious, but lingers until summoned thence by Trivia. Oroandes returns and expostulates with his friend, terming him a 'Heretick to War.' The scene next 'shifts to a pleasant Orange Grove' where we find Cyane endeavouring to avoid Daemolgoron, who follows her crying 'Divine! Adored!' She repulses him, and a little later when he confesses to his father his love, Zoroastres abruptly replies :

As long as you a Passion for her own
You'll loose your Title to your Father's Crown.

Act II opens with another spectacle of spirits and amorini. 'The scene drawn. Oroandes is discover'd laying asleep uppon a Couch.' A vision appears of the Temple of Cupid, who descends 'with 2 darts in his hands, one of Jealousey, ſ other of despair. hee goes round Oroandes at last sticks 'em both in him.' A song is given for Cupid 'How sweet is revenge to our Godship above,' and in his dream Oroandes sees Polynice, smiling and beautiful. He wakes, and, in lines that out-Herod the wildest rants of Maximin or Almanzor, raves of his passion for this bright nymph. Polynice enters, and in a furious scene the hero swears 'by all th' innumerable gods' that he loves her. Rejecting his suit she coldly leaves him to despair. In the next scene, the Palace, Zoroastres rebuffs the Persian ambassador and declares war. There is 'a noise of drums & hollowing,' and the king encourages the princes to arm for battle. As Polynice bids a tender farewell to Phylander, Oroandes overhears them: Juliana and Cyane enter, and Juliana reveals to Oroandes that she loves him, upon which Cyane cries :

What shall I doe, I am for ever lost
My Loue must needs bee by ſ Princess crost
His Nature 's too soe haughty and seuere
That my Complaints and sighs hee'le never hear.
Then to my dying howr I will conceal,
And ne're that I a lover was reveal.

Meanwhile a warlike noise, heard at first 'afar off,' gets louder and louder, and is explained to be the King at the head of his warriors going to the temple of the God of War :

This day for solemn rites hee does approve
To Morrow towards Persia they doe move.

Immediately 'Enter King Zor: Daemolgoron, Phylander Cyane with Preists holding Wands. The scene Mars' Temple at y^e foot of the Altar Tapers stand burning with dishes of blood. The Divan or High Preist takes a dish of blood and after y^e Ceremony speaks':

This blood the fates from dying Persia took
And at y^e blow th' expiring kingdome shook.

Anon Daemolgoron prophesies the doom of Persia:

The swelling Granick flood shall bloody run
With sanguine streams and fright their setting sun.
With raging Flames wee'll all their Citys burn
The very Heau'ns with smoke shall clouded turn.
All their high marble tow'rs shall scorched bee }
Soe much of fire Persia then shall see
That she shall mistake her own Deity }

With this we may compare *The Rival Queens*, Act II, 1, where Alexander cries:

Can none remember? Yes, I know all must
When Glory, like the dazzling Eagle, stood
Perch'd on my Bever in the *Granick* Flood;
When Fortune's self my Standard trembling bore,
And the pale Fates stood frighted on the Shore.

Lee, of course, attains heights of poetry and majestic grandiloquence to which Orrery could never reach.

Zoroastres promises Polynice to the Prince who achieves the most heroic deed in the war, which gives occasion for Oroandes and Phylander to proclaim their rivalry. The procession of courtiers and priests passes on, and Juliana left alone with Oroandes loads him with reproaches, screaming out:

Outriual'd by my sister?—Yonger too?
Curse on my stars!

To her accusations of falseness he replies in chilling accents:

Madam you said you'de not accept of mine,
You bawkd my flame which did soe glorious shine,
Thank then your self—

He leaves her, and we have a dance of Sali with a martial song 'Feirce War, Feirce War is a coming.' Six spirits then rise and 'dance an Antick dance,' which ended, the scene changes to the orange grove. Zoroastres enters, exclaiming

Soe now I'll satisfye my love, my son
Who is my rivall, I have sent to wars.
For I must own it, that Cyane's beauty
Has surprised mee.
And heated my age into feircest loue.
But lest you Beautys should think this a sin
Though age without Thanke joue I've youth within.

Bowes to
y^e Boxes.
shakes
himself.

Cyane appears 'at y other end of y Walk.' Zoroastres declares his love. The lady spurns and defies him, and there is much bombast. The act ends with a tag spoken by the King :

Remember Gallants that you have been told
You'de better loue when Young then when you're old.

In the MS. a fresh hand commences at the line 'And heated my age...' continuing to the end of the play. The passage of direct appeal to the audience is most noticeable. It may be paralleled in the Elizabethan drama, but I know of no instance occurring in a play of so late a date as *Zoroastres*. Brome indeed in *The Antipodes* (acted at Salisbury Court in 1638), has a sneer at such conventions :

<i>Letoy.</i>	when you are To speake to your coactors in the Scene, You hold interloquutions with the Audients.
<i>Byplay.</i>	That is a way my Lord has bin allow'd On elder stages to move mirth and laughter.
<i>Let.</i>	Yes in the dayes of <i>Tarlton</i> and <i>Kempe</i> , Before the stage was purg'd from barbarisme, And brought to the perfection it now shines with.

'Thanke joue' originally stood 'Thanke God.' The word 'God' has been deleted and 'joue' is written over the line.

Act III opens with a garden. Juliana in fine frenzy is raving of her love for Oroandes. Trivia attempts to comfort her. Zoroastres enters with his attendants. He sends for Cyane, 'Meanwhile he sits down. soft Musick aboue.' Cyane again rejects his suit, and enraged he swears :

By Burning Stix I'le have thy life or Loue.
Guards! seize that Witch there.

She is seized, but in a few moments the amorous king falls at her feet imploring mercy for his cruelty. In the next scene Juliana reproachés Polynice for having gained Oroandes' love. Polynice assures her that he has no place in her heart. 'The scene changes. Cyane is discouered laying on a Couch with a book in her hand. Two Tapers burning by her. A Terrible Clap of Thunder is heard. Seuerall streams of fire cross y stage & y heavens open from which a spirit descends, and sings' :

Song.

From Orosmales y great
And from Alha lord of fate
To you bright Beauty am I come
To tell you your approaching doom.

As Cyane wakes, Zoroastres enters with a poison'd bowl. Since she

still treats him with contumely, he compels her to drink, and she incontinently expires cursing the tyrant.

In *The Rival Queens*, II, 1, we also find a mention of Orosmales, where Aristander, the soothsayer, announces the omens of ill:

To *Orosmales*' Cave I did repair,
Where I aton'd the dreadful God with prayer.

A triumph opens Act IV. 'The scene Bactria. γ streets all hung with rich Tapestry in which may be represented γ wars & Overthrow of Persia. after severall sorts of Musick heard and acclamations Daemolgoron and γ 2 Princes enter through a guard of souldiers the Captives following them with their sword points downward.' Zoroastres and his court meet the victors. Both Phylander, who has twice saved Daemolgoron's life, and Oroandes, who has killed the Persian king in single combat, demand the hand of the princess. Zoroastres puts them off for a while, and meantime bestows the Kingdom of Persia on Oroandes. When Zoroastres is alone 'severall spirits arise all in black with ghastly vizards.' He sends them to secure the two princes by enchantment:

Use all your pow'rfull drugs that may them keep,
Try watchfull life to Captive with your sleep.
Secure their body's, then cast Magick round,
And that noe place at all for flight be found
Let all γ world bee made enchanted ground.

The scene changes to a 'Rock with woods adjoining. Enter Oroandes following γ shape of Polynice who still flies from him.' A moment or two after, three savages lead her swiftly across the stage 'into one of the alleys.' She cries for help, and Oroandes 'pursues them to a caue which is at γ foot of γ rock, they all vanish and leave him chain'd dancing round him.' The prince finds he can stir neither hand nor foot. Next Phylander is entrapped by precisely the same business and the same magic glamour. He is bound in a circle opposite to Oroandes. Daemolgoron has discovered Cyane's murder, and when the scene shuts on the two captives he rushes in with drawn sword threatening his father. 'Soft Musick is heard aboue. γ heavens open Cyane descends all pale, four Cupids hang ore her head weeping, crown'd with Cypress Garlands.' As Daemolgoron gazes she ascends to soft music. This vision is very similar to that of Rosalinda in Lee's *Sophonisba*. Hannibal has had recourse to the priestesses of Bellona, who by their horrid rites show him the future, and 'Rosalinda rises in a Chair, pale, with a Wound on her breast; two Cupids descend, and hang weeping over her.'

Zoroastres is seen talking to the two ensorcelled captives who defy him even in their chains. He shouts:

By Asmenoth! you shall both dye, Appear
My guardian spirits.

The demons go out muttering and return with Cyane's head which they hold 'against Phylanders face.' The scene shuts on this ghoulish fantasy, and Zoroastres remains alone. Daemolgoron with a troop of soldiers appears and is about to make the king prisoner. The wizard monarch summons his spirits, but to his dismay the genius answers:

Thy Power, O King, is now expir'd!
I open'd y^e Golden Legend & there saw
Thy leas'd soul run out & forfeited.

At the same moment a messenger, half-distraught, rushes in crying that the palace is in flames, the mighty statue of Zoroastres has fallen and is broken to pieces, whilst innumerable spirits are to be seen mingled with the fire, exulting in the ruin. 'The scene shifts to y^e Rocks where y^e Princes were chain'd. their chains drop of & y^e spirits vanish.'

At the commencement of Act v we find Juliana, Polynice and Trivia in a state of terrible fear. Polynice declares:

The Sibill's now fulfill'd wee must expire
And all our world must perish in this fire.

Temples, houses, streets blaze amain. (From this point the play deserts rhyme for halting blank verse.) The High Priest enters robed in full pontificals and summons the spirit Ariell, who announces that Zoroastres must die, and of the royal house only Polynice will be left alive to be happy with Phylander. In a short passage Daemolgoron and his soldiers cry out for the King's death. Here is a brief lyric interlude, a song of spirits headed by Ariell. The palace is shown. Zoroastres, crowned, in his most splendid attire, defiant, is seated on his throne. Daemolgoron is dragged in fettered. On a sudden thunder peals, lightning flashes, and 'streams of fire cross y^e stage.' Furies and demons arise shaking dark torches at the monarch. They howl a chorus of doom, and in a moment 'all descend, pulling y^e King down with them, y^e Heavens raining fire upon them.' A grove closes over these horrors. Oroandes enters, to whom Trivia brings the news of Juliana's death. The prince in a few tame lines remarks that he will leave Bactria for ever:

Hence then to Camps and Bloody feilds I'll goe
Where Death does reign and all Mankind's my foe.

In the last scene we have a magnificent temple. The nuptials of

Phylander and Polynice are in progress. The High Priest invokes Ariell who descends 'clad all in white' and blesses the happy pair.

It would seem that Orrery did not trouble to gather up his threads in this last act. We hear nothing of Daemolgoron, who was made prisoner when attempting his father's life, save a casual line from Polynice to the effect that her brother is dead. The fate of Juliana and the departure of Oroandes are most confusedly and badly told.

It certainly cannot be claimed that *The Tragedy of Zoroastres* has any great literary value. It is in truth easily the worst of Orrery's dramas, but from its very roughness and the huddled conclusion I am strongly inclined to think that what we possess is merely an unrevised copy, lacking the author's final touches and polish. That the Horatian canon with regard to diction is flagrantly violated, that we have *ampullas et sesquipédalia uerba* followed by the most impertinent *sermo pedestris*, is not matter for surprise, hardly for criticism; only the very greatest writers of heroic drama could escape this pitfall, perhaps only Dryden himself. On the stage however the scene of Zoroastres' doom would have been very effective, and with all his faults Orrery had a keen eye for theatrical effect, a gift that more than once won him success when the tragedy of far greater and purer writers failed. Even in his comedy *Guzman* he could not refrain from giving us an elaborate scene in an 'astrological cabinet,' where, although the magic is feigned, we have spells and conjurations, a boy drest as a baboon, another as the devil, Maria, Lucia, and their maids in glittering habits presenting aerial spirits and genii, together with an abundance of 'great flashes of fire.'

It seems improbable that *The Tragedy of Zoroastres* was actually played. The facts that no prologue nor epilogue is given, that 'Represented by' is followed by a blank, are almost conclusive on this point. It was probably prepared for the old Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, which in the Post-Restoration period had a music gallery over the proscenium, similar to the music loft at the Duke's in Dorset Garden, shown in an illustration to Act I, 1, of Settle's *The Empress of Morocco* (4to, 1673). This would account for the stage-direction 'music above' which so frequently occurs in Orrery's play. Unfortunately the Irish theatrical annals of that period have not come down to us, so whilst at present we are able to state it as a strong probability that *The Tragedy of Zoroastres* never saw the boards, we must yet hesitate to assert this as an undisputed and incontrovertible fact.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

A PROPOS DE LA DISTINCTION ENTRE LE LATIN ET LE ROMAN DANS LA FRANCE DU NORD AVANT LE IX^e SIÈCLE.

BIEN que le roman du nord de la France n'ait pas laissé de monument antérieur aux *Serments* prononcés à Strasbourg en 842, on admet communément que, dès le VII^e siècle, il existait déjà à côté du latin dont il était devenu assez distinct pour que certains écrivains aient eu clairement conscience de l'opposition des deux langues. A vrai dire, les textes qui sont censés prouver cette opposition avant le IX^e siècle sont rares ; mais les deux qu'on cite d'ordinaire semblent si certains que, depuis Raynouard, il n'est guère de grammaire historique ou d'histoire de la langue française qui néglige d'en faire état¹.

De ces deux textes, l'un se rapporterait au VII^e siècle, l'autre au VIII^e ; comme ils ont été écrits l'un et l'autre à une date assez postérieure à celle des faits qu'ils relatent, il n'est peut-être pas superflu d'observer tout d'abord qu'un témoignage du IX^e, du X^e ou du XI^e siècles ne vaut pas nécessairement pour le VII^e ou le VIII^e, si l'on n'a pas par ailleurs le moyen de vérifier l'exactitude de la tradition ou du fait qu'il mentionne ; il n'est pas rare qu'un historien (et surtout un hagiographe) reporte à 100 ou 200 ans en arrière un état de choses qu'il lui est loisible de constater de son temps. Au surplus, cette réserve si naturelle est inutile en l'espèce, car il ne semble pas, à l'examen, que les deux témoignages en question aient la signification qu'on leur a presque unanimement attribuée.

Le premier de ces témoignages est emprunté à la *Vie de saint Mummolin* qui fut appelé (vers 660)² à succéder à saint Eloi sur le siège

¹ Raynouard, *Choix de poésies originales des troubadours*, I, p. 15 ; Diez, *Grammaire des langues romanes*, trad. A. Brachet et G. Paris, I, p. 109 ; Brachet, *Grammaire historique de la langue française*, 19^{ème} édit., p. 32—33 ; Darmesteter, *id.*, I, p. 34—35 ; Brunot, *ibid.*, 4^{ème} éd., p. 10, n. ; Nyrop, *ibid.*, I², p. 12 ; Brunot, *Histoire de la langue française*, I, p. 138—139. M. Brunot cite un troisième texte qui se rapporterait au VIII^e siècle : v. ci-dessous.

² Ou 659 ; v. pour la date *Acta Sanctorum*, octobre, VII, p. 967 et *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Scriptores rerum merovingicarum*, IV, p. 641, 726, n. 2.

épiscopal de Noyon à cause de sa connaissance éminente des 'langues teutonique et romane': 'quia praevalerat non tantum in teutonica, sed etiam in romana lingua¹.' Si l'on ne veut pas préjuger de la solution du problème, il n'y a aucune raison d'interpréter, dans ce passage, *romana* par *romane* plutôt que par *latine*, puisque l'opposition n'est pas entre *romana* et *latina*, mais bien entre *teutonica* et *romana*, et que, dans le haut moyen âge, *romanus* (soit seul, soit opposé à *barbarus*, *teutonicus*, etc.) signifie constamment *latin*². Il y a plus: la *Vie de saint Mummolin* nous est parvenue en plusieurs rédactions dont les dates ne sont pas fixées de façon certaine; ce qui semble certain, c'est que la rédaction la plus ancienne a été composée assez longtemps (peut-être un siècle) après la mort de l'évêque, survenue vers 691³. Or, cette rédaction porte simplement: 'quia et latina et teutonica praepollebat facundia⁴.' La substitution de *romana* à *latina* dans le texte qu'on cite partout est le fait d'un biographe postérieur qui a remanié et interpolé la première *Vie*⁵.

Le second témoignage aurait sur le premier l'avantage d'être aussi indiscutable que précis, car il oppose *romana lingua* (glosant *vulgaris*) à *teutonica* et surtout à *latina*. Il est tiré de la *Vie de saint Adalard*, abbé de Corbie, mort en 826, dont l'éloquence était unique et égale 'en langue vulgaire, c'est à dire romane, en teutonique et en latin': 'qui, si vulgari, id est Romana, lingua loqueretur, omnium aliarum putaretur inscius...si vero Theutonica, enitebat perfectius; si Latina, in nulla omnino absolutius⁶.' Si net que soit ce texte, il n'en est pas moins sujet à caution dès qu'on entend l'appliquer au VIII^e siècle. On possède en effet deux rédactions de la *Vie de saint Adalard*; la plus ancienne a été écrite peu après 826 par Paschase Ratbert, son élève, dont le texte a été remanié et abrégé beaucoup plus tard (vers le milieu du XI^e siècle) par Gérard, le fondateur de Sauve-Majeure⁷. Ici encore, comme pour la

¹ Cité partout d'après les *Acta Sanctorum Belgii selecta*, iv, p. 403.

² Du Cange, s. v. *Romanus*; G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques*, p. 1 sq., *passim*; M. Bonnet, *Le latin de Grégoire de Tours*, p. 3, n. 1, p. 27 et n. 4.

³ A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France*, I, p. 140, No. 445; *Acta Sanct.*, oct., vii, p. 955.

⁴ *Acta Sanct.*, id., p. 983, col. b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 963 et 967. M. Thomas a bien voulu me signaler que la critique du texte tiré de la *Vie de saint Mummolin* a déjà été faite par Novati (v. *Romania*, xxix, 638), ce que j'ignorais lors de la rédaction de ces notes. Il ne semble pas, en tout cas, que les auteurs qui ont écrit depuis la publication du mémoire de Novati (1900) aient connu ses observations ou du moins en aient tenu compte. Voir, en outre, sur toute cette question: V. Crescini, *Romana lingua*, dans les *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Attilio Hortis*, Trieste, 1910, p. 441—451.

⁶ Cité presque partout (avec la même erreur de renvoi) d'après *Acta Sanct. ordinis S. Benedicti*, saec. iv, p. 335 (lire 355); v. aussi *Acta Sanct.*, janvier, I, p. 116, col. b.

⁷ A. Molinier, o. c., I, p. 233—234, No. 761, et II, p. 43, No. 1132.

Vie de saint Mummolin, il est instructif de rapprocher les deux passages qui se correspondent. Paschase Ratbert écrit : 'Vel quis sine mentis scrupulo poterit epistolarum ejus nitorem eloquentiae recitare ? Quem si vulgo audisses, dulcifluus emanabat. Si vero idem barbara, quam Teutiscam dicunt, lingua loqueretur, praeminebat caritatis eloquio. Quod si Latine, jam ulterius prae aviditate dulcoris non erat spiritus¹.' Il ne semble y avoir là qu'une double comparaison, d'une part entre le style épistolaire et le talent oratoire de saint Adalard, d'autre part entre sa connaissance du germanique et sa connaissance du latin. Interpréter *vulgo* par 'en langue vulgaire' pour l'opposer à *teutisca* et à *latina* ne paraît pas très légitime et le sens reste vague. C'est pourtant ce qu'a fait Gérard de Sauve-Majeure dans son remaniement de Paschase Ratbert (d'où le texte cité ci-dessus et qu'on trouve mentionné partout), et c'est l'explication discutable de Gérard qui a valu à saint Adalard une connaissance de la 'langue romane' que son premier biographe, qui avait reçu ses leçons, n'a sans doute jamais songé à lui attribuer².

Ainsi, ni la *Vie de saint Mummolin*, ni la *Vie de saint Adalard* ne prouvent que le roman ait été, au VII^e et au VIII^e siècles, senti comme une langue différente du latin³; au contraire, les remaniements des biographes postérieurs indiquent que la distinction nettement faite aux IX^e, X^e et XI^e siècles ne l'était pas encore à la fin du VIII^e. Or il ne nous importe guère de savoir indirectement que le roman existait au XI^e siècle, puisqu'il nous est attesté directement deux siècles plus tôt par les *Serments de Strasbourg*.

Selon toute vraisemblance, il n'y avait dans la France du Nord jusque vers la fin du VIII^e siècle que deux langues, la latine et la germanique, écrites et parlées avec les variations que comporte, selon les classes sociales et l'état de la civilisation, la pratique de toute langue⁴; l'existence d'une troisième langue, la 'langue romane parlée,'

¹ *Acta Sanct.*, janv., I, p. 109, col. a, § 77, et *Acta Sanct. ord. S. Ben.*, saec. IV, p. 336 : *claritatis* au lieu de *caritatis*.

² Même si l'on adoptait (avec Diez) l'interprétation de 'vulgo' par 'en langue romane,' il conviendrait de remarquer que, Paschase Ratbert étant né en 790, son témoignage ne vaudrait que pour le premier quart du IX^e siècle au plus tôt. Darmesteter et Nyrop ont rajeuni de 3 siècles Gérard de Sauve-Majeure dont ils font l'élève de S. Adalard.

³ Un troisième texte, indiqué par M. Brunot, est moins décisif encore : Ursmar, abbé de Lobbes, serait cité pour sa connaissance du roman par Folcuin, *Gesta abb. Lobiens.*, I, 24 (*Mon. Germ.*, XXI, 827 ; lire 327).—En réalité, ce texte n'est pas de Folcuin, mais de son continuateur (qui écrit en 1162) et il ne se rapporte pas à Ursmar, mais à Lambert, qui fut abbé de Lobbes à partir de 1137 : 'Ut enim de facultate vulgaris linguae, id est Theutonice, que naturalis ei erat, et Romanae, quae accidentaliter, omittam, in qua utraque inoffensus erat, in Latino siquidem eloquio usu assiduo se...exercitatum reddiderat....' La connaissance du roman au XII^e siècle ne devait avoir rien d'exceptionnel.

⁴ V. les très judicieuses observations de M. Max Bonnet, *o. c.*, p. 30 sq.

qui nous est inconnue, mais qui aurait été aux VII^e et VIII^e siècles très différente du latin plus ou moins barbare qu'on écrivait et qui nous est connu, est le résultat d'une hypothèse que ni les faits ni les textes qu'on allègue ne suffisent à justifier. Il paraît y avoir, au sujet de la distinction entre le roman et le latin antérieurement aux premiers textes romans, une certaine confusion sur le sens des termes 'roman' et 'latin'; et cette confusion vient sans doute de ce que les philologues, tout en rejetant l'hypothèse formulée par Raynouard d'une 'langue romane' intermédiaire entre le latin et les diverses langues romanes, ont négligé de critiquer et ont continué à accepter comme valables des textes que Raynouard avait dû rechercher et produire en faveur de son opinion.

Mais, en fait, il n'y a, entre le latin et le français, ni intermédiaire, ni réelle solution de continuité; toute la question est de savoir à quel moment on a pris conscience de la différence entre les deux langues. Ce n'a pu être que le jour où l'on est revenu au latin classique, c'est à dire le jour où la renaissance carolingienne, en restaurant les études latines, eut fait sentir ses effets et où le latin, devenu désormais beaucoup plus correct, s'écarta de manière définitive et profonde du bas-latin dont on avait usé jusqu'alors. C'est cet écart qu'enregistre pour la première fois de façon certaine la prescription bien connue du Concile de Tours en 813: 'Visum est unanimitati nostrae, ut quilibet episcopus habeat omelias continentes necessarias ammonitiones, quibus subiecti erudiantur...et ut easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam romanam linguam aut Thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur¹'. Si les conciles tenus au VII^e et au VIII^e siècles n'avaient pas enjoint aux évêques de traduire clairement leurs homélies du latin en 'langue romane rustique,' c'est probablement parce que, jusque vers le début du IX^e siècle, le latin des prédicateurs et la langue romane rustique en usage se ressemblaient assez pour que ces traductions fussent inutiles².

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¹ Mon. Germ. hist., Concilia, II, p. 288, l. 24 sq., c. XVII.

² Il est vraisemblable que, dans le canon du concile de Tours, *romana lingua* signifie 'langue latine'; si on l'explique par 'langue romane' (c'est à dire langue autre que le latin), il faudrait, à s'en tenir rigoureusement au texte, admettre quatre langues différentes dans la France du Nord au début du IX^e siècle: le latin, le germanique, le roman rustique et le roman non rustique.

THE LAURENTIAN TEXT (COD. LAURENT. XXIX, 8)
OF DANTE'S LETTER TO A PISTOJAN EXILE
(EPIST. IV).

WITH EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

DANTE's letter to a Pistojan Exile (*Epist.* IV in the *Oxford Dante*) has been preserved in one MS. only, in the Laurentian Library at Florence (XXIX, 8), the well-known so-called *Zibaldone Boccaccesco*, which contains also Dante's letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* VIII), and that to a Friend in Florence (*Epist.* IX), of neither of which is any other MS. known. This MS., which was executed probably about the year 1348, belonged to Boccaccio, and the portion containing the three letters of Dante, and certain other pieces¹, is in his handwriting².

This letter, the addressee of which is commonly identified with Dante's friend Cino da Pistoja, was written (probably between 1302 and 1306, that is to say, during the period of Cino's exile from Pistoja) in reply to an enquiry on the part of the addressee as to whether the soul 'can pass from passion to passion'; it was accompanied by a poem, which has been identified with some probability with Son. xxxvi ('Io sono stato con Amore insieme'). The writer of the letter, who describes himself in the title as 'florentinus exul immeritus,' was first recognised as Dante by Carlo Troya in 1826³. The letter was first printed at Padua in the following year (1827) by Witte in his *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant* (*Epist.* IV, pp. 14—16)⁴. Witte's text was reprinted (with a single modification)⁵ at Florence by Fraticelli in 1840, in *Dantis*

¹ Namely, the letter of Frate Ilario to Ugucione della Fagginola, and the Latin poetical correspondence between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio.

² See Hauvette, *Notes sur des Manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, pp. 50 ff.

³ See his *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 204—5.

⁴ Witte saw the MS., but did not himself transcribe the letter, his text of which was printed from a transcript made for him by Sebastiano Ciampi of Pisa (see Witte's preface note, p. 12). If Witte's *apparatus criticus* is to be trusted, Ciampi in several places misread the MS. (see the *apparatus criticus* appended to the present transcript).

⁵ Namely, *jucundum* (in l. 12), a conjecture of Witte's, for *cognitum*.

Aligherii Epistolae quae exstant (*Epist.* I, pp. 202—8); and at Leghorn by Torri in 1842, in *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite* (*Epist.* IV, pp. 20—2). In 1845 the letter was printed afresh from the MS. in *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri* (*Epist.* II, pp. 19—22), published at Prato by Luigi Muzzi, who introduced into the text several emendations of his own. In 1857 Fraticelli reprinted his former text at Florence (with one or two slight modifications) in *Dantis Aligherii Epistolae* (*Epist.* IV, in *Opere Minori di Dante*, ed. 1893, Vol. III, pp. 434—6); and this was reprinted at Florence in 1882 by Giuliani (with sundry conjectural emendations of his own) in *Le Opere Latine di Dante Allighieri* (*Epist.* IV, Vol. II, pp. 10—12); at Oxford in 1894 (and again in 1897 and 1904) by Dr Moore in the *Oxford Dante* (*Epist.* IV, p. 405); and at Florence in 1910 by Passerini (not without blunders)¹ in his edition of *Le Opere Minori di Dante* (*Epist.* IV, pp. 22—6). A diplomatic transcript of the MS. text was printed by Parodi in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* for Dec. 1912 (N.S. XIX, p. 271—2).

At the end of the year 1914, a facsimile of the whole of *Cod. Laurent.* XXIX, 8 was published at Florence². By means of this facsimile I have been able to make a fresh transcript of the MS. text of *Epist.* IV, which is subjoined below, together with an *apparatus criticus*, in which are registered variant readings from the printed editions enumerated above. The various editions in question are represented in the *apparatus criticus* as follows:

W. = Witte (1827); F¹. = Fraticelli (1840); T. = Torri (1842); M. = Muzzi (1845); F². = Fraticelli (1857); G. = Giuliani (1882); O. = Oxford Dante (1904); P. = Passerini (1910); W.—P. = W.F¹.T.M.F².G.O.P.

Appended is a trial list of proposed emendations in the 'standard' text as printed in the *Oxford Dante*, together with a transcript of the text as emended, and an English translation of the same.

As in the case of previous transcripts printed in this *Review*, the contractions of the MS. have been expanded, the expansions being printed in italics. The punctuation of the MS. has been preserved. For convenience of reference, as before, the text of the letter has been broken up into paragraphs, numbered [in square brackets] to correspond with the numbering of the sections in the *Oxford Dante*. In the MS. the letter, which follows that to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* VIII),

¹ Such as *intensum* for *intantum* (l. 21), and *pater* for *frater* (l. 50).

² *Lo Zibaldone Boccaccesco Mediceo Laurenziano* (Plut. XXIX, 8). In Firenze, presso Leo Olschki, MCMXIV. (See *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XI, 63.)

occupies ll. 24—42 (numbered in round brackets in the transcript) of fol. 63^{ro}, title and text being written continuously.

[fol. 63^{ro}] (24) *Exulanti pistoriensi. florentinus exul immeritus per tempora diuturna salutem et perpetue caritatis ardorem.*

[§ 1.] *Eructua-(25)-uit¹ incendium tue dilectionis² uerbum confidentie uehementis ame³ in quo consuluisti karissime / utrum de passione in passionem possit (26) anima transformari de passione in passionem dico secundum eandem potentiam et obiecta diuersa numero sed non specie / quod quamuis ex ore (27) tuo iustius prodire debuerat. nihil hominus me illius auctorem facere uoluisti. et⁴ in declaratione rei nimium du-(28)-bitate titulum mei nominis ampliares. hoc et enim quam cognitum⁵ quam acceptum. quam quam gratum⁶ extiterit absque importuna di-(29)-minutione⁷ uerba non carent⁸ Ideo causa conticentie huius inspecta ipse quod non exprimitur metiaris.*

[§ 2.] *Reddatur ecce sermo caliopeus (30) inferius / quo sententia-liter canitur/quamquam transuntie⁹ more poetico singnetur¹⁰ intentum¹¹ amorem huius posse torpescere. (31) acque¹² denique interire nec non huius quod¹³ corruptio unius generatio sit alterius in anima reformari¹⁴.*

[§ 3.] *et fides huius quamquam sit ab experi-(32)-entia persuasum / ratione potest et autoritate muniri Omnis namque¹⁵ potentia que post corruptionem unius actus non deperit naturaliter (33) reseruatur in alium ergo potentie sensitue manente organo / per corruptionem unius¹⁶ actus non¹⁷ depereunt / et naturaliter reser-(34)-uatur¹⁸ in alium. Cum igitur potentia concupiscibilis¹⁹ que sedes amoris est sit potentia sensitua manifestum est / quod post cor-(35)-ruptionem unius passionis qua in actum reducitur in alium reseruatur. maior et minor prepositio²⁰ silo-*

¹ W.—P. *Eructavit.*

² *Sic, for dilectionis*; in MS. this word has been altered from a previous *deilotionis* by the original scribe, by the cancellation of the *e*, and the insertion of *c* above the line after the first *o*, which the scribe forgot to alter into *e*.

³ W.F¹.T.M. *a me*; F².G.O.P. *ad me*.

⁴ W.—P. *ut.*

⁵ W.M. *cognitum*; F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *jucundum*.

⁶ W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *quamque gratum*; M. *quam g.*

⁷ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *de minutione*.

⁸ W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *capiunt*; M. *darent*; W. erroneously gives *cavent* as the MS. reading.

⁹ W.F¹.T.F². *transumptive*; M. *transumptive*; G.O.P. *transumptive*.

¹⁰ Parodi (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* xix, 273) proposes to read *designetur*.

¹¹ P. *intensum*.

¹² W.—P. *atque*.

¹³ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *nec non quod*.

¹⁴ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *reformati*.

¹⁵ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *enim*.

¹⁶ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. *ejus*.

¹⁷ W. erroneously states that *non* is omitted in MS.

¹⁸ W.—P. *reservantur*.

¹⁹ W. erroneously gives *concupiscibiliter* as the MS. reading.

²⁰ W.—P. *propositio*.

gismi. quarum facilis¹ (36) patet introitus tue diligentie relinquatur² probe³.

[§ 4.] autoritate⁴ vero nasonis quarto dererum transformatione. (37) que directe atque ad lictera⁵ propositum respicit⁶ / super ut intueare⁷ subtraxit aut equidem⁸ in fabula trium sororum contentri-(38)-cum in semine⁹ semeles ad solem loquens qui nimphis aliis derelictis atque neglectis in quas prius exarsera¹⁰. nouiter (39) leucotoen diligebat. quid nunc operione¹¹ nate et reliqua.

[§ 5.] Sub hoc frater¹² karissime ad prootentiam¹³ quam¹⁴ contra raynusia¹⁵ (40) spicula sis paties¹⁶ te exortor. perlege deprecor fortuitorum remedia que ab inclitissimo phylosophorum seneca (41) nobis uelud a patre filiis ministrantur / et illud de memoria sana¹⁷ tua non defluat si demundo fuissetis mun-(42)-dus quod suum erat diligeret: 7¹⁸.

Proposed emendations in the Oxford text of Epist. IV.

l. 1. For Eructavit read (with MS.) Eructuavit¹⁹.

l. 12. For iucundum read (with MS.) cognitum.

l. 15. For capiunt read caperent²⁰.

ll. 20—1. For signetur read (with Parodi)²¹ designetur.

ll. 22—4. For nec non quod corruptio unius generatio sit alterius in anima reformati read (with MS.) nec non huius

¹ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. facile.

² So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. relinquuntur.

³ W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. probandae; M. probanda.

⁴ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. auctoritatem.

⁵ W.—P. litteram.

⁶ M. respiciunt.

⁷ W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. sedulus intueare; M. sequitur ut i.; W. erroneously gives sed ut i. as the MS. reading.

⁸ W.F¹.T.F².O.P. scilicet ubi ait auctor et quidem; M. subtraxit haud equidem; G. scilicet ubi auctor ait haud equidem.

⁹ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. contentricium (W.F¹.T. -tricum) Numinis in s.; W. erroneously gives contentrix cum in s. as the MS. reading.

¹⁰ Sic; W.—P. exarserat.

¹¹ Sic; W.—P. Hyperione.

¹² P. Pater.

¹³ So apparently MS.; W.F¹.T.F².O. ad potentiam; M. ad praepotentiam; G.P. ad patientiam; Parodi (loc. cit.) suggests ad prudentiam.

¹⁴ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. quod.

¹⁵ W.—P. Rhannusiae.

¹⁶ W.F¹.T.M.F².O.P. patiens; G. potens.

¹⁷ So M.; W.F¹.T.F².G.O.P. sane.

¹⁸ W.T. diligeret" etc.; F¹. diligeret etc."; M.F².G.O.P. diligeret.

¹⁹ Both eructo and eructuo are given by Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*: 'ructo, -as, idest ructum facere, vel emittere; et exprimere. unde ructuo -as in eodem sensu (s.v. ructus).' Both forms occur in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (in the MSS. as well as in the *editio princeps*), viz. *eructuo* in I, 11, l. 38; *eructo* in II, 4, l. 17.

²⁰ The MS. reading is *carent*, for which Witte substitutes *capiunt*, and Muzzi *darent*; but I have little doubt that the original reading was *caperent*, which in its abbreviated form *carent* might easily have been mistaken by a careless copyist for *carent* (with the long *r* like Greek γ). The identical phrase, 'verba non caperent,' occurs in *Epist.* vi. 18.

²¹ See *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. xix, 273. By this correction the *cursus* is satisfactorily reestablished. *Designare* is twice elsewhere used by Dante, viz. in *Epist.* x, l. 626; and *A. T.* § 1, l. 18.

(quod corruptio unius generatio sit alterius) in anima reformari¹.

- l. 27. *For enim read (with MS.) namque.*
- l. 31. *For eius read (with MS.) unius.*
- l. 38. *For facile read (with MS.) facilis.*
- l. 43. *For sedulus intueare read superest intueri².*
- ll. 44—5. *For sororum contemtricum Numinis³ in semine Semeles read (with MS.) sororum contemtricum in semine Semeles.*

Emended Text⁴.

Exulanti Pistoriensi Florentinus exul immeritus
per tempora diuturna salutem et perpetuae caritatis ardorem.

[§ 1.] Eructuavit incendium tuae dilec-(2)-tionis verbum confidentiae vehementis (3) ad me⁵, in quo consuluisti, carissime, utrum (4) de passione in passionem possit anima (5) transformari: de passione in passionem (6) dico secundum eandem potentiam et (7) obiecta diversa numero sed non specie; (8) quod, quamvis ex ore tuo iustius prodire (9) debuerat, nihilominus me illius auctorem (10) facere voluisti, ut⁶ in declaratione rei (11) nimium dubitatae titulum mei nominis (12) ampliores. Hoc etenim quam cognitum, (13) quam acceptum, quamque⁷ gratum exstite-(14)-rit, absque importuna diminutione verba (15) non caperent⁸: ideo, causa conticentiae (16) huius inspecta, ipse quod non exprimitur (17) metiaris.

[§ 2.] (18) Redditur, ecce, sermo Calliopeus (19) inferius, quo sententialiter canitur, quam-(20)-quam transumptive more poetico desig-

¹ The insertion of brackets makes the sense clearer. The construction would be: 'canitur...intentum amorem huius ('for one object') posse...interire, nec non [amorem] huius ('for another object')...in anima reformari.' (See translation below.) For this use of *hic*...*hic*, cf. *Mon.* III, 16, ll. 65—6 ('haec...haec'); *V.E.* II, 12, ll. 87—8 ('hi...hi'); *Epist.* x, 3—4 ('hos...hos').

² Witte took the MS. reading to be *sed ut intueare*, out of which he evolved *sedulus intueare*; but the actual MS. reading is *super ut intueare*, so that there is no foundation whatever for Witte's *sedulus*. In the MS. the letter after the *e* of *intueare* appears to have been altered; it is probable that the primitive reading was *intueri*, which was corrected to *intueare*, so as to construe with the preceding *ut*, itself due perhaps to a misreading of one of the abbreviated forms of *est*.

³ *Numinis*, for which there is no justification whatever in the MS., was an insertion of Witte's, who took the MS. reading (*contemtricum*) to be *contemtrix cum*.

⁴ For convenience of reference the numbering of the sections [in square brackets] and of the lines (in round brackets) of the text as printed in the *Oxford Dante* have been inserted in the emended text.

⁵ MS. *ame*.

⁶ MS. *et*.

⁷ MS. *quam quam*.

⁸ MS. *carent*.

(21)-netur¹, intentum amorem huius posse (22) torpescere atque² denique interire, nec (23) non huius (quod corruptio unius generatio sit (24) alterius) in anima reformari.

[§ 3.] (25) Et fides huius, quamquam sit ab (26) experientia persuasum, ratione potest et (27) auctoritate muniri. Omnis namque potentia (28) quae post corruptionem unius actus non (29) deperit, naturaliter reservatur in alium: (30) ergo potentiae sensitivae, manente organo, (31) per corruptionem unius actus non deper-(32)-eunt, et naturaliter reservantur³ in alium. (33) Quum igitur potentia concupiscibilis, quae (34) sedes amoris est, sit potentia sensitiva, manifestum est quod post corruptionem unius (36) passionis, qua in actum reducitur, in alium (37) reservatur. Maior et minor propositio⁴ (38) syllogismi, quarum facilis patet introitus, (39) tuae diligentiae relinquuntur⁵ probandae.

[§ 4.] (40) Auctoritatem⁶ vero Nasonis, quarto (41) *De Rerum Transformatione*, quae directe (42) atque ad literam⁷ propositum respicit, (43) superest intueri⁸; † scilicet ubi ait auctor †⁹ (44) (et quidem¹⁰ in fabula trium sororum concentricum¹¹ in semine Semeles) (46) ad Solem loquens (qui nymphis aliis (47) derelictis atque neglectis in quas prius (48) exarserat¹², noviter Leucothoen diligebat): (49) 'Quid nunc, Hyperione¹³ nate,' et reliqua.

[§ 5.] (50) Sub hoc, frater carissime, ad potentiam¹⁴, quod¹⁵ contra Rhamnusia¹⁶ spicula (52) sis patiens¹⁷ te exhortor. Perlege, deprecor, (53) *Fortuitorum Remedia*, quae ab inclytissimo (54) philosophorum Seneca nobis. velut a patre (55) filiis, ministrantur; et illud de memoria (56) sane¹⁸ tua non defluat: 'Si de mundo fuis-(57)-setis, mundus quod suum erat diligeret.'

Translation.

To the Exile from Pistoja a Florentine undeservedly in exile wishes health through long years and the continuance of fervent love.

[§ 1.] The warmth of your affection has addressed to me an expression of signal confidence, wherein, my dearest friend, you put the

¹ MS. *signetur*.

³ MS. *reservatur*.

⁶ MS. *auctoritate*.

⁹ MS. *subtraxit aut*; the reading in the text is an ingenious conjecture of Witte's, who supposes that the original reading was *s. ubi ait aut*.

¹⁰ MS. *equidem*.

¹³ MS. *operione*.

¹⁶ MS. *raymusie*.

² MS. *acque*.

⁴ MS. *prepositio*.

⁷ MS. *lictera*.

¹¹ MS. *concentricum*.

¹⁴ MS. *prootentiam*.

¹⁷ MS. *paties*.

⁵ MS. *relinquatur*.

⁸ MS. *super ut intueare*.

¹² MS. *exarsera*.

¹⁵ MS. *quam*.

¹⁸ MS. *sana*.

question whether the soul can pass from passion to passion; that is to say, from one passion to another, the nature of the passion remaining the same, but the objects being different, not in kind, but in identity. Although the answer would more properly have come from your own lips, you have nevertheless chosen to make me the arbiter, to the end that by the solution of this much debated question you might enhance the renown of my name. How marked, how pleasing, how welcome this is, words could not convey without falling lamentably short of the truth; wherefore you, being acquainted with the cause of my reticence, must yourself take the measure of what I have left unexpressed.

[§ 2.] Behold, there is given below a treatise in the diction of Calliope, wherein the Muse declares in set phrase (though, as poets use, the meaning is conveyed under a figure) that intense love for one object may languish and finally die away, and that (inasmuch as the corruption of one thing is the begetting of another) love for a second may take shape in the soul.

[§ 3.] And the truth of this, although it is proved by experience, may be confirmed by reason and authority. For every potential faculty which is not destroyed after the consummation of one act, is naturally reserved for another. Consequently the faculties of sense, if the organ survives, are not destroyed by the consummation of one act, but are naturally reserved for another. Since, then, the appetitive faculty, which is the seat of love, is a faculty of sense, it is manifest that after the exhaustion of the passion by which it was brought into operation, it is reserved for another. The major and minor propositions of the syllogism, the entrance to which lies open without difficulty, may be left to your diligence for proof.

[§ 4.] It remains to consider the authority of Ovid in the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses*, which bears directly and literally upon our proposition; †namely, the passage wherein the author says †(in the story of the three sisters who were contemptuous of the son of Semele), addressing the Sun, who after he had deserted and neglected other nymphs of whom he had previously been enamoured, was newly in love with Leucothoë, 'What now, Son of Hyperion,' and what follows¹.

[§ 5.] In conclusion, dearest brother, I exhort you, so far as in you lies, to arm yourself with patience against the darts of Nemesis². Read,

†† This sentence is inserted conjecturally in the Latin text. (See above p. 42, n. 9.)

¹ *Metam.* iv, 192 ff.

² 'Rhamnusia,' a name applied to the goddess Nemesis (cf. Ovid, *Metam.* iii, 406; xiv, 694; *Trist.* v, 8, 9), from a celebrated temple in her honour at Rhamnus in Attica. Dante concludes with an exhortation to Cino to bear himself with patience in exile.

I beg you, the *Remedies against Fortune*¹, which are offered to us, as it were by a father to his sons, by that most famous philosopher Seneca; and especially let that saying not pass from your memory: 'If ye were of the world, the world would love his own².'

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

¹ The *Liber ad Galionem de Remediis Fortuitorum* of Martinus Dumiensis, Archbishop of Braga (d. circ. 580), which was commonly attributed in the Middle Ages to Seneca.

² *John* xv. 19.

CONCERNING AN UNKNOWN MANUSCRIPT OF ALAIN CHARTIER'S SELECTED WORKS.

THE manuscript of which a detailed description follows is to be found in Chetham's Library, Manchester, which was started in 1655, in accordance with the will, dated December 1651, of Humphrey Chetham, a Manchester merchant, and forms part of Chetham's Hospital founded by the same benefactor.

The manuscript consists of 104 vellum leaves, there being 28 lines to a full page, the page measuring 2 decim., 6 centim., 1 millim. $\times$ 1 decim., 9 centim., 5 millim.—approximately $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The recto of the first leaf has an illuminated capital with a floreated border entirely surrounding the text. Smaller illuminated capitals with borders partially surrounding the text are found on folios 3 v°, 5 v°, 10 v°, 11 r°, 14 r°, 20 v°, 22 v°, 24 v°, 34 r°, 55 v°, 66 r°.

The contents of the MS. are as follows:

Fol. 1 r°—36 v°: 'Quadrilogue.'

Fol. 37 r°—59 r°: 'Le debat des deux fortunes damours.'

Fol. 59 v°: blank.

Fol. 60 r°—64 v°: [Le lay de Paix.]

Fol. 65 r°—72 v°: 'Le Breuiaire des Nobles.'

Fol. 73 r°—79 r°: 'Un lay que fist feu maistre Rogier Haultpin.'

Fol. 79 v°—80 r°: 'Balade.'

Fol. 80 v°: blank.

Fol. 81 r°—97 v°: 'La belle dame sans mercy.'

Fol. 98 r°: 'Coppie des lettres enuoiees par les dames a Alain.'

Fol. 98 v°—99 r°: 'Copie de la requeste baillee aux dames contre Alain.'

Fol. 99 v°—104 r°: [Excusation de M. Alain.]

Fol. 104 v°: blank.

On a fly-sheet at the beginning of the volume the MS. is designated in an eighteenth century hand, as 'Œuvres diverses d'Alain Chartier

and assigned to the fifteenth century. It is also there stated that it was formerly in the library of the Duc de la Vallière. On referring to the catalogue¹ of the library of the Duc de la Vallière this statement is entirely corroborated, and we may also accept without any hesitation the fifteenth century as the period in which it was written.

As the title indicates, the MS. contains a selection only of the works of Alain Chartier, in addition to two other pieces, to which we shall have occasion to revert presently. In its lack of completeness it does not stand alone, as not one of the 120 odd MSS. of Alain Chartier contains his complete works; nor is it peculiar in that it includes pieces which do not belong to Chartier, for that again is a characteristic of nearly all the MSS. as well as the printed editions from that of Pierre Le Caron to that published by André Du Chesne² in 1617. Pierre Le Caron for example, the first publisher of Alain's works, did not hesitate to lay hands on pieces of Machaut, Oton de Granson, Michaut Taillevent, Villon, and several others (some anonymous), in order to swell the somewhat meagre output of the writer who was then considered the 'prince of poets'; and of the 809 pages of which Du Chesne's edition consists 384 contain poems which do not belong to Chartier, as Professor A. Piaget, than whom there is no greater authority in all that concerns Middle French Literature, has recently shown in his admirable edition of *Le Miroir aux Dames*³. This tendency to attribute all sorts of pieces that were not his to Alain Chartier is noted with some indignation by Clement Marot in a letter, already quoted by Du Chesne in his annotations, addressed to Etienne Dolet. After protesting against the bad verses which authors or publishers falsely ascribed to him, Clement Marot proceeds to add: 'Or ne suis je seul a qui ce bon tour a esté faict. Si Alain Chartier viuoit, croy hardiment, amy, que volontiers me tiendroit compaignie a faire plaincte de ceulx de leur art qui a ses œuvres excellentes adjousterent la *Contre Dame sans mercy*, l'*Hospital d'amours*, la *Complaincte de saint Valentin* et la *Pastourelle de Granson*, œuvres certes indignes de son nom.'

¹ *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de la Vallière* (Paris, 1783), vol. II, p. 267, no. 2791.

² Du Chesne's edition, though some 300 years old, is the most recent edition of Alain Chartier's works, and highly unsatisfactory as it is, has not yet been replaced. Ferdinand Heuckenkamp, who in 1899 published an edition of *Le Curial*, has been engaged for many years on a critical edition of the complete works which, it is hoped, may appear before very long.

³ *Le Miroir aux Dames. Poème inédit du XV^e siècle publié avec une Introduction par Arthur Piaget*, Neuchâtel, 1908, p. 24. M. Piaget has likewise proved (vol. II, pp. 155—162 of *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Picot*, Paris, 1913) that the fourteen rondeaux from which is artificially constructed the piece entitled 'La Complainte du prisonnier d'Amour,' which forms part of *Le Jardin de Plaisance*, are by Alain Chartier.

Not only has the present MS. remained undetected to this day—I have M. Piaget's positive confirmation of the fact—but it contains at least one piece by a Middle French poet of the name of Rogier Haultpin, concerning whose writings and personality absolutely nothing is known. The poem of his contained in the present MS. has considerable merit and seems to me to be well worthy of publication, as I think the reader of the following lines will admit:

S'ensuit vn lay que fist feu maistre Rogier Haultpin.

- En cheuauchant par vn matin n'a guiere,
 Seulet, pensant en joyeuse matiere,
 En costoyant le long d'une riuere
 Qu'aloit courant par le les d'un vert bois,
 5 En regardant parmy l'eau la grauiere
 Et escoutant la tres ioyeuse chiere
 Qu'aloient faisant oyseaulx par la prayere,
 Ou temps plaisant qu'estoit d'auril le mois,
 Entroublant ma pensée premiere,
 10 Oy le chant d'une joenne bergiere
 Aigneaulx gardant enmy vne bruyere;
 Considerant la doulceur de sa voix,
 En trauersant sans chemin ou sentiere,
 M'alay trouuant de mer en la costiere,
 15 Et foruoyant par estrange maniere
 Ou par auant me trouuay autresfois.

- La, tout fin cois
 Moy amusant
 Alay comptant
 20 Parmy mes dois
 De nauire plus de cinquante trois,
 D'une veue tant petit' comme grant
 L'un horlandois,
 L'autre alemant;
 25 Li vn flamant,
 L'autre liegois;
 Et tieux y a sont escossoys,
 Les autres picart et normant.
 Filez et rois

- 30 Va l'un tendant,
 L'autre est marchant
 D'oeuvre de pois,
 L'un est de France et l'autre anglois,
 Qui vont souuent ensemble combatant ;
 35 L'un se repose a son ancre dormant ;
 La voelle au vent s'en va l'autre courant,
 S'auenture de toutes pars querant ;
 Souuent passans par perilleux destrois
 Et plusieurs vont par les flos perissant.
 40 Pour abregier se vy moult de desrois,
 Car la fu tant
 Que ja s'aloit la mer fort retrayant.

- Si attendy monter l'autre marée
 Qui amena vne nef esgarée
 45 Deuers le nort toute desemparée
 De cordage,
 Desmastée,
 Non letée,
 Ne fretée,
 50 Desmarée
 De son ancre par tempeste et orage.
 De nul n'estoit celle nef gouuernée,
 Car le patron l'auoit abandonnée
 Et lessée
 55 Aux vens qui l'ont tant ca et la menée
 Que cassée
 Et rompue est, dont c'est vn grant damage.
 La je la vy richement aournée
 De fleurs de lis, d'or, d'asur coulourée,
 60 Et sur gueulles d'argent fin besantée.
 Ou bordage
 La dedens vy, qui troubla mon courage
 Et me rendit mourne et triste en pensée,
 Vne dame qui estoit de jeune aage,
 65 Belle et sage.
 Combien qu'el(le) fust vestue et atournée
 Moult simplement, il paroît au langaige,
 Au visage

- Et au maintien, qu'estoit de hault parage;
 70 Maiz moult estoit piteuse et desolée
 Pource qu'estoit sans patron demourée,
 Cuy donnée
 N'auoit gueres s'estoit par mariage.
 Quel oultrage,
 75 La journée,
 Fortune fist qu'elle en fut separée!
 A Medée
 Comparée
 Pouuoit estre que Jason eut lessée,
 80 Et a Dido la royne de Cartaigne
 Quant eut perdu le debonnaire Enée.

- Je, piteux de son desconfort,
 De la neif alay pres du bort.
 'Haulte princesse,'
 85 Dis je, 'certes vous auez tort
 Que ne prenez joye et deport
 En supportant vostre jeunesse;
 Puis que vostre amy n'est pas mort,
 Encor le verrez en ce port
 90 A grant liesse.'
 'Mon cuer,' dist elle, 'a reconfort
 Quant oir en peut bon rapport;
 Riens ne le blesse;
 Maiz il mourist ne fust le port
 95 Qu'esperoir lui donne et le suport,
 En lui faisant bonne promesse.
 Je ne scay s'il en est recort
 De reueoir brief son confort
 Hors de destresse;
 100 Maiz moult souuent esperoir le lesse,
 Car le moien trouuer est fort
 Quant fortune n'en est d'acort,
 La traïstesse
 Par qui tristesse
 105 Me veult faire si grant rudesse
 Que ccans vient estre mon hostesse,
 Et s'y amort,

- Et comme beste felonnesse
 Me point et mort
 110 Par grant aspresse.
 Que fait noblesse
 Et gentillesse
 Que cy ne monstre son effort
 Et sa prouesse
 115 Et que mon meschief ne redresse ?
 Je croy au fort
 Qu'elle se dort,
 Ou qu'est cheue en trop grant foiblesse
 Par desacort.
- 120 Se bonne amour et vnité
 Fussent en noblesse, en ver(i)té,
 Pas n'eusse ceste aduersité;
 Monseigneur se feust acquité,
 Et fust hors de captiuité
 125 Sans estre ja desherité
 De seigneurie.
 Il ne treuve n'amy, n'amie,
 Dont c'est grant douleur et pité.
 Helas! n'est mie;
- 130 Il n'a point de felicité;
 Son pais est deshahité,
 Par guerre et par iniquité;
 Ses choses tenu en vilté.
 Dont vendra d'or la quantité,
- 135 Sainte Marie,
 Qui pour rançon lui est baillie ?
 Or le saiche la trinité!
 Par desfalte de charité,
 Lui estant en necessité,
- 140 Nul ne c'est vers lui acquité;
 Et s'il fust en prosperité
 Il fust de chascun visité,
 Lui monstrant signe d'amitié
 Par flaterie.
- 145 Je tiens pour trop fol qui se fie
 En gens de telle qualité.
 Dieu les maudie!'

- Madame, je vous prie,
Ne soyez esmaye ;
150 Dieu partout remedie.
Il ne vous fauldra mie
De vous donner aye,
Tant est de pitie plains
Et de doulceur.
155 Priez lui et ses sains ;
C'est le meilleur ;
Lessiez ester voz plains.
Ceulx qui ont en leurs mains
Vostre seigneur,
160 Qui ne sont pas vilains,
Le quitteront pour mains
En vo faueur ;
Lui feront courtoisie
Et bonne compaignie,
165 Et a finance aisie
Le mettront sur ma vie,
Saichans que pas garnie
N'estes de biens mondains
De grant valeur,
170 Dont mon cuer est estrains
Par grief doulceur.
Maiz qu'ilz soient restrains
A raison et refrains
De leur rigueur,
175 Estre doyuent certains
De paiment prochains,
Sur mon honneur.
- Helas ! j'ay trop pou d'esperance,
Pour diligence
180 Qu'on puist faire,
Qu'on peust assembler pour puissance
Si grant finance,
Ne atraire,
Qu'ilz demandent sans acroyance.
185 N'est qui de France
La peust traire,

- Par amour ne par violence,
 Pour engaiger ne pour vendicion.
 La chose estant en tel balance,
 190 Chascun garde, qui a sauance,
 Fort sa cheuance
 Pour son affaire,
 Car tout le monde en defiance
 Est de puissance
 195 Aduersaire.
 La guerre si m'est, sans doubtance,
 A grant nuysance
 Et contraire.
 Acquereur qui ait congnoissance
 200 Ne fait achat ne acquisicion;
 Nul n'est qui ores s'y auance.
- Gardez de cheoir en desperacion,
 Ayez espoir en la prouision
 Que Dieu mettra en vostre affliction,
 205 Et vous aurez bonne conclusion
 De vostre fait, c'est mon opinion
 Et mon aduis;
 Ne viuez pas en desolacion;
 Anglois mettront tel moderacion
 210 En leur demande et tel restrincion
 Que vostre amj fera reuersion;
 Adonc vo cuer en consolacion
 Sera ravis.
 Il fault que tout viengne a subuersion;
 215 Qui par traités et composicion
 Ne fera paix acort et vnion
 En le roiaume aura confusion:
 Ne demourra ne liepart ne lyon,
 Ne fleur de lis.
- 220 Maiz il fault faire son deuoir
 Et pouoir
 D'assembler cheuance et auoir
 Main et soir;
 Touz ensemble de bon vouloir

- 225 Chascun de sa part procure
Cens et rentes et deuoir
Receuoir
Ce que l'on en puet deuoir;
Maiz, pour voir,
- 230 Remanoir
N'en puet gueres. Bien sauoir
Le puet qui y met sa cure.
On puet bien aperceuoir
Et veoir
- 235 Chasteaulx villes et manoir
Decheoir;
Maiz mouuoir
Ne vous deuez, car j'espoir
Qu'en aurez bonne auenture
- 240 Quoy qu'auenir doye,
Se com vous estoye,
En espoir viuroye
D'auoir encor joye.
Cependant feroye
- 245 La nef resourdre et drecier,
Au mieulx que pourroye;
Aler la feroye,
La ou je scauroye
La mer la plus coye,
- 250 Et la la feroye nagier;
Je la garniroye
Et vitailleye;
Pou la changeroye;
G'y entretendroye
- 255 Ly ancien marinier,
Sans nul en changier;
Nouueau nautonnier
Ne sceuent vaguier,
Et ne font riens que je voye
- 260 Fors la nef chargier;
Et vont challengier
Aussi grant loiyer
Comme bon ouurier.

- C'est pour enragier
 265 Tout vif, se dieu me pouruoye.
 Ne vueillez targier
 A les deschargier;
 La nef en dangier
 Seroit d'enfangier
 270 Et de perillier;
 Par eulx en est a deux doye.
- Hemy, lasse!
 Volentiers la soulegasse.
 Cuidez vous que j'empeschasse,
 275 S'ils nuyent, que on les meist bas?
 Nenny pas!
 Nul n'y a tant en ma grace
 Que je amasse
 Qui de riens la nef greuast
 280 Ou empirast.
 Je m'en passe;
 De celle gent j'en suiz lasse,
 Puis qu'aucun pour soy amasse,
 Et couuoite emplir ses sacs
 285 Par cabas.
 En la nef, qui n'est pas grasse,
 Je ordonasse
 Que tost on s'en deliurast,
 Quoy qu'il coustast.
 290 Se trouuasse
 Gens telz que je desirasse,
 Et qu'en leur fait auisasse
 Loyauté qui faut au cas,
 Par compas
 295 La nef par eulx gouuernasse
 Et menasse,
 Tant que Dieu me renuoyast
 Qui gouuernast.
 Se le patron retournast
 300 La charge et le fais portast;
 De tous poins je lui laissasse
 Et baillasse,

- Car bien a point redrecast
Hobens et mast;
305 Mes douleurs il supportast;
De quel part le vent ventast
Ne regardasse
N'auisasse;
Mon cuer de joye volast,
310 Et ne pensast
Qu'a ses plaisirs et soulas;
Tous mes desirs consomast;
Lyesse me ramenast;
Et tristesse en enuoiasse
315 Et chassasse;
Ne jamais ne me greuast,
Se Dieu donnast
Qu'il fust cy entre mes braz.
- Quant j'eus ouy les amoureux souhaiz
320 Et piteux plains que la dame auoit faiz
Je la laissay,
Et m'auisay
Tantost apres que j'en feroye vn lay,
Lequel n'est pas des plus parfaiz,
325 Car je ne scay
Faire rondel ne virelay;
Maiz je scay bien qu'en mon cuer oncques mais
N'eu tant de deul ne de mal si grief fais
Comme ores ay,
330 Pour son esmay,
Et auray tant que y penseray.
Et pour cela atant me tais,
Et sans delay,
A mes paroles fin mettray.
- 335 Mais je supplie et requier d'amour chiere
Que un chascun, de volente entiere
Et de bon cuer, tres humblement requiere
Le tres piteux et puissant roy des roys
Qu'il luy plaise de puissance planiere
340 Faire vne chose qui luy sera legiere :

- C'est qu'il deslace et rompe la laciere
 En quoy est cheu le dit patron courtois;
 Et que la voye et les moyens lui quiere
 De retourner a son vaissel arriere,
 345 Sain et joyeux sans char ne sans litiere,
 A sa dame, des autres tout le chois,
 Laquelle n'est orgueilleuse ne fiere,
 Maiz de douceur vne droite frontiere.
 Ainsi son duel sera getté derriere,
 350 Et sera mis son cuer hors de son pois.

To the Middle French 'facteur' the successful construction of a *lai*, according to the rules, was looked upon as one of the hardest tasks he could impose upon himself; in his *Prison Amoureuse*, Froissart says:

D'un lay faire c'est .j. grans fès,
 Car qui l'ordonne et rieule et taille
 Selonc ce que requiert la taille,
 Il y faut, ce dient li mestre,
 Demi an ou environ mettre.

Eustache Deschamps, in his *Art de Dictier* (1392), the first French poetics, is of the same opinion, though he himself overcame all difficulties, and goes on to define the structure of the *lai* as follows: 'Item, quant est des "laiz," c'est une chose longue et malaisée a faire et trouuer, car il y fault avoir XII. couples, chascune partié en deux, qui font XXIII. Et est la couple aucunefoiz de VIII. vers, qui font XVI.; aucunefoiz de IX., qui font XVIII.; aucunefoiz de diz, qui font XX.; aucunefoiz de XII., qui font XXIII., de vers entiers ou de vers coppez. Et convient que la taille de chascune couple a deux paragrafes soient d'une rime toutes differens l'une a l'autre, excepté tant seulement que la derreniere couple des XII., qui font XXIII., et qui est et doit estre conclusion du "lay," soit de pareille rime, et d'autant de vers, sanz redite, comme la premiere couple.' The definition in the *Doctrinal de la Seconde Rhétorique*¹ (dated 1432 in the MS.) by Baudet Herenc, a contemporary of Alain Chartier, is practically identical, but in later treatises it becomes looser and looser, till, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the correct structure of that type of poem is quite forgotten. Thus, according to Deschamps and Baudet Herenc the Middle French *lai* consists of a varying number of strophes, generally twelve or thirteen, falling naturally

¹ *Recueil d'Arts de Seconde Rhétorique, publié par M. E. Langlois, Paris, 1902, p. 166.*

into halves or quarters, each strophe differing metrically from the preceding one, and the last strophe of all agreeing metrically with the first strophe of the whole poem. It will be noticed that Rogier Haultpin adheres to that part only of the rule which requires that the last strophe of all should agree metrically with the first strophe of the poem. For the rest he allows himself a good deal of freedom, and each strophe is not divided into two or four metrically identical divisions. He was fully aware of his deficiencies in that respect, and in verse 324 of his poem he avows his inability to compass so difficult a form. One may regret that he was not a more painstaking craftsman, as otherwise he handles French verse with a good deal more deftness than many of his contemporaries.

The argument of Rogier Haultpin's poem, unless perchance it contains more allegory than one would imagine at first sight, appears fairly plain ; it refers, unless we are mistaken, to the years—in vv. 218 and 219 he speaks of the fleur de lis, the lion and the leopard—when France was at strife with England and Burgundy.

In the MS. the *lai* is immediately followed by a piece entitled 'Balade,' which obviously alludes to the return of the lady's lover, and which is no doubt due to the same author. As it has likewise never been published it is here appended :

Balade.

- Du liz plaisant tres excellente fleur,
 Belle et gente, jeune, jolye et gaye,
 La plus douce du monde et la meilleur,
 Se vostre cuer de nulle rien s'esmaye,
 5 Tres humblement je vous pryé qu'il s'apaye.
 Puis que celui doit briesment reuenir
 Qui de vous est ame, se Dieu me voye,
 Il doit suffire a vous bien resioyr.
- Vostre jeunesse en tristesse et en pleur
 10 Auez usé long temps sans auoir joye;
 Quanque fortune a peu trouuer du leur
 Pour plus vous nuyre a quis, car ainsi paye
 Ses bons amis : nul n'a mal qui n'essaye
 Son grant oultrage. Or la laissez dormir,
 15 Puis que de vous guerroyer se tient coye,
 Il doit suffire etc.

He Dieu quel hait, quel chiere, quel couleur
Porterez vous (volentiers le sauroye)

Quant vous verrez celui qui de valeur

20 Et de beaulté seurmonte Hettor de Troye.

Merciez Dieu qui ses amis pouruoye ;

Bien le deuez en memoire tenir,

Quant de prison vostre amy hors enuoye,

Il doit suffire etc.

25 D'un chapelet, ce temps qui reuerdoye,

Lui faire don par amour et offrir,

Quant il vendra vers vous sa droite voye,

Il doit suffire etc.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

THE LETTERS OF BRUNETTO LATINO.

A NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERARY HOAX.

COMMENTING on some recent publications dealing with Roger Bacon, Mr A. J. Rahilly makes the following statement¹:

‘A reliable contemporary account of Bacon’s real work at Oxford would be a valuable addition to our knowledge. Hence I venture with much diffidence to quote a passage which (so far as I know) has remained unnoticed and unknown. In the *Monthly Magazine* for 1802 there was published the translation of some letters from Brunetto Latino to Guido Cavalcanti describing his impressions of a visit to England. The letters are exceedingly interesting and deserve a careful investigation from students of Dante and of English literature. The discussion of their authenticity hardly falls within the competence of the present writer, but there is strong internal evidence of genuineness. Until proof is forthcoming there seems no reason to doubt the authenticity of the following vivid, and strangely neglected description of Bacon at Oxford as seen by a sympathetic and cultured visitor.’ Then follows a long extract from the eighth letter, and the remark that ‘This realistic sketch of Friar Bacon in his laboratory at Oxford is historically far preferable to the usually accepted account².’

We shall have little difficulty in convincing Mr Rahilly that he was dealing with a barefaced forgery.

As the history of this forgery does not appear to have been hitherto set forth, and as—notwithstanding Mr Rahilly’s belief—several other writers besides himself have been misled, it may be well to clear up the matter once for all.

So far as I can gather these letters were first looked upon as historical

¹ *Studies, An Irish Quarterly Review of Letters, Philosophy and Science*, vol. III, No. 11, Dublin, Sept. 1914, pp. 252—55, and pp. 256—57.

² In *Studies*, IV, p. 128, March 1915, Mr Rahilly again repeats his belief in the genuineness of these letters.

evidence by Heinrich Julius von Klaproth¹, who cited the passage dealing with Roger Bacon and the magnet. Klaproth's citation was reproduced by d'Avezac², from whom it passed to Thomas Wright³, who in turn was the means of transmitting it to C. R. Beazley⁴, and to Silvanus Thompson⁵. Nordenskiöld⁶ has also accepted it.

One is happy to be able to record that no Romance scholar has been misled into believing in these documents. Thor Sundby⁷ in his valuable Danish monograph on Brunetto Latino mentions the publications of Klaproth and d'Avezac and states that he was unable to procure the *Monthly Magazine*, but adds in a foot-note that Prof. Van Mehren had informed him that d'Avezac now (1869) believed the letters to be false.

A short analysis of the nine letters follows:

I. *The Monthly Magazine or British Register*, vol. 12, London, Jan. 1802, pp. 524—25. 'Brunetto Latini to Guido Cavalcanti, Diteor Greignor (a celebrated poet) at Florence.' English translation with a few phrases in the 'original' French. Brunetto wrote in French, 'en Romans selonc le Patois de France,' and not in Italian, 'porce que la parleure est plus delitable et plus comune atoz languages⁸.' Some remarks on the state of learning in England. A Greek copy of the Fables of Esopus had been found on a ship taken in the Mare Egeum and had been translated into English verse by a pious monk. 'I send you one of these Fables by way of specimen of English poetry.' Then follow 34 verses of which the first eight are:

Alle that will of Wysdam lere,
Herkeneth to me and ze schal here,
Appelouges in Greek y writ,
Esopus, Phrygius witnesset hit;
Esopus, he, for sothe, in Greke
Mad Fysch, and Bestes and Fowl to speke,
Who lyk un to grete Clerkes do preche,
Men that bin unroyse to teche.

II. *Loc. cit.*, vol. 13, March 1802, pp. 130—31. 'An original letter,

¹ *Lettre à M. le Baron A. de Humboldt, sur l'invention de la Boussole*, Paris, 1834, pp. 45—6.

² *Bulletin de la Société Géographique de Paris*, 4^e série, t. xv, 1858, p. 175. Later, however, as we shall see, d'Avezac realised that the document was a forgery.

³ See his ed. of Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, Rolls Series, 1863, p. xxxvii.

⁴ *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, III, 1906, p. 510.

⁵ *Proc. Brit. Academy*, 1906, p. 378.

⁶ *Periplus*, Eng. Trans., 1897, p. 49.

⁷ *Brunetto Latinos Levet og Skrifter*, Copenhagen, 1869, p. 14 n. 2. There is an Italian translation of this book by Rodolfo Renier with important appendices by Del Lungo and Mussafia, Firenze, 1884.

⁸ These French phrases are taken *verbatim* from Brunetto Latino's *Li Tresors*, I, i, 1 (éd. Chabaille, 1863, p. 3).

freely translated from the Romans selonc le Patois de France, written about the middle of the 13th century by Brunetto Latini, at the Court of Henry the Third, in London, to Guido Cavalcanti.' In a footnote, 'This is translated from a MS. copy of this Romance, as old as the 13th or 14th century, now in the possession of Mr W. Dupré, the translator, who believes the original work was never printed.' The letter begins: 'You are so well pleased with the English poetry which I sent you, that you desire to have a specimen of English prose. I now send you some extracts from a beautiful composition of a monk of great piety and learning. It contains the history of the Fall of Man and of his Redemption through Christ, under the form of a well-contrived allegory. It begins thus: Here is the Book that speketh of a place that is called the Abbey of the Holy Gost the whiche schulde ben founded in clene concience,' etc., etc.

III. *Loc. cit.*, 13, April 1802, pp. 237—40. In this letter 'Brunetto Latini gives a short description of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with some account of the City of London, its citizens, and the Court of Henry the 3rd,—his relation of an Elephant kept in the Tower, and his History of that Animal.' Extracts in French accompany this letter. Here is an example: 'Et sachies que en la plus grant partie de toutes les yllés, et especiaument en Irlande, na nul serpent, et porce dient li paissant que la ou len portast des pierres ou de la terre dirlande nul sarpent ni poroit demorer¹.' The elephant² was presented to King Henry by the Emperor Frederick the Second, who had received it as a present from the Emperor Prester John, of India.

IV, V, VI, VII. *Loc. cit.*, 13, May 1802, pp. 355—59. French text given. In IV 'Brunetto Latini gives an account of the diversions of the English Nation—English Dogs—their Excellence—History of the Dog—wonderful Instances of the Sagacity and Fidelity of that Animal³.' Letters V, VI, and VII deal with the rights of man and government. They are addressed to Charles Count of Anjou and Provence.

VIII. *Loc. cit.*, 13, June 1802, pp. 447—50. Brunetto visits Oxford and meets Roger Bacon, who tells him of his discovery of gunpowder and shows him a magnet⁴, numerous optical instruments, and a Brazen

¹ *Verbatim* from *Li Tresors*, i, iv, 124 (éd. Chabaille, p. 168).

² The account of the elephant is also copied out of *Li Tresors*, i, v, 189 (éd. Chabaille, p. 242), with the invented detail of its presentation to King Henry.

³ The account of the dog may also be read in *Li Tresors*, i, v, 186, pp. 234—37.

⁴ Brunetto does mention the magnet (*Li Tresors*, i, iii, 120, p. 147), but our impostor's account is taken almost word for word from the *Bible* of Guyot de Provins (verses 622 to 653). These verses had previously been printed several times.

Head, which emits sounds. They carried on conversations 'en romans selonc le patois de France.'

IX. *Loc. cit.*, 13, July 1802, pp. 549—54. This letter, like the preceding, is addressed to Guido Cavalcanti at Florence, and contains the continuation of the English poem in Letter I. Brunetto had since discovered that its author was a Cistercian monk named William of Skene. After 490 verses comes the remark, 'Here the MS. is imperfect, and the remainder irretrievably lost.' A note at the beginning of the letter states that it is 'translated from an ancient MS. in the Romance tongue of nearly Brunetto Latini's time, in the possession of Mr William Dupré, of Poland-street.' On p. 553 this latter gentleman laments the difficulty he finds in gaining access to the so-called Public Libraries of London, and tells us that he is 'an obscure man, who happens to be fond of letters (perhaps, too, engaged in literary pursuits, and it may be, moreover, in circumstances that are narrow and confined).'

Nothing more was heard from Poland Street on the subject of Brunetto Latino and his letters¹, but in the *Monthly Magazine* for December 1802 (vol. 14, p. 391) appeared the following announcement signed by the Editor: 'Mr Dupré, the gentleman from whom we received the communications respecting Brunetto Latini, which have appeared in several numbers of our Magazine, has thought proper, though not *till after detection*, to confess that he has been imposing upon us, and that, in the supposed letters of that person, he only meant to give a picture of English literature and manners, as they existed at that period, in imitation of the French Anacharsis. We so little approve of impositions of any kind, that we think it necessary to ask pardon of our readers for having led them into a temporary error; and we imagine we cannot better atone for our inadvertence, than by subjoining a genuine account of Brunetto Latini from the accurate Tiraboschi,' etc.

The main source of Mr William Dupré's forgery was evidently the *Tresors* of Brunetto Latino, of which he had either procured a MS., or seen one in some library (probably the British Museum). In addition he used the already published extract from the *Bible* of Guyot de Provins, and other works, the tracing of which is not worth the time. Even without his own confession these letters would certainly have

¹ Some observations on and emendations of these letters by a Manchester writer named Delisle, who had no suspicions concerning their authenticity, appeared in the May, June, and August numbers of the same Magazine (vol. 13, pp. 315, 445; vol. 14, pp. 4—5).

been pronounced false by any trained philologist. Concerning the personal history of this disciple of Macpherson and Ireland I have not succeeded in finding any information¹. He was clearly not imposing on the public when he described himself as 'an obscure man.'

MARIO ESPOSITO.

DUBLIN.

¹ No doubt he is to be identified with William Dupré, author of *Lexicographia-neologica Gallica. The Neological French Dictionary; containing words of new creation, not to be found in any French and English vocabulary hitherto published*, etc. London, 1801, 8vo.

THE DICTION OF THE EARLIEST CHANSONS DE GESTE.

SINCE the first appearance of the *Chançon de Willame* some dozen years ago the literature on the subject of the *Chansons de Geste* has considerably increased and the *Chançon* itself has given rise to much diversity of opinion. It is a far cry from the opinion of M. Weeks (*Romania* XXXIV, 241), who places the *Chançon de Willame* by the side of the *Chanson de Roland*, and considers that in some respects it even surpasses it, to that of M. Ph. Aug. Becker, who characterizes it as 'l'œuvre d'un chanteur ambulant de la dernière catégorie, qui s'efforce de raconter d'après d'autres ce qu'il a souvent entendu réciter...¹'

A recent writer in *Romania* (M. M. Wilmotte in an article entitled *La Chanson de Roland et la Chançon de Willame*²), although dissociating himself from the extreme view taken by M. Becker, has nevertheless followed in his wake so far as to see in the author of the *Chançon* nothing more than an 'imitateur patient,' who employs without scruple the exact words and phrases of his more gifted predecessor—the author of the *Chanson de Roland*—'notre jongleur avait les vers de son modèle dans la tête; il était accoutumé à les réciter—ils lui venaient au gré de ses besoins' (cf. *op. cit.* p. 60). M. Wilmotte has been at pains to place side by side a series of passages from the *Chançon de Willame* and the corresponding lines—often widely separated in the actual text—of the *Chanson de Roland* which he believes the author of the former work to have remembered and introduced into his own descriptions, and for M. Wilmotte this investigation confirms 'l'antériorité et aussi l'éclatante supériorité de ce dernier' (*Roland*).

Quite apart from the question of the soundness of the particular method of selection employed in this investigation, a wider question may be raised as to the degree of reliability to be placed on any comparison of this sort based on the verbal similarity of two of these Old French

¹ *Grundriss d. altfrz. Literatur*, I. Teil, Heidelberg, 1907, p. 55.

² *Romania*, Janvier 1915, p. 5 f.

poems. It is well known that, in the later *Chansons de Geste*, when the seeds of decadence are already bearing fruit, the vocabulary of these poems and their whole phraseology and character became more and more conventional¹. The descriptions of single combats, etc., became just as stereotyped as the descriptions of springtime, birds and flowers in the conventional lyric of that epoch. But, although the 'moule épique' is as yet barely evolved in the earliest *chansons*, one cannot study them carefully without realizing that already, at this early date, a common stock of expressions and a more or less fossilized vocabulary of conventional phrases existed, which give even these most ancient poems the appearance of having had a considerable tradition behind them. It is possible, for instance, to take practically all the passages of the *Chançon de Willame* quoted by M. Wilmotte as convincing proof of the influence of the *Chanson de Roland*, and find parallels for them in *Gormund et Isembard*—the *chanson de geste* perhaps the most nearly contemporary with these two poems. Some of the most striking parallels occur in the description of what M. Wilmotte calls 'le premier corps à corps,' concerning which he remarks that the description in *Willame* 'n'est guère qu'un centon de Roland.' But in each case we find almost the identical phrase in *Gormund et Isembard* also. Unfortunately we possess only a fragment of *Gormund*, otherwise the comparison might be more complete; but the following examples (for all of which M. Wilmotte cites corresponding lines in *Roland*) suffice to show how familiar these expressions must have already become.

Fiert un paien sur sa doble targe
Tute li fent del un ur desqu'a l'autre.
(Will. 321—2.)

Sur sun escu li dona grande
d'un or a l'autre li fist fendre.
(Gorm. 71—2.)²

Parmi l'eschine sun grant espie li passe.
Tut estendu l'abat mort en la place.
(Will. 324—5.)

Parmi le cors l'espie li mist
...del bon cheval mort l'abati.
(Gorm. 458, 460.)

L'escu li fruisset e l'alberc li rumpist
e treis des costes en sun cors li malmist
pleine sa hauste del cheval l'abatit.

L'escu li at frait e malmis
l'alberc desmaillet et rumpi:
...tant que la lance li tendi
del bon cheval mort l'abati.
(Gorm. 456 f.)

(Will. 421—3.)

Tant li lancerent guivres et trenchanz
darz.

(Will. 769.)

Gormunz li lance un dart trenchant.

(Gorm. 25.)

Gormunz li lancet une guivre.
(Gorm. 149.)

¹ Cf. Léon Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises*, I, pp. 153—4.

² *Gormund et Isembard*, *Les classiques français du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1914.

Ce fut damage quand si prudome chiet.

(*Will.* 922.)

Willame fiert le paien en le healme
L'une meitie l'en abat sur (la) destre
 Del roiste colp s'enclinet vers (la) terre
E embracad del bon destrier (le) col e
 les resnes.

(*Will.* 1919—1922.)

Ce fut damages e pechies

Car mult par ert bons chevaliers¹.

(*Gorm.* 324, cf. also 414.)

Gesqu'al braiel le purfendiet
 qu'en pre en chieient *les meities* ;
 ...a bien petit que il ne chiet
quant sur le col del bon destrier
s'est retenus...

(*Gorm.* 395—400.)

It is clear from these and many other examples that might be given that a regular set of phrases existed for the description of single combats in the *Chansons de Geste*. These phrases occur over and over again in the same poems, and it is obvious that they often became mere tags, used to fill out a line or furnish an assonance. Nor is this fact confined to descriptions of battle-scenes, although these seem to have become the most conventional in character from the earliest times. Many other phenomena have their stereotyped character and recognized form of description. M. Wilmotte calls attention to the fact that both in *Willame* and *Roland* 'les païens...s'enfuient sans ombre de raison,' and that they are designated in both poems as 'la gent averse.' But in *Gormund et Isembard* also they are constantly fleeing without reason², in this poem also they are spoken of as 'la gent averse' (238). In *Gormund* the same mode of expressing praise is employed with regard to the heathen as in *Roland*: 'si creissiez en Damne Deu | hom ne potist meilleur trover³.' In all the oldest *chansons* they make strange noises like animals (braire, crier, hennir, huchier, glatir, etc.), and the same words and expressions are used to describe them. The phraseology used in connection with them has become as conventional as their character.

It is not so surprising that a fixed institution such as the 'regret funèbre,' found in all the older *Chansons de Geste*, possessed its own particular formulae. These are well known and have often been noticed. M. Wilmotte, however, sees in these also an influence of *Roland*, and compares Guillaume's discourse to his horse with that of Roland to his sword.

Ha Balcan, bon destrier, *tant mar*
fustes.

(*Will.*)

E Durendal, bone, *si mare fustes.*

(*Roland.*)

But these identical words occur in practically every one of the

¹ The parallel in this case is more striking than in the line of *Roland* cited by M. Wilmotte: Or est grand duel quant l'archevesque chiet, 2082.

² Cf. v. 604, a tant s'en sunt fuiant turné; 610, si s'enfuirent cil d'Irlande; 613, Païen se fuient tut a un.

³ Cf. *Roland* 899, Fust chrestien asez ðust barnet, etc.

funeral orations that we know, and had become almost a part of the ritual. Needless to say they occur in *Gormund* :

529. Mult franchement l'at regreté :
 Ahi ! dist il, reis amirés.
Tant mare fustes, gentilz ber.

or again :

540. *Tant mare fustes, reis baron.*

The form of lamentation was fixed long before the date of the earliest *Chanson de Geste* known to us. In *Saint Alexis* already the institution, with its similar form of expression, occurs : 'sempres regretet : *mar te portai, bel filz,*' etc. (437). There, too, we find the epithet 'juvente bele' which M. Wilmotte mentions as occurring in both *Willame* and *Roland*¹; and its presence in *Saint Alexis* is interesting in this connection because the style of this poem more nearly approaches that of the *Chansons de Geste* than that of the majority of religious or didactic poems.

But it is unnecessary to multiply examples. Practically all those cited by M. Wilmotte could be taken as proof of an existing common stock of expressions familiar to most of the rhymers of that day, rather than as evidence of the imitation of one *Chanson de Geste* by the author of another. These phrases were in the air, and no jongleur needed to go to the *Chanson de Roland* or to any other particular model to borrow the phraseology for his own poem. These formulae were rendered necessary by the repeated descriptions of familiar episodes which would have taxed the vocabulary of the most gifted author to describe in ever-varying terms. The formulae themselves might vary in some slight detail. For instance, one jongleur may prefer 'pleine sa lance,' another 'pleine sa hanste,' or again another 'raide sa lance.' 'Parmi le cors' may be varied by 'parmi l'eschine' or 'parmi le dos' (sun grant espie li passe), etc.—the exact form being often simply dictated by the number of syllables required in the line or by the vowel of the assonance. If the formula occurs in the first half of the line the second half may allow room for play of the imagination. A conventional description of a valiant fighter, for instance, may be varied as follows :

- Aliscans* 276. Cui il consuit ne puet de mort garir
 180. Cui il consierent tous est de la mort fis.

In *Gormund*, where we have the 'vers octosyllabe,' the phrase is necessarily shorter :

580. Qui il consuit, ne s'en ala.
 616. Qui il consuit, tut es vaincus.

¹ Cf. also *Aliscans* 790.

In *Garin le Loherain* a slightly different version appears :

6. Qu'il aconsuit malement est baillis.

In the Provençal epic, *Girart de Rossillon*, owing to the fact that the *pause* occurs after the sixth syllable, the formula itself has to be modified :

Cui esconsec a coup, pois ne vit goute

(l. 82 of the extract in Appel's *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*).

A favourite description of severe wounds in the poems of the *cycle de Guillaume* differs only in detail :

Aliscans 353. De la menor morust uns fors roncis.

720. De la menor morust uns amires.

Willame II, 1993. De la menur fust morz uns amiranz,
etc.

Examples might be multiplied. Gormund has his shield broken in halves five times in as many successive single combats described in hardly varying language.

50. sil fiert sur la targe novele
qu'il la li fraint e eschantele.

122. sil fiert sur sun escu bendé
qu'il la li at fraint e quassé,
etc.

Here obviously the similarity of language is necessitated by the frequent repetition of the episode. These repetitions are a well-known feature of the style of the Old French Epic¹; but we are not here concerned with the style of the *Chançon de Willame* but merely with its diction. As regards style (as distinguished from diction) the author of the *Chançon* cannot possibly be accused of having imitated, or even been greatly influenced by, the author of the *Chanson de Roland*. Its diction, on the other hand, does closely resemble that of *Roland*; but this does not prove that its author was an unscrupulous plagiarist or a laborious imitator. The reason simply is, as we have tried to show, that the authors of both these poems, in common with the author of *Gormund et Isembard* and many another jongleur of that day, drew from a common stock of expressions and epithets.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

LONDON.

¹ Suchier has pointed out how effectively these repetitions have been employed by the author of the *Chançon de Willame* to mark a gradual change of sentiment in the three lines :

Plurat Guibure, confortat la Guillelmes, 1304.

Plurat Guillelmes, dunc lacrimat Guibure, 1317.

Plorat Guillelmes, Guibure l'at conforté, 1352.

(Cf. *Bibl. Norm.*, viii, *Intro.* p. xxv.) Cf. also P. Meyer, *Romania*, xxxii, 598, 599.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

THREE O.E. TEXTUAL NOTES.

(1) According to the first printed edition of the Exeter Book, Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), ll. 176^b–177 of the Gnostic Verses (p. 344) read as follows :

...3if hi sceoldan eofor onzinnan
oþþe bezen beran: biþ þæt slīþ-herde deor.

For *slīþ-herde* Thorpe, in a note, suggested *slīþ-he[a]rde*; he translated the last half-line 'which is a ferocious beast.' Ettmüller and Grein who had no first-hand knowledge of the MS., based their readings on Thorpe; the former (*Scópas and Bóceras*, p. 286) accepted *slīþ-he[a]rde*, the latter (*Bibl. der ags. Poesie*, Vol. II, p. 345) preferred the form which Thorpe had given as the MS. reading. In his glossary (*Sprachschatz*, Vol. II, p. 456) he entered *þæt slīþ-herde deor* (urus) under *slīð-heard*, together with *Gen. 378 slīð-hearda sal* ('the very hard rope or chain' with which Satan was bound). He evidently took the form to be a weak nom. sing. neut., preceded by the definite article, as indeed he was bound to do, but we are left in ignorance of what construction he put upon the line. He glossed the word: 'atrox, dirus, gravis, vehemens.' Schipper who collated the MS. in 1870–71 and published a rich yield of corrections in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, Vol. XIX, pp. 327–338, made no remark on our line. And Wülker, after a third collation of the Ex. B. in 1878, gave his authority to *slīþ-herde*, first in *Kleinere ags. Dichtungen*, p. 49, and again in the new edition of Grein's *Bibliothek*, Vol. I, p. 351. Similarly the latest editor of the Exeter Gnomic, Miss Blanche C. Williams, who claims personal acquaintance with the MS., read *slīþ-herde* (*Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, New York 1914, p. 125) and translated 'very fierce,' appending moreover a note (p. 143) '*slīþ-herde deor*, the bear.' All O.E. dictionaries, including the new impression of Grein's *Sprachschatz* (1912) and the recent second edition of Clark Hall's *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*

(1916) follow the textual editions and gloss the word more or less as Grein did in 1864.

In spite of the curious unanimity of the scholars I have mentioned above, the MS. does not read *slip herde*; it reads *slip hende*. The scribe who in 1831-32 made the beautiful facsimile of the Ex. B. for the British Museum (Add. MS. 9067), a work of very remarkable accuracy, read and copied *slip hende*. The true reading is also recorded by Assmann in a list of corrections on the last unnumbered page of Grein-Wülker, Vol. III (1898); but owing to its inconspicuous place, his brief note has been entirely overlooked. Finally I have myself, on a recent examination of the famous codex at Exeter, found the reading to be, as plainly as possible, *slip hende* (fol. 92^a, l. 2)¹.

Slip-hende, the correct MS.-reading, restores the sense and construction of the passage. The word, while a 'hapax,' is an obvious formation, to be compared with O.E. *idel-hende* (*Beow.* 2081), *spær-hende* (only in prose, see Bosworth-Toller, p. 898), O.Icel. *harðhendr* (see Tritzner, Vol. I, p. 733), etc.; it means 'grim-handed,' 'provided with grim paws.' *Slip-hende* is, of course, in our line the strong, not the weak nom. sing. neut., *þæt* being an absolute demonstrative, pointing back to *beran*, not the def. art.; the half-verse *bip þæt slip-hende deor* reminds one of *Beow.* 11^b *þæt wæs god cyning* and other variations of this common summing-up formula. The allusion to 'the bear's fell paw' (cp. 2 *Hen.* VI, v, l. 153) adds to the excellence of the passage and is quite in keeping with the love of direct and concrete epithets, so manifest throughout the Gnomie Verses. Cp. also *Bjarkarímur*, v, 8 (ed. F. Jónsson, Copenhagen, 1904):

*Beljandi hljóp björninn framm
úr bóli krukku,
veifar sínum vónða hramm,
svó virðar hrukku.*

'Shook its baleful paws, so that the men fled.'

(2) *Prayer*, 109 ff.:

*is seo bot æt þe
zelon3 æfter...Ic on leohte ne mæ3
butan earfoðum æn3e þin3a,
feasceaft hele, foldan [w]unian.*

Thorpe (*Cod. Ex.*, p. 459, 1) only indicated a gap in the MS. after *æfter*. Grein (*Bibl.*, Vol. II, p. 285) supplied [*lādē*]. Schipper (*Germ.* XIX,

¹ My collation of the Ex. B. has led to about thirty new readings; these I have discussed in my forthcoming volume *Textual Problems in the Exeter Book*.

334) remarked: 'Nach *æfter* sind zwei Buchstaben überklebt.' Wülker (Grein-W., Vol. II, p. 222), commenting as follows: 'Durch ein loch in der hs. ist das wort nach *æfter* verschwunden, es zeigen sich nur noch einige spuren des letzten buchstaben,' left the gap unfilled. Holthausen (*Indogerm. Forsch.*, IV, p. 385) condemned Grein's [*lāðe*] as 'metrically false' and substituted [*me*], thus arranging a pretty little couplet:

*is seo bot æt þe
 3elon3 æfter [me].*

By peering under a strip of vellum, once applied to cover the hole but loosened by time, I could read quite distinctly the letters *-fe* before *ic*; before *-fe* two letters are lost. It is not difficult to supply what must have been the original MS.-reading:

*is seo bot æt þe
 3elon3 æfter [li]fe. Ic on leohte ne mæ3, etc.*

æfter life, a phrase not found elsewhere in O.E. poetry, but practically synonymous with *æfter deaðe* (*Ri.* 29, 11), *æfter [h]in3on3e* (*Christ.*, 1413), is suggested by another line in our poem, 28 ff.: *hæbbe ic þonne þearfe þæt ic... | ...lif æfter oþrum | 3eseo 7 3esece*, 'a life after the other one' or rather 'another life after this one.' Cf. also the phrase in later English, (*N.E.D.*) *Wyclif Sel. Wks.*, III, 443: 'Aftur a man deserves while he lyves here schal he be rewardid *aftur his lyife*'; and Shakespeare, *Richard III*, I, 4. 43: 'My dream was lengthened *after life*.'

The proposed reading suits the context well: 'I have to look for amends at thy hands when I am dead; in this world I, wretched man, cannot ever dwell without hardships.'

(3) *Riddle 21*, 8^b ff.:

*Cynin3 mec 3yrweð
 since 7 seolfre 7 mec on sele weorpað,
 ne wyrneð word lofes, wisan mæneð
 mine for men3o, þer hy meodo drīnceað.*

So Thorpe (*Cod. Ex.*, p. 401, 'denies not words of praise'), Grein (*Bibl.*, Vol. II, p. 378), Assmann (Grein-W., *Bibl.*, Vol. III, p. 196), Tupper (*The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. 16, 'word acc. sing.') and Wyatt (*O.E. Riddles*, p. 15, 'word acc. sing.'). They have apparently all overlooked the fact that O.E. *wyrnan* invariably governs the genitive. Cf. also l. 28 in the same riddle: *ac me þæs hyht ple3an || 3eno wyrneð*. The correct reading *word-lofes* (cf. O.Icel. *orð-lóf*, Tritzner,

Vol. II, p. 902) is found only in Bosworth-Toller (pp. 1238 and 1266), while other O.E. dictionaries do not record this 'hapax legomenon.'

RUNAR PONTÁN.

LONDON.

[We grieve to hear that the brilliant young scholar who contributed these notes, a pupil of Professor Lindelöf of Helsingfors, died, after an operation for appendicitis, on October 18th.]

'TRESON' IN THE ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

In the *Modern Language Review* for October 1916, page 460, Professor O. F. Emerson called attention to the fact that in 1892 he proposed a new reading for the passage in the *Chronicle* (an. 1135) which Professor Earle and Mr Plummer had printed *þa westre sona þas landes*. According to the new reading, these words, with the following clause (the text of which is undisputed), run as follows: *þa wes treson a þas landes, for æuricman sone ræuede ofer þe mihte* ('then was treason in these lands, for every man who could soon robbed another'). This differs from Mr Plummer's text merely in word-division; and Professor Emerson now informs us that the MS. shows no clear word-division at all, so that his reading, which makes good sense, is not really a whit more conjectural than Mr Plummer's, which made nonsense. The correction, if genuine, is of real philological importance, for it gives us an example of the word 'treason' in English nearly a hundred years older than the earliest instance otherwise known.

I think that any scholar who, *without knowing the context*, had presented to him the sentence as quoted above, would consider Professor Emerson's emendation to be practically certain. The objection that such a form as *treson* would not be likely to occur at so early a date could hardly weigh at all against the fact that the correction makes excellent sense of a passage which, as the words had previously been divided, was quite unmeaning. It is therefore no wonder that Mr Plummer, in the second volume (1899) of his edition of the *Chronicle*, hailed the suggestion as a brilliant and valuable discovery.

Nevertheless, it is my decided opinion that if the passage is examined, not in isolation, but with due regard to its context, it will be found that Professor Emerson's strikingly plausible conjecture has after all missed the mark.

In the first place, it is to be observed that, if the conjecture be correct, the sentence to which it relates comes in very awkwardly between the mention of the death of Henry I and that of his burial. And what follows on the mention of the burial is not, as one might expect, a description of the state of 'treason' that prevailed after the king was dead, but a laudation of the peace and security which the country had enjoyed during his reign. If the sentence referring to 'treason' had come at the end of the paragraph, or later, it would have seemed to be in its natural place; but where it actually stands it curiously interrupts the sequence of the story.

In the next place, let us consider the preceding paragraph of the *Chronicle*, which speaks of an eclipse of the sun that happened just before the king's death. The words in which this is described show a suspicious resemblance in outward form to the words that form the subject of the present discussion. I will place the two sentences in juxtaposition (writing *p*, for an obvious reason, instead of the *w* of modern editors):

<i>þa</i>	<i>þestrede</i>	<i>þe</i>	<i>dæi</i>	<i>ouer</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>landes</i>
<i>þa</i>	<i>pestre</i>		<i>sona</i>		<i>þas</i>	<i>landes.</i>

It appears to me that this resemblance is not accidental, but that the later sentence contains an allusion to the former. I propose to emend *pestre* into *þestre*<*den*>. The translation of the whole sentence will then be: 'Then these lands soon became dark, for every man who could soon robbed another.' That is to say, the sinister omen of the 'dark day' of the eclipse was fulfilled by the 'dark days,' in the figurative sense, which the land suffered after the death of the good king. If this be the interpretation, there is no longer any reason to feel surprise at the position of the sentence. The writer had the skill to introduce it in the one place where it would be most effective.

I may be allowed to mention that I communicated the substance of the above remarks in 1914 to the late Sir James Murray, when he was preparing the article on the word *treason* in the Dictionary. He agreed with my conclusion, and the article contains no reference to the supposed earliest example of the word.

Professor Emerson's conjecture was, and still remains, highly creditable to his acuteness. But its place in the history of textual criticism will be among the splendid failures.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the above was written, I have seen the facsimile to which Professor Emerson appeals (the MS. itself being at present not easily accessible). To my great surprise, I find that his statement

respecting it is quite misleading. Although the half-line in question is very closely written, the word-division is perfectly clear. The breaks occur where they are placed in Plummer's edition, and at no other point. In the group of letters read by Professor Emerson as *wes treson a*, the *s* and *t* are actually ligatured. An emendation which assumes three errors of word-division in ten letters is surely inadmissible. Further, in spite of the opinion of all the editors, it seems clear that the scribe intended to write *pestre*, not *pestre*. The letter does not, it is true, precisely resemble the other examples of *p* on the same page, the upper part of the stem being shorter. But the stem does extend above the level of the loop, and has a carefully formed horizontal serif; whereas in every *p* on this page the stem stops short of the top of the loop, and the serif, when perceptible at all, is oblique.

HENRY BRADLEY.

OXFORD.

‘AT-AFTER.’

Professor Emerson's statement (*Modern Language Review*, October 1916, page 460), that ‘no such compound preposition’ (as *at-after*) ‘occurs in Old English or the modern period,’ is particularly surprising to me, because my youth was spent in a north-midland district where (at that time; it may be different now) the speakers of pure dialect hardly ever used *after* in the temporal sense, without putting *at* before it. In the *English Dialect Dictionary* the article *At-after* occupies half a column. It is true that most of the examples there given represent the adverbial use; but there are also several instances of the preposition, as ‘It's my turn at-after thee,’ ‘It is a bonny neet, for sure, at-after this storm,’ ‘He com in at-after afternoon chech [*i.e.* church], an' set wi' me maay be a quaafter o' a nooer.’ In the *Oxford English Dictionary* the only prepositional examples given are such as Professor Emerson would reject; but for the adverbial use there is a quotation of 1641: ‘Let shame cover me at after as a cloak.’”

The proof of the existence of *at-after* as a preposition cuts away the ground from Professor Emerson's contention that the Chaucerian *at after diner*, *at after soper*, are necessarily to be analysed as *at* + compound substantive. Of course it is true that *after-dinner* and *after-supper*¹ are used by Shakespeare, and the use of *afternoon* as a noun appears

¹ The latter word in *Mids. N. Dream* v, l. 34 may perhaps mean ‘second supper’ (= *re-soper*), and if so *after-* is probably adverbial; not quite certainly, however, for the word might be rendered ‘the meal that comes after the supper.’

to go back to the middle of the fifteenth century. But it remains unproved that formation of this kind (*i.e.* substantivized phrases in which *after* governs a noun) existed already in Chaucer's time. Professor Emerson does not claim to have found any instance in which such a compound occurs without *at* prefixed; and as the existence of *at-after* has been proved, the alleged examples at any rate admit of a different interpretation. If *at* were the preposition normally used before nouns denoting periods of time, the two interpretations would be equally possible. But, although we do say 'at night,' we do not say 'at morning,' 'at forenoon,' nor even 'at afternoon,' though we might have expected the last phrase to occur as a transformation of the older 'at-after noon.' I therefore think that we must continue to regard the Chaucerian phrases as containing a compound preposition.

But Professor Emerson is not content with maintaining that compound nouns of the type of *after-dinner* existed in the fourteenth century; he asserts that the Bosworth-Toller *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* 'gives eighteen compounds with *after* as the first part in a similar sense.' This is an extraordinary misstatement. If we leave out *æfter-fæce*, which ought not to have been inserted at all (being not a compound but a phrase), there is not one of the compounds in Bosworth-Toller that contains *æfter* as a preposition; its function is always adverbial. If the meaning of *after-dinner*, *after-supper*, were 'a second dinner or supper,' or 'the latter part of dinner or supper,' some of the Old English compounds would afford apposite parallels. Professor Emerson is not guilty of the absurdity of assigning any such meaning to the supposed Chaucerian compounds. But that there is in his mind some confusion between the two types of formation is shown, not only by his reference to the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, but also by his statement that 'the proper stress [in words like *after-dinner*] is better suggested by the close compound, as in *afterglow*, *aftermath*, *afterpiece*.' These three words are compounds of the adverb, quite of the Old English type, and have the stress on the first element. For substantivized phrases like *after-dinner*, *afternoon*, the 'proper stress' is on the second element. In this particular the usage of English differs from that of German, which stresses *Nachmittag* on the first syllable.

Even if it were proved that Chaucer could not have used the compound preposition *at-after*, it would not follow that his *after diner* and *after soper* were compounds. A phrase containing a preposition may be governed by another preposition, without thereby becoming a compound. It would be easy to quote abundance of literary examples, but

perhaps the point may be more effectively illustrated from colloquial diction. In England (possibly not in America) one may often hear such expressions as these: 'I did not arrive until after closing-time,' 'The vacation extends from before Midsummer to after Michaelmas,' 'I have not seen him since before last Christmas but one.' There are here no compound prepositions; and assuredly there are no such compound substantives as *after-closing-time*, *before-Midsummer*, *after-Michaelmas* and *before-last-Christmas-but-one*. It was probably from constructions more or less analogous to these that compound prepositions were evolved such as *at-after*, *an-under*, and Old English *on-būtan* and *a-bufan*. We can sometimes see the development in progress. Milton's 'from under ashes' (*S.A.* 1691) is clearly to be analysed as preposition + phrase; but in modern use *from under* often comes very near to being a compound preposition.

It seems to me that Professor Emerson has entirely failed in his attempt to carry back the record of the compounds *after-dinner* and *after-supper* to the fourteenth century, and to prove that *aftermete* and *after-Easter* ever were English words.

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NOTES ON 'LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST.'

Act I, sc. 2, 183.

'The first and second cause.' Halliwell's note on this is as follows: 'The "cause" of quarrel was a technical term in the then noble science of defence. In the second book of *Honor and Honorable Quarrels*, 1594 [i.e. Vincentio Saviolo, *His Practise, in two bookes: the first intreating of the use of the Rapier and Dagger, the second of Honour and Honorable Quarrels*, 1594-5], the causes in which "combats ought to bee graunted" are reduced to two:—"I will onely treat of that which I shall judge meetest by a generall rule to bee observed, and include all combats under two heads. First, then, I judge it not meet that a man should hazard himselfe in the perill of death, but for such a cause as deserveth it, so as if a man be accused of such a defect as deserve to bee punished with death, in this case combate might bee graunted. Againe, because that in an honourable person, his honor ought to be preferred before his life, if it happen him to have such a defect laid against him, as in respect thereof he were by lawe to be accounted dishonorable, and should therefore be disgraced before the tribunall

seate, upon such a quarrell my opinion is that hee be not able by lawe to clere himselfe thereof; and except a quarrell be comprehended under one of these sortes, I doe not see how any man can, by reason or with his honor, either graunt or accompanye another to the fight.” On Halliwell's note and extract, Furness comments thus: ‘This quotation seems hardly apposite. Unquestionably, two causes of quarrels are here given, but they have not the conciseness that we expect, and are not laid down explicitly as “the first” and “second cause.” I doubt that these are the causes in Armado's mind. It is possible that there is a book where Shakespeare found the various causes of quarrels clearly defined, but this book has not yet been discovered, or, at least, no quotation that is exactly appropriate has yet been furnished by any commentator’ (*New Variorum Ed.*). Hart (*The Arden Shakespeare*, Methuen, 1906) agrees that Halliwell's quotation ‘is not satisfactory,’ and that Furness is certainly right in his supposition that ‘there may be a book not yet discovered, where these causes of quarrel are clearly defined’: he hazards the guess that it may be the apparently non-extant *Grammar of Quarrels*, by Carranza, probably an English translation of this same Carranza's *De la Filosofia de las Armas*, etc., 1569, 1592.

The difficulty is, of course, that Halliwell's quotation from Saviolo is not ‘exactly appropriate,’ since it does not concisely limit the causes of quarrel to two explicit ones—an explicit limitation which the phrase in *Love's Labour's Lost* and the identical one in *Romeo and Juliet*, ii, 4. 26, obviously require. I believe, however, I have found the ‘appropriate’ quotation, without invoking the hypothetical translation of Carranza. Shakespeare's source was nearer at hand; indeed Halliwell was very near it, for it is to be found in a book which Saviolo had under his nose when he wrote his *Practise*, as may be seen by comparing Halliwell's extract from him with the extract quoted below. In *The Booke of Honor and Armes*, attributed to Sir Wm Segar, and published in 1590, we find (p. 22): ‘I say then that the causes of al quarrell wherevpon it behoueth to vse the triall of Armes, may be reduced into two: for it seemeth to me not reasonable, that any man should expose himselfe to the perill of death, save onelie for such occasions as doo deserue death. Wherefore whensoever one man doth accuse another of such a crime as meriteth death, in that case the Combat ought bee graunted. The second cause of Combat is Honor, because among persons of reputation, Honor is preferred before life.’

This limits the ‘causes’ definitely to two, concisely enunciates

both, and expressly calls the one of them the 'second' cause; it seems to have the requisite qualities which Hart and Furness find wanting in Halliwell's quotation. There can be little doubt that it supplies the 'first and second cause' to *Love's Labour's Lost* and to *Romeo and Juliet*: moreover, it puts these 'causes' in a different category from the 'seventh cause' of *As You Like It*, v, 4. 69, which is due, not to Segar, but to Saviolo.

A further, and much more important, consideration is that if *The Booke of Honor and Armes* is accepted as the source of the phrase in question, the date of *Love's Labour's Lost* is definitely not before 1590.

Act v, sc. 2, 650 etc.

Commentators, and notably the best of them, Hart, have pointed out that 'A gilt nutmeg' and 'A lemon stuck with cloves,' both of them here mentioned humorously as gifts from 'armipotent Mars' to Hector, are frequently referred to in contemporary letters as drinking perquisites. But apparently no commentator has explained why such things are dragged in here as part of Mars' gift to Hector. An examination of the multitude of puns, quibbles, word-plays and sound-plays, and the shifts to which Shakespeare will resort to obtain them in *Love's Labour's Lost*, has convinced me that the cause of their insertion is an implied quibbling on 'armipotent,' based on its sound-similarity to a number of the Elizabethan words connected with *potation*, of which many were in current use as tippling terms: cf. *pottle* (*Merry Wives* ii, 1. 222, *Othello* ii, 3. 88), *pottle-pot* (*2 Henry IV* ii, 2. 86), *pottle-deep* (*Othello* ii, 3. 57, 'hath...carous'd Potations pottle-deep'). Hence the quibble would be easily suggested: and indeed a similar one occurs more explicitly in *Othello* ii, 3. 80, 'potent in potting' (*i.e.* in tippling).

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TWO NOTES ON THE FIRST FOLIO OF SHAKESPEARE.

[Shortly before his sudden and lamented death Mr Guthkelch had sketched these two Notes. I have prepared them for publication, making some changes in places where I was sure of the writer's intention, and adding the notes enclosed in square brackets. I was asked to do this because he had spoken to me about the facts concerning *King Lear* to which attention is drawn in Note II., and I had supplied him

with figures relating to this play and others. He was in no degree indebted to me in respect of the suggestions contained in these Notes. A. C. BRADLEY.]

I.

The first Folio of Shakespeare contained thirty-six plays, printed in the following order¹:

COMEDIES.	HISTORIES.	TRAGEDIES.
The Tempest.	King John.	Coriolanus.
The Two Gentlemen of Verona.	*Richard II.	*Titus Andronicus.
*The Merry Wives of Windsor.	*Henry IV, Part I.	*Romeo and Juliet.
Measure for Measure.	*Henry IV, Part II.	Timon of Athens.
The Comedy of Errors.	*Henry V.	Julius Caesar.
*Much Ado about Nothing.	Henry VI, Part I.	Macbeth.
*Love's Labour's Lost.	Henry VI, Part II.	*Hamlet.
*A Midsummer-Night's Dream.	Henry VI, Part III.	*King Lear.
*The Merchant of Venice.	*Richard III.	*Othello.
As You Like It.	Henry VIII.	Antony and Cleopatra.
The Taming of the Shrew.	*Troilus and Cressida ² .	Cymbeline.
All's Well that Ends Well.		
Twelfth Night.		
The Winter's Tale.		

The three sets of plays (Comedies, Histories, Tragedies) were paged independently; that is to say, the Histories (with *King John*) and the Tragedies (with *Coriolanus*) each began with a new Page 1. We know that *Troilus and Cressida* was originally printed among the Tragedies (after *Romeo and Juliet*), and that it was taken out of that position and put at the end of the Histories³. It seems likely, also, that *The Winter's Tale* was added to the Comedies after that set had been completed⁴.

I suggest the following explanation of the removal of *Troilus and Cressida*.

It may have been originally intended that the three sets of plays should be bound up separately; and it would therefore be important

¹ [The titles are those now used. An asterisk means that the play was also printed in Quarto.]

² [In the Folio this play stands between *Henry VIII* and *Coriolanus*, but its title does not appear anywhere in the 'Catalogue' which precedes the text of the plays, and in which they are divided into Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies.]

³ [But the pagination of the Histories is not continued into it. The first three pages of its text have the pagination of their original position; the rest are not paged at all. On the first three the running title is *The Tragedie of Troilus and Cressida*, on the rest simply *Troilus and Cressida*.]

⁴ See, as to both these changes, Sir Sidney Lee's Introduction to the Oxford Facsimile of the first Folio, pp. xxi—xxvi.

that they should contain approximately the same number of pages. Before *The Winter's Tale* was added to the Comedies that section contained 276 pages; before *Troilus and Cressida* was added to the Histories that section contained 264 pages; if *Troilus* had remained among the Tragedies that section would have contained about¹ 322 pages. The disproportion, 276, 264, 322, was serious. By adding *The Winter's Tale* to the Comedies the publishers made :

Comedies, 304 pages.

Histories, 264 pages.

Tragedies, 322 pages.

To make the last two volumes more nearly equal, they then moved *Troilus and Cressida* from the Tragedies to the Histories, and this made :

Comedies, 304 pages.

Histories, 294 pages.

Tragedies, 292 pages.

When the printing of the plays was finished eighteen pages of 'Preliminaries' (Jonson's verses 'To the Reader,' Title-page, Dedication, etc.) were added. If the three sections had been bound in separate volumes some 'Preliminaries' must, of course, have been added to the volumes of Histories and Tragedies, though not so many as to require eighteen pages. If we allow three leaves (Half-title, Title, Contents), or six pages, we get the following result :

Comedies, 322 pages.

Histories, 300 pages.

Tragedies, 298 pages.

If *Troilus and Cressida* had not been shifted the number of pages would have been 322, 270, 328, making the second volume too small.

II.

Of the thirty-six plays in the first Folio sixteen (marked with asterisks in the list above) had already appeared in Quarto form. In two plays, and only two, the Folio version was substantially shorter than the Quarto. They were *Hamlet* and *King Lear*². In both cases,

¹ [I imagine Mr Guthkelch wrote 'about' because *Troilus and Cressida*, where it now stands, has 30 pages (the first containing the Prologue, and the last blank), and he did not think it certain that it would have had these two pages, or at any rate the first of them, if it had retained its original place. The figure 322, however, gives it 30.]

² It has been supposed that *Macbeth* was shortened; but we have no Quarto and cannot be certain.

however, the Folio version contained lines which had not appeared in the Quarto.

If we take a modern text (the Globe), which contains, with whatever modifications, both the lines peculiar to the Quarto and those peculiar to the Folio, and if we make a list of the lines in it which the Folio 'omits', we get the following result. In *Hamlet* the Folio omits, in the first half of the play, about 50 lines; in the second half, about 170 (the first half ends at about III. ii. 184). In *King Lear* the Folio omits, in the first half, about 65 lines; in the second half, about 210 (the first half ends with the end of III. ii.).

Making a similar list of the 'omissions' of the Quarto texts, we get this result. In *Hamlet* the Quarto (Q 2) omits, in the first half, about 65 lines; in the second half, about 24. In *King Lear* it omits, in the first half, about 82 lines; in the second half, about 21².

That is to say: in *Hamlet* and *King Lear* the Folio 'omissions' are, roughly, three times as numerous in the second half as in the first, while the Quarto 'omissions' are three or four times as numerous in the first half as in the second.

Can these facts be connected with those already noticed? I suggest that the shortening of *Hamlet* and *King Lear* (and perhaps *Macbeth*) was part of the process by which the volume of Tragedies was made approximately equal in length to the volumes of Comedies and Histories. When about half a play was in type, the publishers could judge pretty well how much space it would fill; and then, if they found that it promised to be too long, they would begin to make larger cuts. But the omission of some 220 lines from *Hamlet* and some 275 lines from *King Lear* would only have saved about four pages. Perhaps, when they had cut down *Macbeth* (?), *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*, they realised that their method was ineffective, and then decided to move *Troilus and Cressida*.

I can suggest no reason why the 'omissions' in the Quarto texts should be more numerous in one half of the plays than in the other.

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¹ [This word is used for the sake of brevity. The writer must not be taken to imply that all the absent lines were intentionally left out; or again that, where there was intentional omission, it was from the Quarto texts.]

² All the calculations are approximate, and different editions will give slightly different results [chiefly due to the different lengths of the prose lines]; but the general result will be the same. [No notice has been taken of 'omissions' of less than a line.]

REVIEWS.

Runic and Heroic Poems of the Old Teutonic Peoples. Edited by
BRUCE DICKINS. Cambridge: University Press. 1915. 8vo.
xii + 92 pp.

English scholars have been slow in turning their attention to the serious need which exists for English editions of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Students have for a long time had to study these poems almost entirely through the medium of texts edited by German scholars. Gradually the reproach is being removed from English scholarship, and one is prepared to give a very cordial welcome to an edition of the O.E. Runic poem and of the fragments of O.E. Heroic poetry which have come down to us apart from *Beowulf*.

The plan of this edition is to give text, translation and notes for each poem, adding, in the case of the Runic poem, similar editions of the Norwegian and Icelandic Runic poems, and in that of the Heroic poems an edition of the fragmentary O.H.G. *Hildebrand*.

In the matter of text the editor aims at supplying 'a sound, conservative text with all the necessary apparatus.' Unfortunately he does not compass his ideal. The text of the O.E. Runic poem is of course based on the transcript in Hickea's *Thesaurus*, but it should be noted that (a) Hickea's text is not given correctly: l. 8 *ungemetum* for *ungemetun*, 9 *gehwylicum* for *gehwylicun*, 11, 12, 14 *ond* for *and*, 23 *sorge* for *forge*, 27 *peah* for *ðeah*, 46 *ðonne* for *ðonn*, 56 *hæleþ* for *hæleþe*, 61 *drihten* for *dryhten*, 69 *gewat* for *gewát*, 72 *rihtes* for *rihter*; (b) in the critical apparatus emendations are by no means uniformly assigned to their originators:—in l. 22 *sorge*, 31 *geworuht*, 32 *ðonne*, 37 *wyn*, 46 *ðonne*, 53 *heah*, 72 *rihtes*, 73 *bolde*, 91 *ðonne* should be assigned to Grimm; l. 56 *hæleþ*, 64 *neþan*, 66 *gymeð* are due to Ettmüller; (c) there is no uniformity in the method of showing emendations in the text. Additions are shown by italics in *ðonne* (32) for *ðon*, by square brackets in *ymb[e]* (56), *ðonn[e]* (91) for *ymb*, *ðon*; both methods are used in [*on middum*] (39). Only the *l* should be italicised in *bolde* for *blode* (73); one could not infer from *wyn* (37), *eafix* (87) that in one case final *an* and in the other final *a* had been dropped.

Similar fault must be found with the text of the Norwegian Runic poem taken from Wimmer's *Die Runenschrift*: st. 1 *frænda* for *frénda*, *fðesk* for *fðesk*, 3 *kvinna* for *kvenna*, 4 *flæstra* for *flestra*, 5 *kveða* for

kvæða, 6 *gørver* for *gørver*, 8 *nøktan* for *nøktan*, 12 *blása* for *at blása*, 13 *flærða* for *flærðar*, 16 *vænt* for *vant*, *sviða* for *sviða*.

The translations are good. They are idiomatic, and avoid the common mistake of erring too much on the side of the archaic. One or two small criticisms may be offered: (1) It seems a pity to lose the force of the O.E. litotes by translating *wenne bruceþ ðe can weana lyt* by 'bliss he enjoys who knows not suffering,' and (2) there is no warrant in the O.E. text for the phrase 'for it is generated from its leaves' in the lines on the poplar (p. 19).

The notes contain much new matter, the most valuable features being the wealth of archaeological lore brought into use in illustrating the *realien* of Anglo-Saxon life as they appear in these poems. Good too are the close parallelisms established between the diction of O.E. and O.H.G. Heroic poetry. Unfortunately the notes as a whole are marred by many mistakes and omissions. The following may be noted: p. 13, n. 10, l. 14 *willan* for *wille*; ll. 4-6 from b. *Borssynir, ond, heyru* for *Borssynir, önd, heyrn*; p. 14, n. 13, l. 1, the name of the A.S. rune in the Salzburg MS. is *ræda* not *rada*; p. 15, there should be a note on l. 29 giving the Salzburg MS. names for this rune; p. 16, nn. 32 and 35, it should be stated that Hickes' names for the runes are *zæ* and *eo*, and in the case of the latter rune reference should have been made to Bugge's exhaustive treatment of the rune *eoh* in *Norges Indskrifter med de ældre Runer*, I, 117-148; p. 17, n. 41, Hickes' identification of this rune with *x*, not *z*, should have been noted and the Salzburg MS. names should have been given; ib. n. 46, l. 1, *v. 1* for *v. 3*; p. 18, textual note to 59 *deg* is not inserted above *man* in Hickes as stated; *an* for [*m*] *an* stands to the right of the runic letter, *deg* to the left, and *d* above the letter *m*; p. 20, n. 67, 'Njörðr is phonetically equivalent to *Nerthus*.' 'Phonetically' should be 'etymologically.' A similar misuse of terms is found on p. 27, n. 16; p. 21, n. 77 and p. 22, n. 81, the A.S. names of these runes, found without the Gothic ones in the Salzburg MS., are omitted; p. 21, n. 70, l. 8 from b., *áx* for *ax*; l. 7 from b., *c.* for *str.*; p. 22, n. 87, l. 6 *abruceþ* is Hickes' form—Grimm emended to *a bruceþ*; p. 25, n. 6, l. 8 *man* for *männ*; p. 30, n. 8, ll. 2 and 5 *Nu* and *Fróþar* for *Nú* and *Fróþa*; p. 31, n. 9, l. 3 from b., *IV* for *XI*; in the text of st. 15, p. 32 read *glömmunga* for *glömmungr* and in that of *Waldhere* l. 18 read *standeð* for *standðed*; p. 64, n. 3, l. 3 *her* and *of* for *herr* and *af*; p. 65, n. 12, l. 2 the reference should be to *Exodus*, not to *Elene*; p. 71, n. 4, l. 8 *Smith* for *Smithy*; p. 72, n. 6, l. 12 *sinar, knesfótum* for *sinar, knésfótum*; p. 73, n. 14, l. 14 from b., *Volkernamen* for *Völkernamen*; l. 6 from b., *tvær* for *tvær*. With reference to the note on *eolh-secg* (p. 17) it should be said that the name cannot refer to any species of rush. Rushes have cylindrical stems and leaves. What is referred to is some type of sedge, a plant which has sharp-angled stems and flat grass-like leaves, which make a clean-cut wound on the hand of the unwary, exactly as described in the poem.

The Introductory matter is on the scanty side. It should be remembered that much of the literature referred to is inaccessible

to the average student and fuller accounts would not be out of place. Here and in the bibliographies misprints and errors are only too frequent, but further space cannot be occupied in detailing them.

In conclusion, one may say that while the whole edition bears witness to the learning of its editor and those parts of it which deal with the Heroic poems are better done than those which deal with the Runic poems, it is much to be regretted that it is far from attaining that standard of critical and scholarly accuracy on which the ultimate value of learning and editorship must largely depend.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

The Scene of the 'Franklin's Tale' visited. By JOHN S. P. TATLOCK. (Chaucer Society 1914, further issue of 1911.) 8vo. 77 pp.

A journey to Brittany to look for the scene of the *Franklin's Tale* of course makes one think at once of Maistre Wace and his researches in Broceliande: 'dont Breton vont sovent fablant.' It does not seem much more hopeful:

Merveilles quis mais nes trovai

says the old explorer in romance, with the sadness of those who are conducted to the waterslide of *Lorna Doone* and find it no such great things as the story-teller made of it. But journeys are not always to be valued for the show-places at the end. Mr Tatlock has found many interesting things about Penmark, though none of them perhaps of chief importance for an understanding of the *Franklin's Tale*.

Is the Tale a Breton lay, as the Franklin gives it out to be? Mr Tatlock brings out some curious facts with regard to this problem. For one thing, the scenery in the tale is near the reality in the chief matter, namely, the black rocks of Penmark. The story in some sense (or senses) belongs to 'Armorik that called is Britayne.' There are Breton names, besides Penmarch, in the tale. The curious thing is that they are not, with the exception of Penmarch, such as one would expect to find in French in the sort of poem that commonly bears the name of Breton lay. 'Kayrrud' is Breton, but the form is rather too good, and too early. One would expect the modern form 'Kerru.' The name 'Armorica' again is not such as is employed in the extant *lais*. 'Dorigen' appears to be Breton; how it came to Chaucer cannot be made out. 'Arveragus' is found in Geoffrey of Monmouth, who probably took it from Juvenal. 'It is hard to attribute to chance the fact that the names of the only three named persons in the *Franklin's Tale*, Arveragus, Dorigen, and Aurelius, correspond so strikingly to Geoffrey's Arviragus, Genuissa and Aurelius' (p. 67). These are a few of the points brought out by Mr Tatlock in his curious argument, which might easily be misunderstood by incurious and hasty readers. He comes to the conclusion that the Breton things in the *Franklin's*

Tale are too Breton for a *lai*. Thus with regard to Chaucer's source Mr Tatlock ranges himself on the side of Signor Pio Rajna who finds it in the *Filocolo*, as against Mr Schofield, who believes in a lost French lay.

The story is a problem-story. That it was such from the first, is surmised with almost excessive caution by Mr Tatlock. It is one of the casuistical tales such as are in favour in the East; of the type so ingeniously repeated in Mr Bain's *Digit of the Moon*. It is not a fairy story like the *lais* of Marie de France. The name *lai* of course, as we know, was freely used for short stories of different origins and kinds, and it is possible that there may have been a French short story with the Franklin's plot under the title of a Breton lay. Mr Tatlock's view seems more probable. If it is sound, then here is another example of Chaucer's artifice: knowing the type, he borrows the name of Breton lay for the story which he has taken from Geoffrey and from Boccaccio, and calls it *lay* because it is a story of the shorter order, not a long romance, and *Breton* partly because lays were generally Breton, but chiefly because he has been thinking of the black rocks of Penmarch and wants them for his scenery. It is very plausible. The most obscure things appear to be the names of 'Kayrrud' and 'Dorigen.' Had Chaucer a Welsh antiquarian friend who gave him suggestions—who perhaps told him the story of Coll the 'tregetour'?

W. P. KER.

LONDON.

The Rise of English Literary Prose. By GEORGE PHILIP KNAPP.
New York: Oxford University Press; London: H. Milford. 1915.
8vo. xiii + 551 pp.

This book, by the Professor of English in Columbia University, gives a full and precise account of the growth of our prose from 'Wiclif' to Bacon, from its virtual beginning in the second half of the fourteenth century to its perfection as a practical instrument, though capable of much further development. The style is clear and excellent; a few American spellings ('luster,' 'skillful,' etc.) need not offend readers here. Long quotations are avoided, as are lengthy biographical and bibliographical details, but copious references and short citations direct to points of interest or criticism. Literature, not philology, is the subject of study. The author must be congratulated on having carried out thoroughly and efficiently the scheme proposed in his preface. An index, chiefly of names, completes the volume.

Before A.D. 1350 there is practically no literary prose in the forming language. Chaucer's often rhythmic prose and Langland's often prosaic verse were contemporary with Wiclif, but he alone makes prose his one vehicle. In this sense, though hardly in any other, he may be called the father of English prose. Beginning as a writer of Latin, he carried some of its nervous conciseness into English writing, but other-

wise has little distinction. Still, he set the ball rolling, as appears in the succeeding chapters on 'Controversy and Free Speech' and 'The Pulpit.' Here we find the language being suppld and trained to uses of exposition and debate. From Oldcastle and the Lollards, through More and Tindall and the Martin Marprelate tracts, down to Hooker's great treatise on Ecclesiastical Polity, progress and development are traced with apposite illustrations; while preachers from before to after the Reformation, from Colet to Andrews and Donne, are shown to have played their part in perfecting the vernacular. Foxe's writing and Latimer's preaching are typical of this on the popular side.

A separate chapter is devoted to the Bible and Prayer-book, with abundant examples of the gradual changes which finally produced our Authorised Version, Tindal receiving due credit for original formative influence on style, just as Cranmer probably struck the note of dignified simplicity which marks our Liturgy. The influence of these two great and early Classics on the English language must have been profound. It was needed, for next came the 'Courtly Writers,' including scholars and teachers and the later rhetoricians, whose tendency was often to Latinized and ornate diction. This tendency had of course always existed, but it received fresh impulse at the Revival of Learning. Luckily it excited counter tendencies, and the conflict of these is well shown in the chapter dealing with these writers, from Ascham and Elyot down to Lyly and Sidney. One of the most interesting periods of English literature in its nascent stage, this receives full attention, Italian influence being noted among others, and the tricks of rhyming, punning, balancing sentences, etc. Though these were carried to excess, the 'Courtly' style suggested a medium between the colloquial and the ponderous, capable of being developed into the graceful ease of our best eighteenth century literature.

Passing by with bare mention the chapter on Historians and Antiquarians, whose impulse was naturally toward comparative simplicity of handling, and that on the 'Modernists,' or realistic writers, culminating in Nash and Greene and others, who sought popularity in style as in matter, we come finally to Bacon as the exponent of ordinary yet orderly prose writing. Himself much more than author, he yet 'placed English prose where English writers ever since have labored to keep it, in the every-day world of established experience, of good order, and of sound sense.' Mere fine writing he despised. If the goal of prose literature were plain narrative and exposition, this ideal would be just, but surely it has other aims and other methods available also. De Quincey and Landor, as well as Addison and Lamb, are its mouthpieces. However this be, the volume before us traces the various factors in the formation of our prose with helpful clearness, and can be confidently recommended as a guide to the periods dealt with.

T. S. OMOND.

A Concordance to the Poems of Edmund Spenser. Compiled and edited by CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD. Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1915. 4to. xiii + 997 pp.

Professor Osgood, in this latest outcome of the Concordance Society, has conferred a great obligation on serious students of Spenser by producing a thorough and usable concordance. The recent increase in Spenser research—which tardily is devoting to the poet whom Elizabethans thought their nonpareil his due of scholarly interpretation—makes this contribution also timely.

In format the large quarto of double columns leaves little to be desired. Professor Osgood's lively response to the æsthetic appeal of Spenser has resulted in tasteful phrase limits, usually of a complete line, but often parts of two. His choice of modern forms for keywords, though it lends an unfamiliar appearance of modernness, is certainly preferable for reference (especially for the non-reader seeking Spenser's usage), while listed variants are in sufficient numbers for glossarial cross-reference. Where Spenser, however, uniformly employs one obsolete form, as *cruddled*, *cruddles*, *cruddy*, the highly consistent normalizing seems rather for taste than utility; and "Copesmate." See "Copemate" is absurd for the sake of a single form listed immediately above. So 'Cordeill.'

The arrangement of quotations in historical order, were that order well established, would be highly useful; but, as the author admits (p. 11), it has 'proved impracticable.' Even with the trouble of minor adjustments the columns may be used to trace Spenser's changes of usage and curious temporary runs on particular words. But unfortunately Professor Osgood has not abided by the certain order of the works as published; instead, he has attempted to follow, and then varied from, a conjectural order of the works as written. This order will be found complete in the list of abbreviations (p. xiii), where certainly an alphabetical order would have facilitated reference. It depends largely on 'Professor Dodge's opinions in his preface' (p. xi), and results in odd anomalies. Thus *Daphnaida* precedes *F. Q.*, I; the *Amoretti* follow *F. Q.*, VII; the *Ruines of Rome* precede *The Shepheardes Calender*—all these under 'Dark.' The *Amoretti* sonnet published by Gollancz appears (perhaps rightly!) to antedate the *Hymn to Beauty* ('Cordials'). The *Epithalamium* comes after *F. Q.*, IV, xi ('Coronal'). As a consequence, of all possible orders in the entry, there is no order. Grouping by phrases with cross reference, as *Blatant Beast*, *shepherd swayne*, would have considerably reduced the bulk and expense. But granting an historical order, individual workers would prefer to set out from the unquestionable norm of Spenser's dates of publication.

Professor Osgood has carefully listed separately all inflected forms, so that, for instance, the word 'shepherd' is treated chronologically in four lists: 'Shepherd, Shepherd's, Shepherds, Shepherds.' The utility to grammarians seems hardly sufficient to countervail the loss to others. *Per contra*, the parts of speech are not distinguished:

nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives mingle at will. Homographs also receive but one entry (see 'Bear, fit, German, Hips'). The determination of senses within each word, future workers with the Concordance would gladly have delegated to the author. It is unlikely that we shall soon have a second concordance to Spenser: despite the danger, therefore, of occasional errors, this lexicographical feature would have deserved great additional credit. As it is, the need of thorough glossarial work, especially as regards the sources of Spenser's diction, remains.

The choice of text will perhaps be felt to be of minor consequence in a work of this kind. Scholars citing Spenser will certainly verify, and not depend on the best of concordances. Since the keywords are normalized, no confusion in reference can arise from textual variants. Nevertheless, Professor Osgood has taken great pains with the text, and has achieved a high standard of accuracy. His adoption for basis of Morris's text, dating from 1869, was certainly unwise in 1907, when Professor Dodge's very thorough work of 1908 was known to be well on in the Houghton Mifflin Press. Indeed since the method of transcription was used (p. xii), in lieu of cutting and pasting, which would have saved much verifying, the question arises why any modern text should be used, when there are in this country so many excellent first editions. The reproduction of these without critical revision would have provided—since copies vary so much—acceptable material towards an ultimate critical text.

As to inclusiveness, the work is as usual thorough within the pre-determined limits. Restriction to the poems was necessary in the present state of the 'E.K.' controversy. Yet one regrets forfeiting thereby the *View of Ireland* and the letters to Harvey, and almost desires a supplementary concordance of prose associated with Spenser. More questionable is the omission of *The Doleful Lay of Clorinda*, since it has not been given up as Spenser's (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, Feb. 1916, pp. 79-82). The clearly non-Spenserian poems are rightly omitted.

One striking result of a perusal of the Concordance is the assurance it gives regarding Spenser's archaisms. They are seen to reside chiefly in antiquated spellings. Page after page the vocabulary reveals no words now obsolete, except in such obvious combinations as *for-* ('forslack'), and *y-* ('yfostered'), until one questions whether page by page he be not more modern (with modernized spelling) than Shakespeare. When the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* were so largely dearchaized for republication in 1596, Spenser left archaism pretty completely behind him, except in his pastoral poetry, and there *Colin Clout* shows little of it. The criticism which Sidney passed on *The Shepheardes Calender* and which Jonson casually reiterated has been wrongly applied when extended to a criticism of his works as a whole in their final form. The reverence for classical precedent and authority (induced by Virgil's archaizing practice and Cicero's commendation of antiquated words in *De Oratore*—cf. E. K.'s prefatory letter to *The Shepheardes Calender*), gave way before criticism and

experience of the public taste. It is probable, indeed, that were the phoneticians to republish our literature as they would spell it, Spenser would issue from the purging as phoenix-like as from the conflicting criticisms of successive periods of taste.

The portrait frontispiece, which greatly enhances the attractiveness of the volume, has an added biographical interest from its inscription: 'Edmond Spenser · 1596 : Æt : 86.' The resulting birthdate, 1510, tallies with the old inscription on Spenser's monument in the Abbey, and would seem to be the source of its amazing error (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, March, 1916, pp. 178-180). The portrait indeed provides a better explanation than any confusion from the similarity often seen in writing '5' and '1.' Here, the figure '8,' which, were there no other evidence, the portrait itself shows to be wrong, requires some *raison d'être*. It may be found, as Mr R. W. Gordon pointed out to me, in the pronunciation of the abbreviation 'Æt.' But whether this be the true explanation, or the inscriber here misread '5' in a written memorandum, the portrait serves as additional evidence that Spenser was born at the rounding of a decade, and therefore necessarily in 1550.

The final impression of Professor Osgood's concordance is of his keen appreciation of the melody of Spenser and his thoughtful care to include all that could be desired. Except under 178 words, chiefly pronouns, auxiliaries, and prepositions, all instances are given, and in the case of those often a hundred or more. Under *I*, *me*, and *my*, all personal allusions are included; under *as*, *as if*, and *than*, all similes. The critical student of Spenser must have this volume always within easy access.

PERCY W. LONG.

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The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick. Edited by F. W. MOORMAN. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Svo. xxiv + 492 pp.

Professor Moorman's notable 'biographical and critical study' of Herrick (1910) was discussed in Vol. VII, pp. 381 ff., of this *Review*. He has continued his labours upon the poet, and has now given us a critical edition of his works.

It is welcome on various grounds. In the first place one is glad to have the complete poems, with indexes of titles and first lines, in a single volume. Grosart's three unwieldy tomes (especially in the large-paper edition) are an incongruous shrine for the thing of beauty they contain. Mr A. W. Pollard's edition, decked in the charms of 'The Muses' Library,' has the disadvantage, for purposes of cross-reference, of being in two volumes; it also modernises the spelling.

But apart from the question of *format*, a new edition was needed embodying the results of recent research upon Herrick's text. Grosart had noticed that there were divergences in different copies of the

1648 edition of *Hesperides*¹. But he did not appreciate their extent or their significance. The subject was reopened by Mr A. W. Pollard in April and July, 1903, in two articles in *The Library*, based on a collation of the Grenville and Thomason copies of *Hesperides* in the British Museum, and afterwards of the Rowfant and Britwell copies, with a copy owned by the Rev. C. P. Phinn who had noticed that it varied considerably from the *textus receptus*. Mr Pollard's general conclusions were that Mr Phinn's copy represented the text as originally struck off; that six pages of *Hesperides* in most of the known copies are cancels; and that 'in this book of Herrick's we really have a case of the author walking into the printing-office and correcting misprints when sheets had already been printed off.' In *Notes and Queries* (16 December, 1905) Colonel W. F. Prideaux (who apparently did not know of the articles in *The Library*) set forth the variations between two copies of *Hesperides* in his possession, which he called respectively 'A' and 'B.' 'A' was unrevised, and is evidently closely akin to Mr Phinn's copy, though there are apparently some divergences of punctuation between them.

The extant copies of *Hesperides* thus fall broadly into two classes—revised and unrevised. Hazlitt and Grosart based their text on unrevised copies. Dr Moorman has used a revised copy which belonged to Mr G. C. Macaulay and which once formed part of the Heber library. Thus he gives us the text in what may be accepted as its finally corrected form.

Nevertheless Dr Moorman's treatment of the variations in the different copies of the 1648 quarto seems to me to be a flaw in this otherwise admirable edition. As he, of course, knows, the extant copies of the *Hesperides* not only fall into two classes, but they vary from one another even within these classes. Dr Moorman himself tells us that the Heber copy used by him 'is not identical at all points with any of the copies examined by Colonel Prideaux, Mr Phinn, and Mr Pollard.'

An illustration of these remarkable variations may be given from the short poem *Upon her feet* (p. 194). In the Thomason, Britwell, Rowfant and Phinn copies the fourth line runs:

As if they played at Bo-peep.

But in the Grenville copy the reading is:

As if they started at Bo-peep.

This is the reading adopted by Dr Moorman, and it is therefore presumably that of the Heber copy. But he only states (*Introduction*, p. vi) that 'certain copies' have the former reading and 'others' the latter, which 'is, on the whole, the better.' In a footnote on p. 194 he gives 'played' as a variant in the Douce and Malone copies in the Bodleian. But why mention these without specifying the other copies which have the same reading? The omission is misleading.

¹ Like Dr Moorman I use this title for the volume in which both *Hesperides* and *Noble Numbers* appeared.

Again on pp. 152-3 Dr Moorman gives a number of variants in the Douce and Malone copies, including the singular misprint 'lively food' instead of 'lively-hood' in the last line of the verses 'to his peculiar friend, Sir Edward Fish.' All these variants are also found in the Phinn copy, as are others quoted on pp. 129, 132 and 194. Hence the Douce and Malone copies evidently belong to the unrevised class. But we are not told whether these two copies read 'warty' or 'watry' in the second line of *Dean-Bourn* on p. 29 (a variant on which Dr Moorman and myself have had a friendly passage-at-arms in this *Review*); whether they transpose the last stanza in *Kissing Usurie*, p. 30; and whether they omit, save for the opening word 'Where,' the eleventh stanza of *The Wassaile*, p. 179. In these and other places the variants from the adopted text are merely recorded as in 'some' or 'certain' copies of the quarto.

Dr Moorman has in this matter, as it seems to me, fallen between two stools. He might have based his text on the Heber copy, and simply recorded variants, without mentioning the copies in which they are found. This would not have been an adequate handling of the problem, but it would have been consistent. Or, taking the Heber copy as his basis, he could have collated representative copies of both the revised and unrevised quarto (e.g. the Grenville, Thomason, Douce, and Malone) and indicated in every case of divergence the reading of each copy. This would have given us a clear general view of the relation of typical copies to one another and to the present text, and would have sufficed for the purposes of this edition. But the variations are so curious that we really need a census of extant copies of the 1648 *Hesperides*, and a classification of their textual characteristics. Will Dr Moorman himself put us under further obligation to him by undertaking this task?

But if his method of dealing with the printed copies of the *Hesperides* leaves something to be desired, there can be nothing but praise for his exhaustive collation of the MS. versions of individual poems, and of the selections in poetical and musical anthologies from 1635 to 1669. In a remarkable monograph on Herrick (discussed in this *Review*, October 1914) Dr F. Delattre gave a detailed list of Herrick MSS., including four versions of a hitherto unknown poem *Vpon a Cherrystone sent to the tip of the Lady Jemmonia Walgraves eare*. Dr Moorman has not had the luck to light upon a new piece, but he has discovered a number of additional versions of familiar poems¹. No fewer than five of these are MS. copies of *A Welcome to Sack*; there are three of *Oberons Feast* and of *His Age*; two of *A Nuptiall Song*, and one of *The Description of a Woman, His Mistress to him, etc., The Farewell to Sack, and Oberons Pallace*.

The most important of the new MSS. of *The Welcome to Sack* is Sloane, 1446. As Dr Moorman shows in an analysis of the various

¹ The figures that follow include the six poems in Prof. Firth's MS. collated by Dr Moorman after he had completed his *Critical Appendix* and, apparently, written the body of his *Introduction*.

stages of the growth of the poem, this MS., with Rawlinson F. 26 and 160, represents a version intermediate between that of Harl. 6931 and Addit. 19268 and the final text of *Hesperides*. Moreover there are indications that the Sloane MS. is the earliest of the group to which it belongs. Any one who wishes to realise how sedulously Herrick strove that his 'Book' should be 'perfected' will do well to trace the variants in the successive texts of this poem as set forth in Dr Moorman's *Introduction*, pp. xx-xxiii, and the *Critical Appendix*, pp. 425-8.

Another poem illustrating the same process is *A Nuptiall Song*. Here the comparison of *Hesperides* with the MSS. proves, as Dr Moorman points out, 'that Herrick has not hesitated to sacrifice, apparently on the altar of proportion,' a number of stanzas little inferior in merit to those that he has retained. One of the new MSS., that in the possession of Prof. Firth, probably presents the poem in its earliest stage. It includes three of the seven stanzas found in the other MSS., but it omits the two concluding stanzas of these MSS. and *Hesperides*, and its arrangement differs from that of the other versions.

The new MSS. of *Oberons Feast* do not differ materially from those already known. But one of them, Malone 16 f. 3, attributes the lines to 'Rich: Hiericke, of Clare Hall.' Dr Moorman does not comment on this remarkable ascription of a poem by Robert Herrick of St John's and Trinity Hall. In spite of the scribe's inaccuracies his reference to the poet as a member of a Cambridge college suggests that the piece was a youthful production and may even date from Herrick's undergraduate days.

In any case it was, so far as we know, the first of his compositions to appear in print, in the little volume, *A Description of the King and Queene of Fayries*, etc., published in 1635. This volume heads the list of the nineteen poetical and musical anthologies, containing early printed versions of Herrick's poems, given in the *Introduction* to this edition. Nowhere else is there so full and exact a record of these versions; it will be of great convenience for purposes of reference.

Among the important variants in the Anthologies to which Dr Moorman draws attention is one in the poem which in *Hesperides* is entitled *The Apparition of his Mistresse calling him to Elysium*. It appeared as *His Mistris Shade* in the volume of 1640, entitled *Poems: written by Wil. Shakespeare Gent.*, but including a number of pieces by other authors. Here among the bards in the Elysian fields Herrick includes

Shakespeare and Beaumont, Swannes to whom the Spheares,
Listen, while they call backe the former yeare(s),
To teach the truth of Scenes...

In *Hesperides* the lines run :

Beaumont and Fletcher, Swans to whom all eares
Listen, while they (like Syrens in their Spheres)
Sing their *Evadne*.

From this change Dr Moorman deduces that Herrick 'had apparently

come round to the opinion of the age that Fletcher was a greater dramatist than Shakespeare.' The generalisation about 'the opinion of the age' is in itself disputable, and though the omission of Shakespeare's name is remarkable, I do not think that it necessarily implies that Herrick had altered his views. May he not have substituted the younger dramatist's name because the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's works in which *The Maid's Tragedy*, with Evadne as heroine, stands first, had appeared in 1647, the year before *Hesperides*? He had contributed commendatory verses to the folio and could not therefore well dissociate Fletcher from Beaumont in 1648. However in one sphere he evidently did look upon Fletcher as the master dramatist:

None writes love's passion in the world, like thee.

There is a curious circumstance which Dr Moorman may not have noticed in connection with *His Mistress Shade*. The reference in it to Shakespeare was omitted in the two editions of the *Centurie of Prayse* (1874 and 1879) and in Furnivall's *Fresh Allusions* (1886). When Mr Maurice Jones drew attention to it in *Notes and Queries*, 7th series, XI (June 13, 1891), he did not know who wrote it, and even in Mr John Munro's *Shakespeare Allusion-Book* (1909) it is put down as 'Anonymous.' Could there be a clearer proof of the necessity of such a *variorum* edition of *Hesperides* as Dr Moorman's 'right happy industry' and the enterprise of the Oxford University Press have now placed in our hands?

F. S. BOAS.

LONDON.

The Dialect of Hackness (North-East Yorkshire) with Original Specimens and a Word-list. By G. H. COWLING. Cambridge: University Press. 1915. 8vo. xxiii + 194 pp.

Those who are familiar with Prof. Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* will remember how in the first paragraph of his Introduction he remarks that, if we possessed about 300 detailed grammars of the principal dialects spoken in the United Kingdom, and could find hundreds of competent people willing to answer queries about difficult or doubtful points, it might be possible to furnish a classification of our dialects which would be tolerably accurate for all practical purposes. He goes on to lament the disappearance of our dialects and the dearth of serious students of English philology. Since these words were written, not many of the desiderated 300 grammars have been given to the world; but Mr Cowling's monograph is entitled to an honourable place among those that have appeared, and forms, so far as North-East Yorkshire is concerned, a valuable supplement to the more comprehensive work of Prof. Wright.

'The dialect which is here set down,' writes Mr Cowling, 'is that spoken by agriculturists and their labourers on the Wolds and in the

Dales of North-Eastern and Eastern Yorkshire. The district where I have heard the dialect lies within the triangular strip between Whitby, Pickering and Filey. Most of my dialect comes from the neighbourhood of Hackness, a small village on the upper reaches of the Derwent, six miles from Scarborough, and agrees, as far as my ear is a judge, with that which I have heard in Staintondale, Fylingdales, Goathland, and Brompton.' From our own acquaintance with the dialects of North and East Yorkshire we can vouch for the accuracy with which Mr Cowling records the dialect sounds. The Scandinavian element, which in such a district as that just defined, is bound to be of exceptional importance, receives adequate recognition by the side of the English and the French elements. We have noted, however, an occasional etymological oversight. For instance, it is asserted on p. 57 that [agworm], the dialectal form of *hagworm*, means literally 'hedge-worm,' and is cognate with O.I. *höggormr*. How these two statements are to be reconciled we do not know. Both Sir James Murray, who was responsible for the instalment of the *New English Dictionary* containing *hagworm*, and Björkman in his *Scandinavian Loan-words in Middle English*, connect *hag-* with the stem seen in O.I. *höggva* (**haggwan*), 'to strike.' The word means 'the striking worm,' and may be compared with O.E. *slā-wyrm*, 'slow-worm,' where the first member is without doubt related to O.I. *slā*, 'to strike.' The interesting feature of *hagworm* is that it preserves in an unmutated, and therefore earlier, form the vowel which in its Scandinavian cognate has undergone mutation. Of such words Mr Cowling gives several on p. 56. Again, concerning a certain word, which in standard English is spelt *hail*, he writes as follows on p. 61: '[*ε'əl*], (cf. O.I. *hala*, "to drag"), "to originate from."' But surely our everyday expression 'to hail from' is a nautical metaphor derived from the custom of ships hailing each other at sea, and *hail* is ultimately traceable to O.I. *heil*, 'health,' 'good luck.' We may further observe that the verb *hala*, quoted above as Old Icelandic, belongs to the modern language only. It is a loan-word, probably from English, and hardly likely to be the lineal ancestor of any English dialect word. It is extremely questionable, too, if O.E. *hæsel* should be regarded as the parent of the dialectal [*ezl*], 'hazel' (p. 28), which may just as well come from O.I. *hesli*. The East Riding place-name *Hessleskews*, an unmistakable descendant of O.I. *hesli-skógr*, 'hazel-wood,' may be adduced in support of the latter view.

The phonological section, in which Mr Cowling has been so fortunate as to secure the assistance of Prof. H. C. Wyld, is naturally the chief staple of the book. In dealing with the vowels and consonants of the Hackness dialect Mr Cowling selects as his *terminus a quo* the M.E. spellings of the *Metrical Psalter* and Rolle's *Pricke of Conscience*, *Psalter*, and *Prose Tracts*. In these fourteenth century works the phonological material is ample and intelligible. But throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries documentary evidence is lacking. However, in the next century we get the *Yorkshire Dialogues* (1673, 1684), and Brokesby's *Letter to Ray* (1691); in the eighteenth century

Marshall's *Provincialisms of East Yorkshire*; and in the nineteenth century G. N. Brown's *York Minster Screen* (1833), and John Castillo's dialect poems (1792—1845). Finally we have the modern dialect as known to Mr Cowling. In spite of the deficiency of literary records in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we think that Mr Cowling is lucky in the quantity and the quality of his material. We do not forget Prof. Skeat's remark that in the *Yorkshire Dialogue* of 1684 we have the oldest good specimen of a modern dialect that has come down to us. In the interpretation of his material Mr Cowling shows care and skill, and sets before us the evolution of the modern Hackness phonology from its M.E. predecessor in a clear and convincing manner. 'Perhaps the most curious of its vowel developments,' he writes, when indicating the salient characteristics of the dialect phonology, 'is the frequency of [i·ə], (half-tense i followed by a mixed lax glide). 'This sound represents not only M.E. open ē (derived from O.E. *æ*, *éa*, and lengthened *e*), but also M.E. *ā* (from O.E. *ā* and lengthened *a*), and M.E. close *ō* (from O.E. *ō*). This coalescing of six Old English sounds must cause confusion, and is probably one of the reasons for the dialect's decay' (p. xviii). Turning to the later paragraphs in which Mr Cowling deals more fully with the development of M.E. *ō* into the modern dialect [i·ə], we find that he rejects for Yorkshire, at any rate, the usual view that Northern M.E. *ō* was fronted to [y] and remained so until the seventeenth century. Instead, he conjectures that M.E. *ō* developed the outglide [u] and became [ou], which was then fronted to the mixed lax rounded [öü]. This was partially unrounded to [ëü], which passed through the stages [eu, éu, e·ə] to [i·ə], the last change occurring first before *r* and afterwards before other consonants except gutturals. From Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* we learn that the same change (M.E. *ō* > Mod. E. [i·ə]), is found in parts of Northumberland, Durham, Westmorland and Cumberland. We could wish that Mr Cowling had extended his enquiry to these counties, and given us an excursus on the evidence which they contribute to this view of his concerning the Northern M.E. development of *ō*. The question of the representation of O.E. *y* in modern dialectal and standard English is always one of interest to the student of language. In the Hackness dialect, as in standard English, *i*-forms are numerous, e.g. [brig], (O.E. *brycg*, 'bridge'); [klik], (O.E. *clyccan*, 'clutch'); some *e*-forms are found, e.g. [menə], (O.E. *myne*, 'minnow'); and some *u*-forms, e.g. [umlək], (O.E. *hymlice*, 'hemlock'). We quote Mr Cowling's general conclusion on the matter. It will be seen that he is in doubt about the origin of the *u*-forms. His first suggestion will, we think, find more acceptance than his second. 'This triple appearance of O.E. *y* as [i], [e] and [u] in a Northern dialect, as far asunder from Kent and the South-West Midlands in the late Middle Ages as England is from New York to-day, indicates that *e* and *u* are not developments peculiar to Kent and the South-West respectively. The above [e] and [u] forms can hardly be borrowings; it is likely that they developed in Northern English directly from O.E. *y*. The orthodox opinion is that O.E. *y*, and the *y* from Scandinavian

sources, were *always* unrounded to *i* in Northern Middle English. I believe the [e] forms to be relics of a M.E. lowering of *y* to *e*, and possibly the *u*-forms are derived from an O.E. *u* unmutated to *y*.' We hope that these extracts will serve to show that Mr Cowling brings an independent mind to the consideration of his subject and is not afraid of expressing his convictions.

In the section allotted to Grammar the treatment of the verbs is particularly good, and no instructive point of contact between the dialectal forms and the forms of standard English seems to have been overlooked. The specimens of the dialect include selections from *The Pricke of Conscience* (1350) and *A Yorkshire Dialogue* (1683). The original text in both cases is flanked by attempts to reproduce in phonetic script the dialect pronunciation at the date when the selected pieces were composed. Among the examples of the modern dialect are some bright, little poems from Mr Cowling's pen. A list of the dialect words quoted in the book follows. The standard English equivalent is given, together with the dialect pronunciation, and the number of the paragraph in which the word is mentioned or discussed. An index closes the book. It is very evident that this treatise with its wealth of material, its clear statements, and its orderly arrangement, is the outcome of special opportunities reinforced by several years of serious and thoughtful labour. We heartily commend it to all who are interested in the scientific study of our English dialects. A final word of praise should be given to the Cambridge University Press for the clear type used throughout the volume, especially in the representation of the phonetic script.

C. J. BATTERSBY.

SHEFFIELD.

Adolf Toblers Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch, aus dem Nachlass herausgegeben von ERHARD LOMMATZSCH. 1 Lieferung. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 8vo. 1915. lxx + 24 pp.

The issue of an Old-French Dictionary by a German editor would, at any time, be regarded as something of an event; under present circumstances it appears all the more remarkable. But then, the compilation of a dictionary—especially when undertaken by a single scholar—is not the work of a few months, or even years.

The book was announced forty-three years ago; its appearance to-day cannot therefore be considered as premature or flurried. Tobler first conceived the idea of preparing a Dictionary of the Old French Language as far back as 1858, when he obtained his Ph.D. degree in the University of Zürich. He collected much material while he taught in Switzerland and when, in 1870, he was called to a professorship in the University of Berlin, he took occasion to lay down the principles on which his Dictionary would be edited. In fact the work was even then nearing completion, and specimen pages were actually printed. But, in dealing

with his own productions, Tobler was critical to a fault. He had so lofty a conception of the scholar's office that nothing short of perfection would satisfy him. Hence he laboured on year by year, investigating difficult points, utilising new publications, eagerly following the researches of his fellow-workers in all countries. To the end his faculties remained unimpaired and his industry amazed Germans themselves. But human power has its limitations, and this greatest of modern lexicographers passed away in 1910 before he had given the final touches to the work upon which he had bestowed half-a-century of untiring labour.

Fortunately for us, Tobler was a most methodical worker and wrote a beautifully neat and clear hand. All the material was on slips of paper carefully classified and treasured in six tin boxes which were constantly to be found beside his writing table. After his death a younger scholar—Mr E. Lommatzsch, 'Privatdozent' in the University of Berlin—was entrusted with the task of preparing an edition of the work. After five years of labour he has at last been able to issue the first instalment of 96 pages. (The work will be completed in twenty-five such instalments, price 4 M. each.)

It is the finest monument which could be raised to the memory of a scholar whom two generations have learnt to revere and admire; a scholar who even in the midst of the present tumult retains the sympathy of all students of Romance Philology. Some of our readers have doubtless had, like the present writer, the privilege of listening to his sober unostentatious exposition of literature or philology. They will recall the striking personality, the dignified, almost austere appearance of this high priest officiating at the shrine of true scholarship. Scholarship, indeed, was to him something partaking of the divine with which no sacrilegious hand must tamper, a sacred treasure belonging to mankind and not to be debased for reasons of state or to serve the selfish aims of a government. This attitude could not fail to strike students at Berlin, where so many of Tobler's colleagues were but mouthpieces of pan-German propaganda, where the teaching of English philology for instance was made the pretext for deriding English scholarship and instilling into the minds of docile hearers a contempt of England and all things English. From such manifestations Tobler held severely aloof. A Swiss by birth and education, he retained even in his later years many peculiarities of 'Schwyzer-Dütsch' pronunciation, and at heart, even more than in speech, he remained constant to the ideals of his native country.

While rejoicing that he has been spared the horrors of the present war, we cannot but regret that he was unable to subject his *magnum opus* to a final revision. No doubt he would have improved many passages, completed or even recast certain articles, added a fresh explanation here, removed an obsolete theory there. This delicate task has fallen to the lot of his editor, Mr Lommatzsch, whose chief duty obviously was to carry out as faithfully as possible the master's intentions and to make no alterations or additions save such as were absolutely imperative. But does not Mr Lommatzsch carry this virtue to excess when, for

instance, he refrains from transcribing certain quotations because Tobler in his notes (presumably to save time) had merely jotted down the references? Thus it happens that important words like *abaissement*, *abatement*, etc., are not illustrated by a single quotation. To ascertain their true function the reader has to consult such works as Benoit's *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, Scheler's edition of *Les Enfances Ogier*, Potvin's edition of *Perceval le Gallois*, F. Michel's edition of *Horn et Rimenhild*, Buchon's *Branche des Royaux Lignages*, etc.—works which few students are lucky enough to have on their private shelves. Without exception these works exist in old editions, not all readily accessible even in a good University Library. By transcribing some at least of these quotations the editor would have spared us much loss of time and futile search.

It was doubtless Tobler's wish to make his Dictionary as serviceable as possible even to the comparative beginner. He therefore often translated difficult points in the passages he selected. If this was not done throughout, if he left many words without explaining their meaning at all, we may safely assume that he intended to fill in these lacunae in a final revision. Here again, the editor has, in our opinion, been scrupulous to excess. By suggesting no modern equivalents for such words as *aaignier*, *abander*, *abassorer*, *abatëiz*, *abechier*¹, etc., he has seriously impaired the usefulness of the Dictionary for practical purposes. If necessary, he might have distinguished his additions by using different type or enclosing them in brackets; he might further have queried meanings which were still uncertain, but he should not have withheld all information.

One of Tobler's objections to Godefroy's *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* was that illustrations of the same word often occur under two or three different headings, simply because of slight variations in the spelling. The objection is a serious one. In order to trace the history of a word it is an advantage to have all the examples with their variations in spelling and meaning brought together and systematically arranged. Acting on this principle, Tobler would doubtless have removed the inconsistency of quoting the passages referring to M. Fr. *abbesse*, partly under *abeesse* and partly under *abesse*. Had all been brought under the former heading, they would have shown at a glance that *abesse* is merely a later, contracted form of *abeesse*, and not a new derivative as beginners might be tempted to assume.

With these few reservations, we unhesitatingly congratulate the editor on the thoroughness and care with which he has carried out his difficult and delicate task. We have checked many references and have not succeeded in detecting a single error or misprint. Accuracy is after all the quality most to be valued in a work of this kind. When complete it will constitute a trustworthy record of the vocabulary of Northern French Speech (*langue d'oïl*) from the beginning of the 11th

¹ It is true that the meaning of *abechier* can be found by looking up the reference to *Romania* XIII, 529, but this involves loss of time.

to the end of the 14th century. From the preface we learn that earlier documents have been utilised solely in so far as they helped to illuminate the history of words falling within the period under review, and that later forms were inserted only in cases where the author had reason to think that they were in use before the close of the 14th century, even though no record of such use was actually extant. In the same way, to supplement information supplied by French texts and to clear up difficulties of meaning and construction, Tobler drew upon his wide knowledge of other Romance languages, especially Provençal, Italian and Spanish.

Syntax was Tobler's strong point, and he was convinced that the lexicographer's main business was to solve syntactical problems. It is not surprising therefore that such problems are prominent in his Dictionary. How thoroughly he dealt with this aspect of language will best be realised on turning to his treatment of the preposition *a*. This comprises no less than six main headings and about eighty subdivisions. So minute an analysis of the functions of a preposition might at first sight seem excessive; and indeed, it is not always easy to follow the niceties of classification. It is not obvious for instance that in *custume fu as anciens* 3, 14 *a* marks a relationship of place rather than one of possession (cf. the examples given under the heading 9, 23). Why should *lors parla li dux a sa gent* 5, 28 and *disoit a son fils* 9, 4 be separated and placed, the former under 'direction towards' (Richtung auf) and the other under 'dative'? Again, *de ses lermes lava as pez deu ses pechez* 2, 39 occurs under 'place where' (Ort wo), but *li reis li fu devant, cil de l'agait al dos* 5, 33 under 'direction towards' (Richtung auf), yet we should translate in the one case by 'at his feet' and in the other by 'at his back.' It is even more difficult to see why a distinction should be necessary between *or volt que prenet mulier a son vivant* 11, 7 and *li bourgeois s'i proverent si que li rois a son vivant les en loa* 11, 27, or between *a cele foiz ne se porent acorder* 10, 19 and *n'an avoit a cel tans que une [charrete]* 11, 16. On the other hand why should *vendre a deniers* 17, 6 and *changier joie a duel* 17, 8 be grouped together? Can it be seriously maintained that in the second case *a* expresses a relationship of 'price'? As the editor claims to have thoroughly revised and partly recast this article he, and not Tobler, must bear the blame for such vagaries¹. Doubtless it is also due to the editor's oversight that constructions such as *fist a deus escuiers mener en destre deus destriers* Roman de la Charrette 255, *n'i ot un seul qui osast grondre*; *li uns lest a l'autre respondre* Renart 17928, *a mil en vëissiez plorer* Troie 26344 (to which might be added, *li emperere ad Sarrauce prise, a mil Franceis funt [= fait] ben cercer la vile* Oxf. Roland 3661), although fully discussed by Tobler in *Vermischte Beiträge* 1. Reihe, p. 167 sq., are not represented by a single example. According

¹ The editor frankly admits his responsibility: 'Die jetzt vorliegende Redaktion des Artikels darf der Herausgeber wesentlich als sein eigenes Werk betrachten, für welches er die Verantwortung zu tragen gern bereit ist,' cf. p. xix.

to Tobler's own theory they should have been considered under 'dative' 9, 1.

Tobler did not think the discussion of etymologies came within the province of an Old-French Dictionary. Consequently only on the rarest occasions has he touched upon the question of the origin of words, and even so, the explanations are either painfully obvious as *aamer* (< *adamare*) 28, 43; or appear to have been written some time ago and not brought up to date by the editor. Thus for *aatir* we only find a reference to P. Meyer's *Croisade des Albigeois* where *aatir* and Provençal *adaptir* are both derived from *aptus*. The view of Diez (*Etym. Wörterb.* IIc), and the opinion recently defended by Meyer-Lübke (*Rom. etym. Wörterb.* 2920) according to which the word is of Norse origin, should at least have been recorded. In the case of *aate* reference is made to Diez, G. Paris and Meyer-Lübke's *Franz. Gramm.*, so that the reader, if he looks up these authors, is left to decide for himself between the respective claims of *aptus* and *habitus*, as the source of *aate*; nor will he find any indication as to the connection which may exist between the forms *aat*, *aate*, *aatier* and *aatir*. The same remark applies also to such groups of words as *abaer* and *abaiër*, etc.

The attitude of Tobler in this matter cannot but cause surprise. His objections may have been valid fifty years ago, when he first planned his Dictionary. They scarcely hold now that Philology has outgrown the purely experimental stage. There are of course many knotty problems still awaiting satisfactory solution, but the etymology of the great majority of words has at last been established with something approaching certainty. Surely the history of a word cannot be satisfactorily investigated, especially in the early phases of the language, so long as the source of the word is ignored. The Dictionary cannot be in the fullest sense of the term that treasure-house of historians and philosophers, which the author meant it to be, if no indication is given as to how and where the words came into the language. But this is after all a matter of opinion, and it would be ungracious to labour the point. It might convey the absolutely wrong impression that we do not sufficiently appreciate the conspicuous merits of the work, the unerring skill and admirable patience with which it has been carried out.

Tobler not only read at first hand all the literary texts of the period but he tested the interpretations of other scholars and in numerous cases suggested improvements which were often incorporated in subsequent editions. Judging from the first few pages now before us, the task has been performed as thoroughly as lay within the possibilities of any one human being. It would of course be easy enough here and there to add to the material supplied by Tobler, e.g. under *abaissier* he has recorded no example of the nautical expression found in *Boeve de Haumtone* (ed. Stimming v, 363): *e par la mer les Sarazins taunt de tens siglerent que en Egipte lur nef ariverent; lur veils abeserent, lur ankeres getterent*. But such additions would on the whole be insignificant. More serious is the omission of certain law-terms and technical expressions. Thus *abatable*, though mentioned by Godefroy and com-

monly found in Anglo-Norman texts, is not recorded. Under *abatement* no reference is made to such expressions as *play de abatement* met with in Anglo-Norman documents of the 14th century (cf. Sir Travers Twiss, *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, II, p. 40, Rolls Series). But Tobler's idea was to give mainly a faithful account of the literary language of the period. He made little use of legal or unprinted documents. Unlike Godefroy he refrained from utilising texts which, not easily identified or inaccessible to students, could not be subjected to strict control. Unlike Godefroy he did not expect the reader to accept statements on trust. On the contrary he spared no pains to enable students to verify every assertion and check every quotation. For this reason a complete bibliography is prefixed to the Dictionary proper, including a full description of every work utilised by the author. It is a most imposing and instructive list covering forty pages of print. No doubt the items might perhaps have been arranged more systematically. The works of one author or the different versions of one text should have been grouped together and not scattered confusedly through the whole list. For example the works of Adam de la Halle will be found, some on p. xxv, one on p. xxxviii and one on p. xlv. In the same way the works of Guillaume Le Clerc are given on pages xxvii, xxxvi and xlviii; the versions of *Saint Alexis* on pages xxv, xlvii and xlviii, and those of the *Voyage de Saint Brandan* partly on p. xxviii and partly on p. xlvii. But it is fair to state that the editor had practically no choice in this matter. To make reference easy he had to classify alphabetically the abbreviations adopted by the author. To alter these abbreviations would have involved endless labour. Nevertheless he should not have retained two different abbreviations for the same work. It is decidedly confusing to find Michel's edition of the *Oxford Psalms* referred to both under *Met. Ps.* p. xl and *Oxf. Ps.* p. xliii; Méon's *Roman du Renart* under *Cour. Ren.* p. xxxi and *Ren.* p. xlv; Luzarche's edition of *La Vie de la Vierge Marie de Maître Wace* under *S. George* p. xlvii and *Wace Marie* p. li.

But trifling blemishes of this sort are unavoidable in a work of such magnitude. They do not prevent us from according all due praise and admiration to a monument of patient research and sound scholarship which will render invaluable services to students of Romance Philology as well as to lovers of mediaeval French Literature, and will hand down to future generations the august name of Adolf Tobler.

PAUL STUDER.

OXFORD.

Jean Bodin, Auteur de la 'République.' Par ROGER CHAUVIRÉ.
Paris, 1915. 8vo. 543 pp.

Colloque de Jean Bodin des Secrets cachez des Choses sublimes...Traduction française du Colloquium Heptaplomeres. Par ROGER CHAUVIRÉ. Paris, 1915. 8vo. 212 pp.

All students of Bodin, one of the most remarkable figures of the sixteenth century, will owe a special debt of gratitude to M. Chauviré for his two theses, which show incidentally once again that the standard for the French State Doctorate is such that only a mature scholar can ever expect to reach the required level, a fact which differentiates it sharply from many other Doctorates.

No comprehensive work, so far as we are aware, has appeared on Jean Bodin since H. Baudrillart's *Jean Bodin et son temps* (1853), though various aspects of his many-sided activities have been made the subject of special articles in divers literary and economic reviews. Baudrillart's book was no mean performance in his day, and it is no discredit to him if M. Chauviré's penetrating scholarship, combined with a lucid and attractive style, renders the earlier work unnecessary, if not altogether useless. If Bodin has had to wait so long, comparatively speaking, for a new champion and exponent, it is because (we imagine) such a champion must be equipped with a variety of knowledge rarely found combined in one man, and further must be possessed of a particularly clear and logical mind, in order to explain and reconcile, as far as that is possible, the many inconsistencies and contradictions which the *ensemble* of Bodin's work presents. We consider that M. Chauviré has achieved brilliantly the task he set himself; that he has succeeded as no one had done before him, in unravelling from the tangled skein of Bodin's writings the leading threads which go to make up his doctrine. For all that much will always remain inexplicable in this extraordinary man—'Esprit monstrueux!' as M. Chauviré says, 'Etre hybride qu'un sang double pousse tour à tour et soulève contre lui-même! On dirait un de ces Faunes dont le buste se perd dans une gaine roide: de tous ses traits achevés, de tout son vif et fin visage, le dieu sourit à l'avenir; mais c'est en vain qu'avec effort il tente d'arracher au bloc qui les recèle ses pieds fondus dans le marbre, englués dans le passé.'

M. Chauviré's 'grande thèse' opens with a chapter (pp. 1—97) on Bodin's life. He does not add many new facts for the simple reason that the necessary documents appear to be irretrievably lost, but he puts the available evidence through a much finer sieve than his predecessors, and surveys on the way the lesser known works of Bodin (he wrote more than a dozen separate works), which have not received the attention they deserve. To the important and much debated question: Was Bodin's mother a Jewess? he replies in the negative, despite Chapelain's categorical assertion, and thinks that the Jewish mother is an invention—an afterthought intended to explain the Judaism of the *Heptaplomeres*. We think that the question is still an open one, and that

more than one circumstance could be advanced against M. Chauviré's view—Bodin's profound knowledge of the language, institutions and religion of the Hebrews; his relations with Mercier and Cinquarbre, Readers in Hebrew at the Collège de France; his unreserved adhesion to all that is contained in the Old Testament, 'la sacrée fontaine des Hébreux' who, according to Bodin, were imbued with the doctrine more divine than that of other men, etc. On another moot point in Bodin's life: Whether he ever embraced the Protestant faith? M. Chauviré, on the contrary, is inclined by inference to give an affirmative reply. According to the brothers Haag his conversion took place in 1552. If that is so, how are we to explain the fact that when, twenty-four years later, Bodin's *République* appeared it was violently attacked by the 'prédicants' of Geneva, though it contained an eulogium of their institutions? It may be that in the interval Bodin had turned coat, or that the Genevese ministers who were then excusing or preaching tyrannicide could not forgive him for writing that under no circumstances a subject should make an attempt on his sovereign's life. On this point also it appears impossible to give a final verdict. M. Chauviré, making full use of Bodin's own diary of the proceedings, gives a complete account of the courageous and important part played by Bodin as one of the deputies of the Third Estate at the Estates of Blois, in which he appears as an uncompromising antagonist of civil war, and a true representative of the party which its opponents nicknamed the 'Politiques.' Lastly his latter years (1577—1596), passed in retirement at Laon, are examined as well as the works written in that period, which include his *Juris universi distributio* (1578), *La Demonomanie des Sorciers* (1580), the *Vniversæ Naturæ Theatrum* (1596), and two works in manuscript—the *Paradoxon*, issued soon after his death, and the *Heptaplomeres* which his heirs considered to be of too compromising a character to retain in their possession.

In his Livre II M. Chauviré examines Bodin's 'intellectual formation' as a preliminary to the proper understanding of his great work, *Les six Livres de la République*, which appeared in 1576, and which was translated into Latin ten years later with many additions and modifications. Here M. Chauviré is struck with many inconsistencies in Bodin's outlook on life. This inconsistency is less apparent in the evolution of his religious thought, which is too profound not to find expression in all his works, but must be sought more especially in the letter (written between 1561 and 1563) to Jan Bautru des Matras, and principally in the *Heptaplomeres*. In this Latin treatise the religious question is discussed by a Roman Catholic, a Lutheran, a Calvinist, a Mahomedan, a Jew, a Pagan, and a believer in Natural Religion, with what appears on the surface to be disconcerting impartiality. M. Chauviré shows, irrefutably I think, that of the seven spokesmen Senamus, the exponent of Natural Religion, is speaking for Bodin, and that Bodin after inclining strongly in middle life to Protestantism, as is shown by the letter to Bautru des Matras, finally adopted Natural Religion, a kind of philosophic deism, free from dogma, which he

believed to be a perpetuation of the primitive cult practised by the Jews, but which does not exclude any other creed. Any belief, according to Bodin, is acceptable to God, provided it is sincere and animated by genuine faith; for real religion is nothing but 'le regard d'un esprit pur vers le vrai Dieu'—words found already in the letter to Bautru. The moral is easy to draw; all religious strife is vain, tolerance is the only remedy—in fact it is inevitable. It is to this firm conviction that we owe the noble and startling words at the end of his *Heptaplomeres*, which, had they been published in his lifetime, would assuredly have led Bodin to the stake: 'Et après s'être embrassez mutuellement en charité, ils se separerent. Et depuis ils vescuient ensemble dans vne vnion admirable, dans vne pieté et dans vne façon de vie exemplaire, prenans leurs repas et estudians tousiours en commun. Mais on ne parla iamais plus de religion, encor que chacun soit demeuré ferme et constant dans la sienne, ou ils ont perseueré iusques a la fin et dans vne sainteté toute manifeste.'

In Livre III Bodin's debt to his predecessors is investigated by a method which emphasises not the specific passages which the author of the *République* conveyed from other sources, but lays stress on the *ideas* which others had enunciated before him. The result of the inquiry is to show that Bodin owes most to Machiavelli and to Calvin—to the former his knowledge of the art of war, and to the latter his general conception of the relations between Church and State.

Livre IV is devoted to a study of Bodin's *République*. According to Bodin's definition 'Republique est vn droit gouvernement de plusieurs mesnages (families) et de ce qui leur est commun avec puissance souuerainne.' This 'puissance souuerainne' may take different forms, democratic, oligarchic, or monarchic, as the case may be. After a fair show of discussion, Bodin decides in favour of royal or lawful monarchy, a form of government in which the subjects obey the laws of the monarch, and the monarch obeys the laws of God and of Nature. M. Chauviré contends that by the 'laws of God and Nature' Bodin appears to mean what we call conscience. The king's position towards his subjects is identical with that of the father in the family. The king is the image and representative of God on this earth, and liable to be called before the Divine tribunal for his misdeeds. To us moderns this would hardly appear a sufficient deterrent, but we must judge Bodin's system and belief from *his* point of view—the point of view of a profoundly religious man whose confidence in royalty was derived from faith and with whom belief in the monarchic ideal was a religious feeling. Royal or lawful monarchy had endured in France for nearly six centuries. Was that in itself not a proof of its excellence? But with Bodin it is only an ideal, and the best form of government—theoretically only. He does not say so categorically, though he leaves no doubt as to his real meaning when he approves of aristocracy among the Venetians and of democracy at Strassburg and in the Grisons. Moreover account must be taken of the temperament of a people, the situation of the country, and the climatic conditions before deciding which is the best

form of government. Then follows the well-known theory in which he discusses the effect of climate and situation on national character and government, one of the finest chapters in the whole of Bodin's writings. All this shows that at bottom Bodin shared the same views in politics as in religion, and that for him the essential was tolerance, but he did not dare to express himself as freely in the *République* as he did subsequently on religious matters in a treatise which was never intended for publication. Needless to say the *République* treats of many other topics which cannot be noticed here in detail. In financial matters, for example, Bodin is of opinion that the incidence of taxation should fall according to each subject's revenue. In trade he is a Protectionist; France produces all she requires; foreign countries do not, and if they want anything from France, they must be made to pay doubly.

In a learned 'Conclusion' (pp. 473—513) M. Chauviré summarises the value and originality of Bodin's achievement in assigning to political considerations a new object and new methods. Jean Bodin is not only the author of the first modern systematic treatise on Political Science, but also the inventor, as it were, of political economy, in his remarkable 'Response au paradoxe de M. de Malestroict,' which M. Chauviré might perhaps be accused of having passed over somewhat too lightly. How comes it then that a man with a mind so vigorous and original is practically forgotten nowadays? asks M. Chauviré. According to him this is due to Bodin's entire lack of form and style, to the complete absence of proportion and order in a mind 'qui ne sut jamais se borner.' Bodin has had to pay the price:

Tout passe. L'art robuste
Seul a l'éternité.
Le buste
Survit à la cité.

Yet in his own day Bodin enjoyed a great reputation and exercised a marked influence on many of his contemporaries (Montaigne, Charron, etc.). In the next century he was not forgotten altogether; Langlet and Lelong mention him in complimentary terms as does also Rousseau, and Hobbes certainly borrowed his doctrine of Sovereignty from him. His most liberal borrower, however, was Montesquieu, who by saying many of the same things in a better way wrenched from his predecessor all chance of enduring fame.

M. Chauviré's 'grande thèse' closes with an appendix containing various letters of Bodin, mostly unpublished. His 'petite thèse' contains a good deal more than is indicated by the title. It consists of a learned introduction followed by a critical edition of the most important parts of a contemporary French translation of the *Heptaplomeres*. The *Heptaplomeres* had already been edited partly in German and partly in the original Latin by G. E. Guhrauer (Berlin, 1841), and in the original Latin by L. Noack (Schwerin, 1857). Noack's text, based on that made by Baron Senckenberg in the eighteenth century, is very defective, and fully justifies the publication of the contemporary French translation,

which moreover represents a much more correct form of the lost original Latin MS. In addition M. Chauviré, after a minute examination of the relative value of all the Latin and French manuscripts known in France of the *Heptaplomeres*, gives the variants of those that throw any light on the text, as well as valuable footnotes illustrative or explanatory of the text. The partial publication is not a disadvantage; on the contrary it saves the reader the tediousness of wading through a mass of extraneous and perfectly useless matter. The danger of lack of continuity is avoided by a careful analysis, which links the whole together, of the excluded parts.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

La Langue d'Alphonse Daudet. Par MARY BURNS, Docteur de l'Université de Paris. Paris, 1916. Svo. xiv + 374 pp.

Miss Burns's thesis is based on solid facts and not on 'impressionist' criticism, which, in the case of Alphonse Daudet particularly, has proved itself (as Miss Burns shows) to be a very deceptive guide. By a patient accumulation and careful sifting of the evidence available Miss Burns may be said to have succeeded in demonstrating wherein Daudet's originality consists, at least so far as that is humanly possible. Her work would have had a wider bearing, and would therefore have been more valuable, if she had compared Daudet's usage with that of his contemporaries, but for that purpose much more time would have been required than is usually at the disposal of young students preparing a dissertation. The chapter on Daudet's syntax is somewhat thin, while the distinction between *emploi* and *exploitation* of *lexique* is not very apparent. Despite these blemishes Miss Burns can be congratulated on having produced a really useful piece of work, which does credit not only to herself but also to her teachers, Professor Brunot of Paris and Dr Ritchie of Edinburgh. Though Miss Burns's thesis is by no means exhaustive, students of Alphonse Daudet will find it indispensable; and as she is evidently well qualified for research of the kind she has undertaken, it is to be hoped that she will pursue her investigations further and make her work on Daudet the basis for a fuller repertory of nineteenth century French. It should be added that Miss Burns has appended to her thesis a very full and valuable Daudet Bibliography—for which she must also be thanked.

L. E. KASTNER.

MANCHESTER.

The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse, XIIIth Century—XXth Century. Chosen by JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1913. Svo. xxxvi + 460 pp.

There are perhaps some students who may have thought they noted in Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's later work—his second manner, as it

were—a tendency to produce books of the heavier kind favoured by certain continental and American schools. A comparison of his earliest History of Spanish Literature with the latest French version or of the first Life of Cervantes with the recent memoir, may at first sight appear to justify this point of view. But the discerning reader will everywhere recognise the man of letters, in spite of all the erudition and apparatus of documents. The *Chapters on Spanish Literature*, no less than the Introduction to the anthology with which we are here concerned, should alone suffice to dispel any doubts on this score. The author has never written with greater beauty of style, with sounder literary judgment, with a surer mastery of the art that compels science and learning to the service of literature. His use of epithets will alone repay careful study; the appreciations, however brief, appear to us to be no less sound than happily expressed. A few examples must suffice:

To some extent Lopez de Ayala works in the vein opened by Ruiz, but he works with less genius, less piquancy of phrase and thought, and with a most serious intention. He satirizes the corruptions of the age, finds all men guilty, and brands himself as a signal sinner. Persuaded of his vocation to reform (or, at least, to rebuke) the world, Lopez de Ayala's censoriousness knows no limits; unhappily he lacks the Archpriest's metrical instinct, as he lacks the Archpriest's sunny fancy, impertinent gaiety, and conniving tolerance. Telling at the outset, the continuous invective defeats its own object, and at last becomes a weariness—even to the indignant poet, who suddenly abandons the *cuaderna via* and his maledictions for gusts of pious aspiration. Ruiz and Lopez de Ayala combine, characteristically enough, moral laxity with devotional unction. Piety, the outcome of a fugitive remorse and an abiding dread of the Hereafter, is a capital trait of the Spanish genius, and in this respect the Archpriest and the Chancellor are typical.

Jorge Manrique, in truth, does but repeat the commonplaces on death which abound in all literatures, and more especially in the sacred books. His triumph consists in his having expressed in a new and imperishable form sentiments familiar since the beginning of time.

To include all the best old *romances* is impossible, but it is hoped that the few examples selected may give some idea of their savage energy, their unstudied grace, and their ingenuous freshness.

Originality was not Garcilaso's aim; the temperament of this 'starry paladin' is more fine than rich, more fastidious than robust; he is a derivative poet whose breadth of culture lends a singular distinction to his polished cadences, a poet whose adroit adaptability formed an ideal equipment for the task which he was born to do—the task of transplanting exotic forms to a harsher soil.

As a mere executant, Zorrilla is almost beyond cavil. But this wonderful virtuoso has one fatal defect. Despite his admirable execution, he has scarcely anything to say, and he says it with a bewildering diffuseness: the gold is there, but it is beaten out too thin.

Would that all literary history and criticism were written after this fashion!

With regard to the choice of poems there is scarcely one—perhaps only one—we would like to see omitted. The case of Cervantes was probably as difficult as any. No one will accuse our anthologist of lack of sympathy with the greatest of Spanish writers. Yet it would, we think, have been better to pass him by altogether than give the sonnet

from *Don Quixote* I, 27 and nothing else. Though Cervantes once wrote: 'Con poco me contento, aunque deseo Mucho'—one feels that he, too, would have preferred such a course. No two critics will ever agree as to the precise merits of Cervantes as a poet, especially as to the value of the *Viaje del Parnaso*. Gibson was obviously too laudatory. But is it quite fair to say, as the Professor does, that the work 'is a failure'? The autobiographical passages appear to us not only full of interest, as they were bound to be, but touching and often beautifully expressed. The description of True Poesy is no doubt bombastic and forced in parts, as so much Spanish poetry is to non-Spanish ears; but it contains, we think, many lines that move and carry conviction by reason of the sheer sincerity and nobility of the writer, his lofty conception of art. We do not suggest that the work is suitable for quotation in an anthology of this kind. Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly excludes all specimens of the medieval epic on the ground that 'it could only be exhibited in a series of extracts which, if separated from their context, would give no just idea' of the *genre*, 'with its bewildering inequalities, its singular fluctuations of strength and weakness.' In other words, he objects to 'purple passages,' as tending to convey a wrong impression of the work as a whole; and, however much we may regret the absence of any portions of the *Poema del Cid*, we fully appreciate the point of view. For the same reason, no doubt, the numerous lyrical passages in which the Spanish drama is so rich are not represented. Is it too much to hope that the same editor and publishers may one day give us a *Specimens of Spanish Dramatic Poetry*, on the lines of Lamb's beautiful book? Such a collection would do much to further a general appreciation of Spanish plays, especially if there were a literal prose rendering, preferably in French, at the foot of each page.

To return to our texts. No useful purpose is ever served by pointing to poems that one would like to see included in a book of this kind; but many readers would, we think, have welcomed a few of the *Gritos* to represent Núñez de Arce, in addition to the lovely *Idilio* which is none too long for any anthology, but perhaps scarcely so characteristic of the poet. With regard to the pieces selected, the choice appears to us, as we have already indicated, all but impeccable. The inclusion of living writers is justified by Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly with his usual felicity: 'Time has still to test their reputations, and we must be content to record their present success without presuming to account for it.' And he has given us truly notable specimens from contemporary writers. Thus, the *Felipe IV* of Manuel Machado is a worthy literary pendant to any, even the best, of Velasquez's representations of that monarch. Again, the pieces of Juan Ramón Jiménez are intensely touching by reason of their directness, simplicity and sincerity. Verses of this kind are far more likely to move modern readers than the more genuinely national products of the Golden Age. But in this book every age is worthily represented. We consider it to be, in many ways, an advantage that the editor is a widely-read Englishman, versed in the literature not only of Spain and of his own country, but in that of

France and Italy as well. The breadth of his literary outlook has enabled him to select a body of verse that cannot fail to appeal to the cultured taste of the whole of Europe. Spanish critics, however distinguished, labour under the disadvantage of having been nurtured in a literary tradition that does not necessarily include poetry of the type represented by Juan Ramón Jiménez. We have proved this to our satisfaction by spending many instructive hours in comparing the *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse* with two kindred volumes¹ that have been published in Great Britain during the last few years, each under the supervision of a Spanish scholar—one of them the most distinguished Hispanist of his or any other time. We recommend every one interested in Spanish literature to perform the same delightful task.

H. OELSNER.

LONDON.

The Relations between Spanish and English Literature. By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. At the University Press of Liverpool. 1910. 8vo. 32 pp.²

The very title of this lecture shows that we have to deal with a scientific study: the author speaks of 'relations,' not of 'influences'—a very different thing. Two striking facts come out in the course of this very brief, but (within its limits) very complete enquiry. The one is that English literature was practically unknown in Spain till the 18th century—the prose version of Gower's *Confessio Amantis* forms the single notable exception. The other is, that very nearly all the numerous English translations from the Spanish, especially before the 18th century, were made by way of the French. Neither of these facts is new; but they have never before been so convincingly argued. Perhaps rather too much stress is laid on the second point. Though a translation is of course bound to suffer unless made direct from the original there can be no doubt that the essence of the Spanish genius was transmitted to this country by means of these versions, however indirect. Again, our author is perhaps somewhat over-sceptical as to the extent of the knowledge of Spanish in the England of the 16th century. It is true he goes so far as to make the grudging admission: ... 'though Spanish may have been known to some extent in court circles and among people of affairs'—but is this strong enough? If we may trust Harrison, Spanish was *certainly* known among the upper classes during

¹ *Las Cien Mejores Poesías (Líricas) de la Lengua Castellana.* Escogidas por Don M. Menéndez y Pelayo (London and Glasgow: Gowans and Gray, 1908). *Antología de los mejores Poetas Castellanos.* Introducción y Comentarios de Rafael Mesa y López. (London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1912.)

² This review was written, virtually as it stands, in 1911. I held it back, because I regarded it as inadequate. I still consider it that. I have unearthed it and sent it in to the General Editor solely because I have found, from personal experience, that Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's discourse is not so well known among students of Spanish and English literature as it deserves to be. H.O.

this period; and the passage rings true, because the picture presented is not in other ways flattering¹.

The mass of information compressed into this paper is no less remarkable than its accuracy and the judgment displayed in setting it forth. Of the more general questions we would instance the scholarly treatment of Gongorism and Euphuism. When it comes to details, we are reluctant to dwell on points we have noted, for the sufficient reason that one knows they are not new to the author. Where apparent omissions occur they are probably due partly to the fact that his discourse was, in the ordinary way, limited to an hour or a little over, and partly to his doubting their relevance to the subject in hand. However, we hope to see this lecture develop first into a second edition, somewhat expanded, with a fairly full bibliography; and ultimately into the big book that all students of English and Spanish literature have been patiently expecting for years. So we do not hesitate to set down our notes, in the hope that the writer may in some cases be led to reconsider his decision.

Though we cannot give chapter and verse at the moment, we feel sure that at least one of the fairly numerous Englishmen writing French prose or verse chronicles in England during the later Middle Ages must have dealt with the exploits of the Black Prince in Spain. However, should our surmise prove to be correct, Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly would probably retort that he is dealing with *English*—not Anglo-French—literature. There seems no special reason for mentioning Lope's *Corona Trágica* and omitting his *Dragontea*. Surely the lecturer's hearers would have been interested to learn something about Lope's as opposed to Sir Henry Newbolt's point of view—a contrast at which our author himself hinted in one of his earliest books. In the same way a brief passage dealing with *Henry VIII* and Calderon's *Cisma de Inglaterra* would have been welcome: the latter is by no means a particularly striking play, but should, we think, be of interest to Englishmen. We do not advocate the inclusion of everything that might, however remotely, be classed under this head. Thus Cervantes, in the *Española inglesa*, betrays no more knowledge of England than Victor Hugo at a later date; and the mention of such a work would be out of

¹ 'This further is not to be omitted, to the singular commendation of both sorts and sexes of our courtiers here in England, that there are very few of them which have not the use and skill of sundry speeches, besides an excellent vein of writing beforetime not regarded. Would to God the rest of their lives and conversations were correspondent to these gifts! For as our common courtiers (for the most part) are the best learned and endowed with excellent gifts, so are many of them the worst men when they come abroad that any man shall either hear or read of. Truly it is a rare thing with us now to hear of a courtier which hath but his own language. And to say how many gentlewomen and ladies there are that besides sound knowledge of the Greek and Latin tongues are thereto no less skilful in the Spanish, Italian, and French, or in some one of them, it resteth not in me, sith I am persuaded that, as the noblemen and gentlemen do surmount in this behalf, so these come very little or nothing at all behind them for their parts: which industry God continue, and accomplish that which otherwise is wanting! Besides these things, I could in like sort set down the ways and means whereby our ancient ladies of the court do shun and avoid idleness...divers in writing volumes of their own, or translating of other men's into our English and Latin tongue....'

place in a brief sketch¹. But in the other cases we have named the works were based not only on Latin chronicles but partly on personal experience and personal intercourse, to say nothing of popular traditions: so that we have genuine points of contact. That Spenser should not have enjoyed *Lazarillo* is not surprising; but one would like to think that Shakespeare, some of whose characters are assuredly picaresque in spirit, also knew this work, and that he was really alluding to it in a well-known passage. But perhaps Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly has now given up this theory which he held none too firmly, if we remember aright, at the time of his tercentenary paper on *Cervantes in England*. More stress might have been laid on the relations of Gracián and Quevedo to English literature: both writers were very popular in translations; the popularity of *Paul the Sharper*, indeed, was probably second to that of no other picaresque novel. Professor Foster Watson's *Tudor School-Boy Life* (1908) gives not only an excellent version of the *Dialogues* of Juan Luis Vives, but contains a useful introduction. Scott's statement that the *Exemplary Novels* inspired him with a desire to excel in fiction was surely worth quoting, and developing in some detail, especially as the casual student fails to observe many striking points of resemblance, certainly not so many as exist between the Spanish novelists and their English successors in the 18th century. It is doubtful whether the subject of *Robert Southey und Spanien* was worth the 315 pages devoted to it by Ludwig Pfandl (the treatise is obtainable as a *tirage à part* of the *Revue Hispanique* 1913). Still, it seems certain that Southey was sincerely devoted to Spain and Spanish literature, and more stress might have been laid on his achievements, though they have now lost their former popularity.

Finally, seeing that Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly humorously alludes to the fact that 'poems on Roderick by Scott and Southey found many readers and perhaps some admirers (such as Mr Arthur Pendennis who "projected an epic poem in blank verse, *Cortez, or the Conqueror of Mexico, and the Inca's Daughter*")' he might have spared a word for Colonel Newcome. For many years we have cherished the opinion (it may of course be merely an illusion) that the Colonel, who (with all deference to Mr Charles Whibley) remains one of the noblest and best loved figures in English fiction, owes his existence to a happy combination of circumstances: Thackeray's step-father was a consummate gentleman; Thackeray himself was a consummate gentleman; and Thackeray had loved *Don Quixote* from early boyhood. In Grego's *Thackerayana* we find quite a passable sketch of the Don drawn by the novelist, during his Charterhouse days, in his copy of the book—and the volume probably contains other illustrations from his pencil. We learn from Thackeray's biographers that, like Lamb and Heine, he was of the

¹ In a detailed account—more historical in character—admirers of Cervantes' generous nature, to say nothing of students of international relations, might like to be reminded that this *novela*, written by a Spaniard not many years after the Armada, contains references to English people and to their Queen that are by no means unflattering. Such an account would of course deal also with Cervantes' two Armada Odes.

order of true Cervantists—one of the elect who regard the exploits of the Knight and his Squire as a theme for tears rather than thoughtless laughter¹. And, then, have we not the matchless close of the sixth chapter of *The Newcomes*²? If this is not a case of 'influence,' it might at least be dealt with under the wider term of 'relations.'

H. OELSNER.

LONDON.

Carta de Guia de Casados. Por D. FRANCISCO MANUEL DE MELLO. Com um estudo critico, notas e glossario por EDGAR PRESTAGE. (*Biblioteca Lusitana.*) Porto, 1916. pp. 225.

Mr Edgar Prestage has an unrivalled knowledge of Mello's life and works, and it is to be hoped that he will edit the *Apologos Dialogues* in the same series. Its editors are to be congratulated on this addition to the *Biblioteca Lusitana*, which promises to render fruitful service to Portuguese literature. This is the 17th edition of the charming treatise written by Mello during two months of the winter of 1650 as a prisoner in the *Torre Velha* on the left bank of the Tagus, and translated into English by John Stephens under the title of *The Government of a Wife* (1697). There are other works in Spanish and Portuguese on the same subject; but the two best, Luis de Leon's *La Perfecta Casada* and the *Carta de Guia de Casados*, were written by men who were unmarried. As Mello says here, the spectator sees most of the game. This was his first work to be written in Portuguese. Its style is simple and direct and it not infrequently recalls the precise sentences, wise brevity and golden good sense of Bacon's essays. Mr Prestage, in adopting the text of the first and best edition (1651), has made a stand against the practice of radically modernizing the spelling: in some cases past authors would scarcely recognize their offspring. It is however a question whether, when the author does not know his own mind, his editor should not come to his assistance. Thus we have here *boca* and *bocca*, *meter* and *metter*, *defeito* and *deffeito*, *aceitar* and *acceitar*, *nacer* and *nascer*, *cheo* and *cheio*, *oficio* and *officio*, *alheo*, *alhéo* and *alheio*, *peior*, *peor* and *pior*, *sofrer*, *soffrer*, *sofrivel*, *insufrivel*. In a language with a slight tendency to sluggishness (though not in Mello) the briefer forms are no doubt to be preferred. From actual misprints the book is singularly free. We may note *sangusinho* for *sanguinho* (p. 77), 1529 for 1527 (p. 187), Rosetti for Rossetti (p. 209). In his interesting preface Mr Prestage emphasizes the excellence of Portuguese prose-writers, among whom Mello occupies so distinguished a place, and in a note he

¹ See Melville's biography for a reference to J. E. Cooke's 'An Hour with Thackeray.' See, too, the paper, *De Juventute*; and the Speech at the Royal Literary Fund Dinner, 1849.

² Major Dobbin, too, often recalls the Don; but this character, one fancies, reflects rather the hopes and sorrows of Thackeray himself than those of any literary forerunner.

compares this treatise with that of Luis de León. Mello's work is more practical, but his standpoint is as high, his taste as severe, his manner more courtly and entertaining. He agrees with the Spanish monk in condemning women who painted their faces, and he has little good to say of pet dogs and pet nightingales or of the ladies who are always reading comedies or novels or romances of chivalry, or who enter a church as if they were going to battle, hustling and upsetting people. But he is less caustic in his condemnation, nor does he allow his wit to get the better of his heart. In writing largely from his own experience of life and literature he gives many glimpses into the manners of the day; he describes the motley crowd wont to hang about a great house in Lisbon, hucksters, pedlars, negroes, gypsies and a hundred more, and his experience at a Spanish inn (p. 107) is worthy of *Don Quixote*. His task was to describe the right relations between husband and wife, and it must be remembered that the small degree of liberty of women in Portugal had already attracted attention in Europe. He does succeed in some measure in showing how women might combine these restrictions with the practice of all their natural gifts and graces. And if his anecdotes and examples are of his own time and country his kindly wisdom and keen comments are for all time. In this attractive edition they are likely to entertain and instruct a very large number of readers.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL.

Commentary to the Germanic Laws and Mediaeval Documents. By LEO WIENER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1915. 8vo. lxi + 224 pp.

Professor Wiener, as he tells us in the preface to this work, has spent more than five years in analysing and excerpting all the accessible documents from the earliest times of the Roman Empire to the year 1300, with the result that he has become convinced that the whole science of modern philology needs revision and that above all 'the Gibraltar of Germanic philology, the Gothic language, stands on a foundation of sand.' His study of the Germanic laws (Visigothic, Burgundian, Salic, Langobardic, etc.) has evidently persuaded him that they are altogether dependent on Roman jurisprudence, just as those of the Cherokees and Chickasaw Indians were deduced from the United States laws (cf. Chapter headed 'Indian parallels,' pp. xxii—xxxii, which we fear will convince few readers) and that the many elements of native growth, in customs as well as in vocabulary, which scholars, both jurists and philologists¹, have hitherto claimed to see in them, are all (or nearly all) derived from the same source—the Roman law. The terms

¹ It is a little surprising that Van Helten's treatise *Zu den malbergischen Glossen*, etc., *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, xxv, pp. 252—542, is not included in the 'Index of Sources of Documentary Evidence,' pp. xi—xix.

O.H.G. *grávjo* (*grafio* in the Salic laws) and A.S. *geréfa*, for example, are both but a contraction of Lat. *gravitas*, which in the phrase *tua gravitas* was attached as a title of honour to different offices (cf. p. 21); and O.H.G. *sculthaizo* is derived from late Lat. *scultarius* < *scutarius*, the *scutarîi* being a bodyguard of the emperors (pp. 44 and 50). But the general view that our Gothic documents ultimately go back to Ulfilas, or, as in the case of the *Skeireins*, to the literary tradition created by his activity, seemed, at first sight, to contradict his theory; for many of the words which 'from the study of the documents could not possibly have existed before the sixth or seventh century' appear in their vocabulary. *Ergo*: all these Gothic documents must have been composed at a much later date. Before Prof. Wiener lays before us his proof of 'internal evidence,' derived from examining the vocabulary of the Laws (pp. 1—196), he undertakes to show in an introductory chapter, 'The Gothic Bible' (pp. xxxii—lxi), that the orthodox theory respecting the age of the Gothic Bible and the *Skeireins* rests on the 'flimsiest of assumptions': indeed, he holds that the Gothic Bible translation was made in France about the year 800 (pp. lxi and 162) and the *Skeireins*, which is nothing but an anti-Adoptionist pamphlet, very strongly influenced by Alcuin's writings, was not composed before the ninth century, very possibly not before 813 when Charlemagne demanded that homilies should be written in the vernacular (pp. liv and lxi). As the air of assurance pervading this chapter, so startling in its conclusions, might captivate readers even although they may be scared by the subsequent etymological evidence, we propose to examine Professor Wiener's chief arguments.

He rightly remarks (p. xxxvi) that, for his purpose, it is necessary to reinvestigate *all* the Gothic MSS., both textually and palæographically. But does he do so? We miss the Egyptian bilingual (Gothic-Latin) vellum-fragment, found, together with others¹, both vellum and papyrus, at Schêkh 'Abâde (near the ancient Antinoë), the Latin part written in uncials², which it would be difficult to date later than the early part of the sixth century. We are left to wonder whether Prof. Wiener considers this fragment, too, as of ninth century origin and as having been brought to Egypt and buried there at this or some later period.

Again, Wiener promises a textual investigation of the MSS. He certainly devotes a page (xliii to xliv) to the *Ambrosian Fragments*, but not a word is said about the Gothic Calendar of Thracian origin at the time of Theodosius, the Great, contained in *Ambrosian A*. Now, we can understand that such a document with its mention of local festival days might have been copied from an older 'Vorlage' (Gothic Bible + Calendar) among the Goths in Italy at about 500 A.D. or a few decades later, but it would be very puzzling to account for its appearance in a ninth-century Gothic Bible copy made in Southern France, the

¹ Amongst them the remains of a Greek translation of the Old Testament which shows Samaritan influence.

² Cf. the excellent facsimile in Glaue's edition of the fragment, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xi (1910), pp. 1—38.

original of which was, in the opinion of Prof. Wiener, itself not older than about 800 A.D. Is this difficulty the reason of his silence?

From noticing these omissions we pass to the author's arguments. There is, we are told, not a single trustworthy witness who accredits the Bible translation to Ulfilas: Philostorgius attributes to Ulfilas the invention of a Gothic Alphabet, which is not true¹; his reference as to the reason for the omission of the Book of Kings from the Gothic Bible translation is devoid of probability; consequently the rest of his statement: *μετέφρασεν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν φωνὴν τὰς γραφὰς ἀπάσας*, is equally far from the truth. An easy but scarcely scientific method of disposing of an uncomfortable witness! As to the orthodox writers from Sozomenus in the fifth to Isidore of Sevilla in the seventh century whose *Historia de regibus Gotorum* is, for the older period, only a compilation, what reason had they to advertise the Arian bishop Ulfilas? But above all, it is only a modern way of looking at the matter to expect to hear Ulfilas' achievement proclaimed and re-echoed by contemporary or later authors. Kyrillus and Methodius, the unknown authors of the O.S. Heliand and the O.S. Old Testament, Otfrid, the monk of Weissenburg, are excellent cases in point; but Prof. Wiener's Bible-translator, the unbefriended, solitary Goth in France at the time of Charlemagne, of whose ambitious work neither Theodulphus, the Visigoth, nor any other of the learned men round the emperor betrays the slightest knowledge, would surely be the most remarkable case of all! In order to provide a safer basis for his views on the late date of the Gothic documents, Prof. Wiener goes on to assure us, on the strength of an article by von Grienberger, *Die germanischen Runennamen* (Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, XXI, pp. 199 ff.), and a decree of the Synod of Laon, that Gothic was still understood in Southern France at the beginning of the tenth century, while, in Spain, it existed as late as the year 1091. But it needs the self-assurance of Prof. Wiener to see, behind the Laon decree, anything more than the demand for a break with the Visigothic book-script in favour of the Frankish minuscule, a purely palæographical change, connected, most likely, with the introduction of the Roman liturgy in place of the Toledonian or Mozarabic² as well as with the influence of the monks of Clugny; and though von Grienberger is inclined to place the original of the Gothic Runic names in the Salzburg-Vienna MS. in the second half of the eighth century³, and to attribute them to the influence of Alcuin, he also shows—a point on which Prof. Wiener maintains complete silence—the characteristic deviations of this

¹ Need one say that a man who gave his people, which hitherto had only used Runic signs, an alphabet, even though that alphabet were dependent on Greek and Runic (and Latin?) letters, might justly be called *γραμματῶν αὐτοῖς οἰκῶν εὐεργής*—just as, five centuries later, Kyrillus was styled by friends and opponents inventor of the Slavic script?

² Cf. Lucas Tudensis, *Chronicon Hispaniae* (about 1236): *statuerunt ut scriptores de cetero gallicam litteram scripserint et praetermitterent toletanam* (scriptura Toledana or Moçarava = Visigothic cursive) *in officiis ecclesiasticis, ut nulla esset divisio inter ministros ecclesiae dei*. That Rodrigo Ximenes, from whom Wiener quotes, attributes the *littera Toledana* to Ulfilas is interesting but nevertheless erroneous.

³ Cf. also p. 200: 'Im 10. Jh. aber dürfte lebendige Kenntnis der gotischen Sprache nur noch bei den Krimgoten zu finden gewesen sein.'

late Gothic dialect from the language of the Ulfilas Bible (cf. pp. 203, 205, 208). We certainly wish that Gothic had still been a living force in the eighth and ninth centuries, with a literature of its own, for then we might have had more documents of the language, and documents of a more varied character.

Turning to the date of the *Codex Argenteus*, Prof. Wiener calls its often noticed resemblance to the *Brixianus*¹ of the fifth or sixth century a gratuitous and unfounded assumption, and he points to similar sumptuous MSS. of the ninth century, notably the Bible of Theodolphus, the Visigoth. What use is there, we ask, in such a general statement which does not even take into account that it is one thing to imitate in the ninth century the early Latin uncial, a script which had never fallen into disuse, and quite another thing to imitate the peculiar Gothic uncial letters? As, moreover, Prof. Wiener's scribe of the *Codex Argenteus* cannot be a mere copyist of a fifth or sixth-century Gothic MS.—for the Gothic Bible, as we have already heard, is a composition of Carolingian times—we ask ourselves where could he, or at best his immediate predecessor, the translator, have found the early model (or models) for his fine Gothic uncial which, by the way, neither here nor in the other Bible fragments shows any of those traces which are to be found in imitative scripts²? And though from our point of view there may have existed a copy (or copies) of the Ulfilas Bible in the country, even after its conversion to Roman-Catholicism (589), where is there proof, or even the slightest hint, of an unbroken tradition of the Gothic uncial writing among the Visigoths in Spain or Southern France? The Roman Catholic monk and priest would naturally have avoided it as an instrument of heresy. The ordinary book-script which we find since the sixth or seventh century is derived from the later Roman cursive hand and developed into the characteristic forms of the Visigothic minuscule.

But to bring the *Brixianus* into the discussion, why does Prof. Wiener not say a single word about its interesting preface which, unmistakably, points to the existence of a Gothic Bible translation, and why is he silent concerning Prof. F. C. Burkitt's ingenious hypothesis³ of the existence of a bilingual (Gothic-Latin) translation of the New Testament to which the *Brixianus* belongs as a copy of the Latin part of the text, altered, in places, in accordance with the Gothic rendering—an hypothesis which since the discovery of the Egyptian fragment must be regarded as proved? Thus there is, indeed, good reason, both on external and internal evidence, for establishing a connection between the two Codices, and the generally accepted date for the *Brixianus* (fifth or sixth century) even Wiener allows to pass unchallenged.

As regards the presence of the Eusebian canon in the *Codex Argenteus*

¹ Brescia was, like Ravenna, a centre of Gothic learning.

² For example, the Gothic letters in the Salzburg-Vienna MS., as may be seen from the lithographic plate of the Gothic Alphabet at the end of vol. II of v. Gabelentz and Loebe's *Ulfilas* (1846).

³ *Journal of Theological Studies*, I, pp. 129-34; XI, pp. 611-12.

(p. xl) and also on the question of a missing link suggested by the Syriac or Greek influence on its ornamentation (p. xli), we recommend Prof. Wiener the study of an article by the late R. Beer¹ and ask him to consider the possibility set forth in that article of bringing the oldest Bobbienses—amongst them the Gothic *Codices rescripti*—into relationship with the varied literary activity of Cassiodorus, the Gothoromanus, and his remarkable book collection at Vivarium.

The remaining part of the chapter (pp. xlii—lxi) shows the same pseudo-critical method. It will suffice to draw attention to two points. In the *Codex rescriptus Guelferbytanus* (*Carolinus*), also to be regarded as a fragment of the biblingual translation referred to above, Prof. Wiener's palaeographical acumen discovers that the (uncial) heading of the superscribed text (Isidore of Sevilla's *Etymologiae*), as shown in Heinemann's facsimile of a page, is in precisely the same handwriting as the underlying Latin text, consequently both belong to the same period (the ninth century according to Wiener), nay, may have been written by the same hand. In other words: soon after the scribe, with infinite trouble and care, had executed his first task—the Gothic-Latin text (only parts of the Epistle to the Romans are preserved), he took his *rasorium*, applying it, happily with small success, to erasing the fine uncial letters to make room for Isidore's *Etymologiae* in his ordinary cursive writing². Rather an unusual proceeding which, however, Wiener supposes to have been also carried out in the case of the part of the *Skeireins* contained in the Vatican Codex 5730 (cf. p. xlvii—viii). But a look at H. Henning's facsimile *Der Wulfila der Bibliotheca Augusta zu Wolfenbüttel*, Hamburg (preface dated 1913), which Wiener does not appear to know, shows to the practised eye the unmistakable and striking difference between the uncial letters of the headings and initials in the superscribed text and those of the Latin text below. One need only compare the test letters L, M, N, P, T and even the E. If anywhere, then the difference between the fine, even uncial of the fifth and sixth centuries and the clumsy, negligent and uneven one of the eighth century with its characteristic form-changes is apparent here, even in the *one* heading which Prof. Wiener has examined (he should also have looked at the initial letters on the same plate).

Prof. Wiener thinks that he holds a trump card in his hands when he turns to the *Skeireins* (p. xlv) and, on the ground of its (supposed) agreement with thoughts expressed by Alcuin, concludes that it is a ninth-century anti-Adoptionist pamphlet based on that writer. One might argue that the remarkable syntax³ of the *Skeireins* which Lenk

¹ *Bemerkungen über den ältesten Handschriftenbestand des Klosters Bobbio*; also in *Monumenta Palaeographica Vindobonensia*, Lieferung II (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 14–26.

² North Italian or Merovingian book-cursive, early eighth century; but of more importance is the close relation of the text to that in the Vatican MS. lat. 5763, which is, almost certainly, a Bobbiensis. Cf. M. Ihm, *Palaeographia Latina*, Leipzig, 1910, Ser. I, Pl. VI, and *enarratio Tabularum*; W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, Oxonii, 1911, I, p. ix f.

³ Wiener pays neither here nor when speaking of the Gothic Bible any attention to this point, and his sweeping statement about the knowledge of Greek in the Carolingian time (pp. xliii—xliv) is very far from representing the facts.

has described in *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, xxxvi, pp. 237—305, would, by itself, have excluded the possibility of this late date. But let us assume that there is really some connection between the *Skeireins* and Alcuin, that similar thoughts similarly expressed occur in both. What follows? Unless special features appear in these passages (characteristic mistakes, for instance, or historical data), nothing more than that they are indebted to the same source, directly or indirectly. And Alcuin, who shows little originality in his writings and a very extensive reading, was not unlikely to have drawn from a source out of the beaten track. However, there is another possibility which meets Prof. Wiener's point of view, although reversing the relation of Alcuin to the *Skeireins*. Alcuin, we know, maintained relations, personal and by correspondence, with the Gothic bishops and other clergy of Septimania. Provided a copy of the *Skeireins* was at the time still extant in Spain or Southern France and was known to one of those Goths, is it not conceivable that this Goth, being perhaps aware that Alcuin was engaged on a commentary of S. John, should have advised his friend of the existence of this tract on a cognate subject, and furnished him with a Latin translation of it? A translation is not the same thing as an original composition and need not have been beyond the power of the writer of a dying idiom. Hence, one might argue, the general agreement in some of the ideas (cf. pp. lvi—lx) and notably that between the passage in Alcuin: *...sed etiam hereticorum perfidiam quam futuram praeuit* and *Skeireins*, v, 4 (ed. Streitberg): *...kunnands þize anawairpane airzein* ('knowing of the heresy of these future men')—cf. pp. l and lii—where, however, Alcuin significantly adds to a reference to Sabellius following the quoted passage, another reference to Arius. Why his ninth-century Goth, author of the *Skeireins* and, of course, a Roman Catholic, should have suppressed this reference when copying from Alcuin, Prof. Wiener does not trouble to explain. In another passage, also cited by Prof. Wiener for comparison (p. l and lii, note 3), the 'Skeireinist,' for us an Arian Goth, requires a different honour for the Father and the Son (*ni ibnan ak galeika sweripa usgiban*, 'to give not equal but similar honours,' v, 24), whereas Alcuin demands one and the same honour (*quae etiam potestas uno honore honoranda est*). This, Prof. Wiener says, is merely due to an over-emphasis of the argument against the Adoptionist view that the honour should be different. So be it, but then it follows that the author of the *Skeireins*, this anti-Adoptionist pamphlet (according to his view), instead of availing himself of this useful over-emphasis, made a deliberate concession to the enemy! We might add that Alcuin's acquaintance with the Gothic tract, even though in a Latin garb, would help us to understand his active interest—an antiquarian one—in the Gothic sentences and Runic names with which von Grienberger credits him (cf. above p. 115). But enough; I have no intention of advancing a new theory here, but simply wish to show that an hypothesis diametrically opposed to Prof. Wiener's has, at least, some chance of favourable consideration.

To sum up, we may say that the whole chapter on 'The Gothic Bible' adduces not an iota of a proof of Prof. Wiener's astounding

contentions. He betrays an extraordinary lack of palæographical knowledge and ignores all important points which cannot be brought into harmony with his theory. Nor is the etymological part of the book better. We are seriously told there (p. 161) that by the ninth century the legal term *ex facto* was rendered *mis-factum* (*mis* < *missus* the technical term for a discharged soldier in the Roman empire), that the Goths in their Bible translation—made in France about the year 800—adopted the legal term and literally translated it by *missa-deps*, while *misfactor* was similarly rendered by *missataujands*, and that similar terms are found in all the Germanic languages. We are assured on p. 156 that the *veredi* ('post horses') gave place, in France, to monetary exchange, the *fredum* (*freda* < *vereda* under the influence of *inferenda*, p. 146), and that from this the Germans formed the word *fridu*, A.S. *friðu*, *freoðo*, O. Norse *friðr* (peace), the Goths *gafrithôn* 'to atone' (**Friþu-reiks* (Friedrich), the name of a Visigothic prince ca. 454 and *Friþareikei[kei]*s in the Gothic Calendar (Streitberg, I, p. 472), formed from the same root, are ignored!). On pp. 65 f. is set forth at some length that the Germ. *werfen*, Goth. *wairpan*, A.S. *weorpan* was acquired by the Franks, directly or indirectly, from the Arabs (*ḥariba*, 'it was, or became, in a state of ruin,' *ḥarab*, 'a ruin, waste') and from the Franks it passed in the second half of the eighth century to the Goths, when a large number of them settled in the south-west of France in the territory known as Gothia, or elsewhere on French territory. These are a few examples¹ of the internal evidence which is intended to prove that the Gothic Bible could not have been written before the end of the ninth century. Comment seems superfluous; we are reminded of the etymological jugglery of the seventeenth century. This is a pity, the more so as there is, otherwise, in this part of the book evidence of a thorough and fruitful study of these more or less obscure documents. Here Prof. Wiener does not go out of the way of difficulties and he succeeds in clearing up more than one of the corrupt or unintelligible passages. But we cannot look forward with pleasure to the second volume, which, besides containing an attack on the Gothic documents of Naples and Arezzo and on the MS. tradition of Jordanes, is to show 'that Germanic mythology is of a literary Gothic origin, based on Arabic sources, and that no literary documents in Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Old High German exist which do not show the influence of the Arabicised Gothic language.' *Ḥarab* means 'waste land,' and a few green oases will not change it into arable soil.

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¹ For others we refer the reader to Prof. H. Bradley in the *English Historical Review*, vol. xxxi (1916), p. 174 f. Cp. also above, p. 114.

The Modern Study of Literature. An Introduction to Literary Theory and Interpretation. By RICHARD GREEN MOULTON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Cambridge: University Press. 1915. 8vo. xii + 530 pp.

Dr Moulton's new volume is interesting to us, not so much as a statement of new doctrines, as because it provides a kind of index to the present standpoint of the science of literature, the 'modern study of literature.' It is an 'introduction to literary theory and interpretation,' a reasoned scientific textbook codifying views already enunciated by Dr Moulton in his earlier works on *Shakespeare*, on the *Classic Drama* and on *The Literary Study of the Bible*. 'In succession to these separate studies, the present book seeks to arrive at a synthetic view of the theory and interpretation of literature.'

Dr Moulton's work is divided into six books, the subjects of which are as follows: (i) Literary Morphology; (ii) The Field and Scope of Literary Study; (iii) Literary Evolution; (iv) Literary Criticism; (v) Literature as a Mode of Philosophy; and (vi) Literature as a Mode of Art. This represents a very wide field; wider perhaps than even these titles would indicate: it is an attempt to codify the entire study of literature viewed as an organic phenomenon. In other words, it may be regarded as a presentation of that method of studying literature which has grown up in analogy with the science of comparative anatomy; it is a contribution to the science of Comparative Literature. And Comparative Literature ought to have a peculiar interest for us in this country; for it was an English discovery, but, like the aniline dyes, one that we have let slip from us; during the last ten years unquestionably the most furthering work in the subject has been done in France and the United States.

Dr Moulton's book has much to teach us not merely concerning what may be achieved by the comparative method, but also in showing us its limitations. Comparative Literature is not a key that will open all doors; and a comprehensive survey like the present reveals very clearly its present shortcomings and imperfections. Take, for instance, the series of chapters of Book III in which 'literary evolution' in Epic Poetry, in Drama, and in Lyric Poetry are dealt with. The value of the comparative method as an instrument of interpretation in the case of the primitive stages of the epic and the drama has long been recognised; possibly that value has even been exaggerated. Dr Moulton reviews the whole field impartially, and arrives at what seems to me very sound conclusions as to the range of its utility. His chapter on lyric poetry, on the other hand, shows how far we still are from an adequate application of the comparative method to the study of lyric origins. What a bewildering, unsatisfactory kind of thing every attempt has been to interpret the lyric—one thinks of numberless studies on ballad-origins, and the like—by the light of 'comparative literature'! Frankly, it would appear as if this 'modern' method had broken down utterly before the sphinx-riddle of lyric origins. It lets

us see, at least, how much has still to be done, before we are in a position to speak of a comparative method on a sound scientific basis and applicable to every form of literary problem.

Dr Moulton is particularly illuminating and helpful when he discusses literary criticism; his Book VI, in fact, seems to me much the most successful section of his work. He deals here with the various kinds of literary criticism: with speculative criticism and the evolutionary theory of taste; and then with inductive criticism, as he calls the criticism of interpretation. And these chapters point another moral: it is here, in the patient and exhaustive study of literary criticism and literary taste in their historical aspect, that the most solid foundations for the comparative method are to be sought. Dr Moulton skilfully outlines the way that has to be followed, and the best service which the student of Comparative Literature in the immediate future can do his subject is the cultivation of the field which is here mapped out. I am not forgetful of the excellent work in the history of criticism which has been done in the past; there is, for instance, Professor Saintsbury's monumental work; but in that work, it was not the author's express object to treat his subject from the standpoint of growth or development, but rather to present a critical record of facts.

It may be objected that Dr Moulton's methods are not to everyone's tastes. Many of us are inclined to shrink with a shrug, or a shudder, from those elaborate diagrams with which Dr Moulton strews his pages. They remind us of the illustrations with which the German *Oberlehrer* of a past generation used to decorate their school-editions of German classical dramas, in which the drama under consideration was visualised by a kind of map, shown rising to its apex and falling to its close, in the manner of a barometric register: others again may find such methods attractive and helpful. After all, the reduction of literary phenomena to a geometric diagram is not the essential, but the law of literary evolution which lies behind; and to arrive at this is the end Dr Moulton has in view.

In what relation, it might be asked, does the study of literature as enunciated in this volume stand to the work that is being done in hundreds of university class-rooms and seminars every day? Dr Moulton does not, I take it, wish to impose upon us an entirely new method: he will rather expand and supplement existing methods; his main complaint is that the study of literature

should have fallen into departmental studies of particular literatures, with little attention to the interpretation of these literatures, and with almost no attention to the conception of literature as a whole. The unity of literature, which should be the basis of all literary study whether on a larger or smaller scale, is not to be sought in the mere aggregation of separate literatures, but in the perspective view of the whole which in this work has been formulated as world literature.

It is obvious that much of the highest instruction in literature is entirely independent of and has no need of the comparative method. No one would venture to deny that the study of an individual author—and that in spite of the fact that Dr Moulton has himself given an

excellent illustration of what can be done on comparative lines in his book on Shakespeare—may be conducted admirably in a way which has nothing in common with the ‘modern study of literature.’ Comparative literature is something outside of and supplementary to the ordinary work of literary study: a stimulating auxiliary rather than an everywhere applicable method. The day may come—as it virtually has come in biological science—when our scientific work in literature will be consistently comparative; but that day is not yet. Meanwhile Comparative Literature must go on its way independently for some time yet. It is still a very young science; its powers are still obscure or untried; it is still in a nebulous, or at least uncharted condition. Dr Moulton is ‘Professor of Literary Theory and Interpretation at the University of Chicago’; I doubt if there is any similar chair elsewhere; but there are chairs of Comparative Literature at the great universities of France and the United States, and, if I am not mistaken, their field is very similar to that which Dr Moulton covers.

For the rest, we must be content to acknowledge the achievements which the ‘modern method’ has already to its credit. Its aid in the elucidation of the origins of epic and drama has already been alluded to: it has focussed attention on the relations of literary development to social movements; it has thrown, in particular, abundant light on cosmopolitan eras of literary history, such as the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, by bringing parallel developments into juxtaposition, and explaining one by the other; it has demonstrated the evolution of ‘genres’ in many literatures. But in all this, we are only at the beginning; and our business now is to build up and elaborate this scientific method of literary study. And for guidance in such work there is no more helpful or stimulating handbook than this volume of Dr Moulton’s.

In matters of detail I have often found myself at variance with Dr Moulton’s judgment: at times he shows what seems to me a bluntness of critical perception in his aesthetic appreciation of individual works. Masterpieces jostle in Dr Moulton’s pages with what seems to many of us anything but permanent enrichments of literature. His opinions are often too subjective for a critic who insists on scientific aloofness, as, for instance, when he tells us that Ibsen’s *Keiser og Galilei* is ‘the greatest of all historical dramas.’ His analysis of a Shakespearean drama is too symmetrical to be convincing; and that of Scott’s *Monastery* smacks too much of the old Hegelian method which brought German aesthetic criticism into ill-repute for more than one generation. If there is anything the ‘modern’ critic of literature must beware of, it is Hegelianism. I have already spoken of the excellence of the chapters on criticism: particularly noticeable is his treatment of Wordsworth; but Herder was surely not ‘the real father of the historical method’; if this honour belongs to any single thinker, that thinker is Vico. Occasionally Dr Moulton verges on a certain critical anarchism which, on this side of the Atlantic, we find it difficult to palliate. On p. 200, for instance, he pronounces the dictum:

When an Englishman does not conform to the laws of England, he is violating law. When a poet does not conform to existing laws of poetry, he is extending law. A whole history of poetry might be written upon these lines, bringing out that what were at first regarded as 'faults' and violations of law came later to be recognised as extensions of law, principles of new departures in poetry. We may lay down as a paradox of criticism that *art is made legitimate by refusing to obey laws*.

This is obviously only a half-truth, and questionable at that; it refuses to recognise the fact that, for every one defiance of literary law which justifies itself, there are a hundred, at least, which justify the law. And how dangerous such a half-truth may be, is to be seen from Dr Moulton's own pages. He extends the field of literature to include the most irresponsible journalism of our day and the ephemeral novels turned out by the caterers for the circulating libraries. Such democratic universality hampers, it seems to me, and does not help the scientific study of literature.

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MINOR NOTICES.

A welcome must be offered to a revised and enlarged edition of Dr Clark Hall's *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Cambridge: University Press). The first edition compared unfavourably with Sweet's excellent *Student's Dictionary* which appeared about the same time; but it may now be said that each has its value for the student. Dr Clark Hall has many more words than Sweet. He is less conservative, and at times admits words which are certainly not A.S. at all, e.g. *arblast* (*Chron.* 1079), *ācordian* (*ib.* 1120), but many of his additions are due to the developments in our knowledge of A.S. vocabulary which have resulted from the work of Napier and others during the last twenty years. For the junior student the later edition has the further merit that it enters various verbal forms in their alphabetical order, giving cross-references to the corresponding infinitives. An interesting feature also of the new edition is the reference in each case where an A.S. word has survived in M. or Mod. Eng. to its heading in the *N.E.D.* Sweet's dictionary, on the other hand, is fuller in its treatment of the constructions and idioms used with certain common prepositions, verbs and the like. To the present writer at least his method of arranging all compounds under their first element seems preferable to Dr Clark Hall's strictly alphabetical order, and Sweet has far more brief but useful etymological notes referring a derivative to its etymon or analysing a disguised compound. It is specially to be regretted that in the incorporation of certain Scandinavian loan-words, e.g. *bōnda*, *brýdhlōp*, there is no hint that the words are not native.

Sweet has unfortunately still the great advantage of being much the more accurate of the two editors. Under the letters A and B the following points have been noted: conditions of space and time forbade detailed investigation being carried further: *ābrytan* for *ābrȳtan*. *æcyrf* for *æcyrf*, *æfgerefa* for *æfgerēfa*, *æfter-sona*, *-spræc* for *-sōna*, *-spræc*,

ælærende for *ælærend*, *æslitend* for *æslitend*, *ætrig* for *ætrig*, *āfægrian* for *āfægrian*, *āhlīehhan* for *ahliehhan*, *andȳde* for *andyde*, *Anglen* (twice) for *Angeln* in Schleswig (a mistake found in Sweet also), *ansetla* for *ānsetla*; *anmōd* and *ānmod* are not two distinct adjectives, you are 'resolute' if you are 'one-minded'; *antid* (*Beowulf* 219) must be taken as *an(d)tīd*, not as *āntīd* if it is interpreted as 'the corresponding time of the following day'; *and-rysno* for *an-drysno*, *ascildan* for *āscildan*, *āteran* for *āteran*, *bædend* for *bædend*, *begēat* for *begeat*, *beleoran* for *belēoran*; s.v. *benæman*, *nīman* for *nīman*; s.v. *beorgselfen*, *orcad* for *oread*; *besceawiendlic* for *besceāwiendlic*, *bleom* for *blēom*, *botian* for *bōtīan*; *brēneð* (*Run.* 15—it should be 43) from a vb **brēnan*, to make brown, is etymologically impossible; *brynēadl* for *bryneād*, *byrðenstan* for *byrðenstān*. There are of course words in which the new book is the more correct, e.g. *āncor* (hermit) for *ancor*, *an-bīdian* for *an-bīdian*, *bitela* for *bitel*, but such are comparatively rare. It is impossible unreservedly to recommend a dictionary in which mistakes of this kind, due either to bad proof-reading or to lack of knowledge, are only too frequent.

A. M.

In her dissertation, *Das geographische Weltbild des späteren englischen Mittelalters mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vorstellungen Chaucer's und seiner Zeitgenossen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Hammerschlag und Kahle, 1915), which was written for the doctorate of the university of Freiburg, Fräulein Käte Heidrich attempts to collect the geographical knowledge contained in late Middle English literature, especially in Chaucer and his contemporaries.

Fräulein Heidrich gathered the material for the dissertation in the Bodleian, the Edinburgh University Library, the British Museum and the Berlin Libraries. The outbreak of the war prevented her from using certain manuscripts and books which are to be found only in England, with the result that the work falls short of the completeness it originally aimed at, but, even in its present form, it shows that Fräulein Heidrich has read widely and carefully.

While the book does not contain much that was not already known to the student of Middle English, it throws fresh light on pilgrim-routes, on the position of geography in mediaeval schools, and on the curricula of schools and universities in general. Fräulein Heidrich identifies 'Belmarie' with 'Fez.' She does not attempt to establish the statement on p. 42 that Chaucer knew Greek; there is in fact no proof that he did know Greek; the little evidence available supports the contrary view (cf. Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, vol. II, pp. 192, 193, 387).

On p. 63 we read in reference to 'a Sheffield thwitel': 'Von den ältesten Zeiten der englischen Geschichte ist die Messerschmiedekunst besonders an Sheffield gebunden gewesen.' We are not aware that there is any earlier reference to the cutlery trade at Sheffield than 1340 (v. G. I. H. Lloyd, *The Cutlery Trades*, p. 87).

J. D. J.

The second edition of Skeat's *Havelok the Dane*, prepared by Mr K. Sisam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1915), embodies the results of recent research and criticism, to which Mr Sisam has himself contributed. The text reproduces the normalised spelling of the first edition of 1902. The Introduction, which deals with the MS. and the Cambridge fragments, early versions of the *Havelok* story, locality, date, metre, phonology and inflexions, now provides all that is needed for the study of the text. The notes have been carefully revised and contain a good deal of fresh matter. The glossary is adapted to the normalised text, but interesting MS. forms are indicated. 'Many words and phrases are now added which are worth recording in a text so early.' References to N. E. D. are added in difficult cases. We may note that all the editors and critics of the *Havelok* seem to feel that any rhyme that is not phonetically exact calls for emendation. But the composer of a popular poem might be expected to be less particular in the matter of rhymes than a learned or courtly *confrère*. Some apparently faulty rhymes may have been correct in the pronunciation of the poet and his district. More probably, however, he was satisfied with approximate rhymes or assonances.

W. J. S.

The seven essays which go to make Dr E. N. S. Thompson's *Essays on Milton* (Yale, University Press, London, H. Milford) are well suited to form an introduction to the serious study of Milton. They do not profess to contain anything new, and the views they set forth are those usually accepted, but they gather into one compact volume the main points to which attention must be directed and suggest to the reader some of the chief questions which he will have to take into consideration in dealing with the poet. The chapters on *Milton*, 'The Last of the Elizabethans' and *The Sources of Paradise Lost* marshal facts clearly and concisely, and show refreshing common-sense in dealing with those verbal resemblances to which undue weight is so often attached. Some omissions are inevitable in a book of this size dealing with so vast a subject. It is surprising that Prof. Thompson makes no allusion to the great denunciation of democracy in Milton's *History of England*, when dealing with the modification of his political views; and that there is no reference to the contemptuous

what the people but a herd confused,
A miscellaneous rabble...

of *Paradise Regained*—a passage which contrasts strangely with the 'Nation of Prophets, of Sages, and of Worthies' of the *Areopagitica*. It is also to be regretted that Prof. Thompson did not add a chapter on Milton's character-drawing. The few remarks which he makes on the personality of Satan make the reader wish he had given his interpretation of the character more fully. It is obviously impossible to dismiss a being so quick of sympathy, and so susceptible to good, as merely the embodiment of all evil.' One of the best chapters is that dealing

with the *Theme of Paradise Lost*. Prof. Thompson lays stress on the simplicity and sincerity of Milton's idealism: 'The elder brother in *Comus* is said to talk nonsense regarding the self-defensive strength of righteousness; but the poet believed it.' A fact which modern critics are apt to overlook. Students in the early stages of a College career will find these essays stimulating and helpful.

G. E. H.

Miss Amy Cruse tells us in the preface to *English Literature through the Ages* (Harrap and Co., 1914) that 'this book aims at telling the story of English literature through the stories of individual books,' and adds that 'each chapter is, in a sense, complete in itself, though threads pass from one to another weaving them all into one connected whole.' This method of teaching the rudiments of the history of literature is wholly admirable. The pupil is enabled to get a bird's-eye view of the subject without—as is too often the case—being forced to study one period in detail to the exclusion of the rest, before having attained sufficient knowledge to see things in proportion. Miss Cruse might perhaps have heightened the colours of her interwoven threads, and made a little clearer the connexion between one age and another—her chapters are almost too self-contained for their purpose—and she is a little inclined to insist on the biographical and historical rather than the literary aspect of her work, but this merely implies that her book is even better adapted for use in the history class than in the English literature lesson. It forms a useful link between the two. Some of the stories with which its pages are enlivened are delightful. What modern librarian must not sigh to return to the docile readers of the medieval scriptorium who were forbidden to speak, even to ask for a necessary book: 'An extended hand drew the attention of the armarius, who waited for the sign to follow. If a missal or service-book were required, the applicant made the sign of the cross; for a psalter he put his hands on his head in the form of a crown, signifying King David; if he required the work of a pagan author he scratched his ear as a dog might do'—and apparently accepted any pagan who might be offered him. A special word of praise is due to the excellent illustrations. They are well chosen and well executed, some of the photographs of early manuscripts being particularly good. The book as a whole may be cordially recommended as an addition to any school library.

G. E. H.

From the days of the *Oxford Book of Verse* onwards, readers have been accustomed to 'Oxford Books' which, while showing great diversity of subject, are alike in catholicity of taste and excellence of standard. Prof. Brander Matthews's *Oxford Book of American Essays* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1914) maintains the high reputation of the series. It ranges from the Addisonian echoes of Benjamin Franklin to Mr Roosevelt on *Dante and the Bowery*, and in all its wide variety

includes no essay not well worth reading, and scarcely one which is not distinctively American. In his introduction Prof. Matthews distinguishes between the two channels in which English literature now flows: 'The younger and smaller is American—and what can we call the older and ampler except British?' It would have been interesting if he had found space for some attempt to analyse the characteristics of American prose, and to explain wherein lie the undoubted differences between classical American and classical English. There is a difference in turn of phrase—quite apart from what are usually known as Americanisms—and a still more subtle and unmistakable difference of atmosphere. These essays abound in humour and observation—refreshing, spontaneous, homely—of a kind akin to that of our own eighteenth and nineteenth-century writers, but every now and again they show also some of that strange charm—quaint, ghostly, old-fashioned, now terrifying, now fragrant, always elusive and unsubstantial—which marks the work of such men as Hawthorne and Winthrop. American writers have the key to a cool mysterious world, of which Arthur Dimsdale and Cecil Dream are natural denizens, and where the detached purity of Emerson and the nature-worship of Thoreau and John Burroughs find a fitting home. We have poets and mystics and nature-worshippers on our side of the Atlantic, but nothing quite of this kind.

Certain of the essays have a curious appropriateness at the moment. Theodore Winthrop's vivid, humorous account of *Our March to Washington* seems oddly familiar, and the closing words of Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Bread and the Newspapers* are at least as apt today as when they were written: 'The time may come when even the cheap public print shall be a burden our means cannot support, and we can only listen in the square that was once the market-place to the voices of those who proclaim defeat or victory. Then there will be only our daily food left. When we have nothing to read and nothing to eat, it will be a favorable moment to offer a compromise. At present we have all that nature absolutely demands,—we can live on bread and the newspaper.'

G. E. H.

In *Joseph Dennie and his Circle, A Study in American Literature from 1792 to 1812* (Bulletin of the University of Texas, No. 40, 1915: Austin, Texas), Dr H. M. Ellis sets before us an American author whom even America has apparently forgotten, and sets him in his relation to the men and things of his age. Dennie was born at Boston in 1768 just before the Revolution: he spent his latter years at Philadelphia as editor of the *Port Folio*. His literary production was limited by ill-health and indolence, but a series of essays entitled *The Lay Preacher* (2 vols. 1796 and 1816) was 'the most popular book on the American continent' in 1803 and earned for Dennie the *sobriquet* of 'the Addison of the United States.' Dennie's chief service to American letters was perhaps that of introducing to America the contemporary literary work

and criticism of England. 'He looked to England for standards of politics, manners and language': he even went so far as to castigate the language and matter of the 'Declaration of Independence.' He gave a welcome to the *Lyrical Ballads* warmer than they received in England: 'a volume which contains more genuine poetry than is to be found except in the volumes of Shakespeare and Chatterton' (written in 1801). The coupling of the last names is also noticeable. He was a personal friend of W. Cobbett and Tom Moore: he was the first to publish some letters from literary men addressed to Smollett, and some of the poems of Moore and Campbell. His fame as an essayist and humourist was shortlived, being eclipsed by that of Washington Irving, who sketched his predecessor in *Salmagundi* as the whimsical, irritable Launcelot Longstaff. He died in 1812. Dr Ellis' account contains a mass of valuable material for the period with which it deals.

G. C. M. S.

In *The South African Book of English Verse* selected and edited by Professor J. Purves (London: Longmans, 1915) we have an anthology of 'the simpler sort of personal and dramatic lyric' from Shakespeare to Mr Yeats, and an anthology especially designed to meet the needs and tastes of South Africans. The introduction treats in an interesting manner of the kinds of poetry which do and do not appeal to the colonial cut off from European traditions. The definition of 'lyrical poetry' which meets with the editor's approval—'that kind of poetry which, whether written to music or not, produces on the reader the effect of a piece of music' is perhaps too wide: would it not cover a passage of *Paradise Lost*? Little exception can be taken however to the lyrics chosen. One may wonder that Keats' lines 'On a lock of Milton's hair' and Wordsworth's 'Primrose of the Rock' should be preferred to the ode 'On a Grecian Urn' and 'The Highland Reaper,' but in other cases the choice is an admirable one. Longfellow never wrote more suggestive and haunting lines than 'My lost youth.' It should be stated that along with the English poems appear others representative in turn of the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa itself. It is clear that the poetry of the new countries is likely to be especially congenial to readers who belong to one of them, and, as is pointed out, Walt Whitman in particular from his ancestry appeals in a unique way to the Dutch and to the English strain in South Africa. Such a collection as this brings home to us the wealth of poetry in the English tongue. It makes no use of Wither, Carew, Lovelace, Suckling, Dryden, Prior, Pope, Gray, Cowper, Lamb, Moore, Hood, Praed, Kingsley, Hawker or Rossetti, and still it is comprehensive enough and contains little that is not of the best.

G. C. M. S.

NOTES ON SKELTON¹.

I. SKELTON'S RELATION TO HUMANISM.

It is generally held that Skelton was deeply influenced by the Humanistic movement. See, *e.g.*, Williams, p. 7, 'Above all, Skelton was one of the Humanists, full of enthusiasm for classical culture, full of reverence for the sovereign importance of learning'; cf. Brie, p. 80, 'Er ist ein merkwürdiger vertreter des humanismus'; Thümmel, p. 19, 'des Humanisten Skelton.'

But the truth seems to be that Skelton was a scholar of the mediaeval type and was very slightly influenced by Humanism. We expect to find in a humanist of Skelton's time most of the following characteristics: a wide knowledge of Latin literature, considerable skill in Latin verse-writing, some knowledge of Greek, a distaste for the old cycle of University studies and a correspondingly low regard for University degrees, a firm belief in the efficacy of a humanistic education as an agency in social reform, a desire to simplify theology

¹ Abbreviations: *B.* = 'The Bowge of Courte'; *P.* = 'Phyllyp Sparowe'; *C.* = 'Colyn Cloute'; *W.* = 'Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?'; *ER.* = 'Elynour Rummyng'; *M.* = 'Magnyfycence'; *SP.* = 'Speke, Parrot'; *G. of L.* = 'Garlande of Laurell.'

Other poems are cited by the pages and lines of Dyce's edition.

Williams = *A Selection from the Poetical Works of John Skelton*, by W. H. Williams. Isbister, 1902.

Thümmel = *Studien über John Skelton*, von Arno Thümmel. Leipzig, 1905.

Brie = *Skeltonstudien*, von Friedrich Brie. Englische Studien, xxxvii.

Koelbing = *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. III, ch. 4, by Arthur Koelbing.

Rashdall = *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, by Hastings Rashdall. Clarendon Press, 1895.

Allen = *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen. Clarendon Press, 1906.

by discarding the complicated systems of the Schoolmen and reviving the study of the Fathers of the Church, small respect for many of the ceremonies and practices of contemporary Christianity, and a strong feeling against the monastic system. Now none of these marks of the humanist are to be found in Skelton.

In the first place, the extent of his scholarship has been greatly exaggerated. For instance Koelbing (p. 67) says: 'Skelton's Latin poems are rather bombastic, but smooth and polished...His knowledge of classical, particularly Latin, literature must have been very extensive. In his *Garlande of Laurell*, he mentions almost all the more important Latin and Greek authors, and, on the whole, shows a fair judgment of them. His knowledge of Greek was perhaps not deep.' Cf. Brie, p. 75: 'Skelton's belesenheit ist eine ausgedehnte, wenn auch keine überraschende. Erstaunlich sind höchstens seine kenntnisse auf humanistischem gebiete. Es giebt keinen einzigen bedeutenderen lateinischen schriftsteller, den er nicht gelegentlich zitiert oder wenigstens am rande erwähnt. Die Griechen dagegen scheint er nur so weit gekannt zu haben, als sie ihm in lateinischen übertragungen zugänglich waren.' The facts are as follows¹. Seventeen Latin authors are quoted, used, or referred to by Skelton, viz. Cicero (2 + 1 + 1), Sallust (1 + 1 + 0), Livy, Book 1 (2 + 0 + 1), Valerius Maximus (5? + 0 + 0), Pliny, *H. N.*

¹ In the first list are included all specific references to the subject-matter of books, e.g. *G. of L.*, 360-1: 'And Maxymyane, with his madde ditiis, How dotynge age wolde iape with yonge foly.' Of the numbers in brackets the first indicates the number of quotations or specific references; the second the general references to the subject-matter of books, and the third the number of times the author is named without special reference to the contents of his works. If there is a definite quotation or a clear allusion to the subject-matter of an author, references to the titles of his works are also counted under the second head; but if there is no such quotation or allusion, the mention of the title is counted as a mere mention of the author. Thus the references to Sallust are *G. of L.*, 1177 marg.: 'Virtuti omnia parent: Sallust' (= *Sall. Cat.*, 2. § 7), and *G. of L.*, 331-2: 'With Salusty ageinst Lucius Cateleyne, That wrote the history of Iugurta also.' The references to Lucan and Boethius are *SP.*, 4 marg.: 'Lucanus. Tigris et Euphrates uno se fonte resoluunt,' *G. of L.*, 337 ('Lucan, with Stacius...'), *G. of L.*, 359 ('Boyce, recounfortyd with his philosophy'). The line quoted is from Boethius, but the ascription of it to Lucan seems to show that Skelton had read Lucan III, 256-8. It is therefore counted as a reference to both. The Story of Abdalonymus in *W.*, 541-561, may have been taken from Quintus Curtius, 4. 1. §§ 19-26, but since it is also told in Diodorus Siculus, whom Skelton had translated, it is counted as doubtful, and therefore Quintus Curtius is put in the second class in spite of the reference in *G. of L.*, 366-7: 'Quintus Cursius, full craftely that wrate | Of Alexander,' which by itself proves only a knowledge of the title of Quintus Curtius' book. On the other hand *G. of L.*, 326: 'olde Quintiliane with his Declamacyons' (cf. *SP.*, 182), *G. of L.*, 358: 'Senek full soberly with his tragediis,' are placed in the third list, since no more specific reference to the subject-matter of these authors has been found.

A complete list of the references and allusions to classical and post-classical authors and a list of Skelton's false quantities have been sent to the editor for consultation by any who may wish to test the accuracy of the writer's statements.

(3 ? + 0 + 0), St Jerome (2 + 0 + 0), Boethius (1 + 1 + 0), Vergil (15 + 1 + 1), Horace (6 + 1 + 3), Ovid (13 + 0 + 3), Lucan (1 + 0 + 1), Persius (5 + 0 + 3), Martial (3 ? + 0 + 1), Juvenal (9 + 0 + 4), Claudian (1 + 0 + 0), Maximianus (0 + 1 + 0), Cato's *Disticha* (1 + 0 + 0). Three are mentioned and were perhaps used by him, viz. Q. Curtius (1 ? + 1 + 0), Statius (1 ? + 1 + 0), Macrobius (1 ? + 1 + 0). Eight are mentioned but not quoted: Plautus, Terence, Catullus, Propertius, Seneca, Quintilian, Sulpicia, Aulus Gellius. Among those who are neither mentioned nor quoted are Lucretius, Caesar, Tibullus, Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Suetonius, Ausonius. It is of course highly probable that he had read several of the authors he does not quote, *e.g.* Terence, Seneca, Quintilian. On the other hand we are not justified in assuming that he had read through all the authors he does quote. It is quite possible, for instance, that he had never got beyond the first book of Livy; and many of the quotations may have been borrowed from the *Pharetra doctorum* or some similar work. The fact that there are no quotations from Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, whose poems were usually printed together, makes it probable that he had not read any one of the three. Most of the authors from whom he quotes were well known to mediaeval scholars. Hence we cannot claim that Skelton's reading was distinctively humanistic. In fact the long list of names in *P.*, 756 ff., and *G. of L.*, 326 ff., remind one rather of Aristotle's 'filosofica famiglia' in the *Inferno* than of humanistic learning. A minor detail bearing on Skelton's intellectual affinities is his use of the term 'poet.' In *P.*, 757, he calls Plutarch a poet, and in *G. of L.*, 326, Quintilian is a poet laureate. This use of the term is repeatedly satirized in the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, *e.g.* Ep. 7: 'ex poetis secularibus, sicut est Virgilius, Tullius, Plinius, et alii; Ep. 16: 'Tullius, quamvis est gentilis et poeta'. The list of authors quoted by Skelton may seem extensive to those who are not at home in classical scholarship, but no humanist of Skelton's time would have thought it showed any remarkable learning. In a single letter of seven pages (Allen, I, 290 sqq., the preface to the first edition of the *Adagia*) Erasmus quotes or refers to fourteen Latin authors and three ancient Latin commentators, and that in a manner which puts it beyond doubt that he had not only heard of them but had also read them.

Nor was his scholarship of a high order. Dr Koelbing (*l. c.*) praises his versification, and Dr Thümmel (p. 66) says the verses on the death

¹ See also Rashdall, II, 241, n. 2.

of Henry VII (Dyce, I, 178-9) offer evidence of diligent and successful study of the classical models, and show a noticeable elegance and smoothness. But Professor Williams is nearer the truth when he says that Skelton's Latin-verses are 'full of false quantities, bad Latin, inept alliteration, and artificial conceits' (p. 22). As a matter of fact Skelton's false quantities are not very numerous. There are not above twenty-five in all his works, and some of these are in words which do not occur in classical Latin poetry and whose quantities, ignorant as he was of Greek, he could not be expected to know. On the other hand, they are words which would not be used by a verse-writer with any pretensions to elegance. A curious blunder makes the false quantities appear more numerous than they really are. Skelton like many mediaeval writers supposed that the last syllable of the first half of a pentameter was common, *e.g.* he misquotes Martial, l. 4. 8, as 'est mihi lasciuã pagina, vita proba' (*SP.*, 268). Of this there are 22 instances, two of them in the verses whose elegance and smoothness Dr Thümmel commends¹. He is frequently guilty of the schoolboy blunder of misplacing '-que,' *e.g.* he writes 'frondetque uiret' (*G. of L.*, 1468) for 'frondet uiretque.' His less studied compositions are disfigured by such errors in accident as 'odiens' (I, p. 175, l. 6), and even his more careful verses exhibit such mistakes in syntax as 'licet concinis' (I, p. 17). His shortcomings in the less tangible qualities of style will be equally obvious to any classical scholar who takes the trouble to read a page or two. His verses may have passed muster with pre-Renaissance Oxonians or with the Germans who went to lectures in Leipzig on 'Sulpitius *de quantitibus syllabarum*' (*Epp. Obsc. Vir.*, Ep. 5), but Sannazaro, Bembo, or Erasmus would have laughed at his presumption in publishing such barbarous stuff.

One reason why Skelton has been ranked as a humanist and his scholarship so greatly exaggerated is that mediaeval scholarship has been correspondingly underrated. Such a knowledge of Latin as Skelton possessed was probably not uncommon in the 14th and 15th centuries. Mediaeval Latin was much better than is commonly supposed (see Rashdall, II, Part II, pp. 595-7). The leonine elegiacs in *Carmina Burana*, pp. 60-4, are not much worse than Skelton's best verses. It may be doubted whether, in spite of the facilities which the invention of printing afforded for procuring books, Skelton was a much better Latin scholar than Chaucer.

¹ This error is common in the leonine elegiacs in the *Carmina Burana* (ed. iii, Breslau, 1894, pp. 60-64).

It is practically certain that Skelton knew no Greek. It is true that he mentions a large number of Greek authors, but the manner in which he mentions them gives no indication that he had read them. They seem to be introduced on the principle indicated by Philaminte's praise of the poet in *Les Femmes Savantes*—'Ah! ma Laïs! voilà de l'érudition.' For the most part they are mere names to him, and he could have got them all from Cicero, Vergil, Horace, Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, and St Jerome. For instance in *P.*, 763-5, we find 'Anacreon and Arion, Sophocles and Philemon, Pyndarus and Symonides.' Sophocles is mentioned by Valerius Maximus, 9. 12. § 5, Philemon, *ibid.* § 6, Pindar, *ibid.* § 7, Anacreon, *ibid.* § 8. It seems probable that he had his Valerius Maximus open before him when he wrote these lines, though he had doubtless read of Pindar in Horace, Aulus Gellius, St Jerome (see Dyce, I, p. 220), and elsewhere. Moreover he jumbles together real poets, mythical persons like Linus (*P.*, 761), and poets whose works are lost, e.g. Euphorion (*P.*, 762), Philistion (*P.*, 766), Pisandros (*G. of L.*, 382). The only Greek authors of whom he knows more than the names are Aristotle, long familiar in Latin translations, Diodorus Siculus, whom he translated into English from a Latin translation (*G. of L.*, 1498-9), Josephus, whose *De Antiquitatibus Iudaeorum* is mentioned in *P.*, 738, and Philostratus, whose 'life' of Apollonius of Tyana is also mentioned (Dyce, I, 134). A Latin translation of Philostratus' *Apollonius* had been published in 1501 a year before the Greek text (Phillimore's translation, I, p. cxxvii). Latin translations of Josephus had long been in circulation. In fact as late as 1524 'doubts were expressed by scholars as to whether the Greek originals of his writings were still in existence' (M. R. James in *Camb. Mod. Hist.*, I, p. 613). Nor do the few Greek words and phrases in *SP.* and elsewhere prove any knowledge of the language. The following is a complete list of them:

SP., 54. 'myden agan' = *μηδὲν ἄγαν*.

SP., 143. 'Monon calon agaton' = *μόνον καλὸν ἀγαθόν*. (A Greek scholar would have said τὸ ἀγαθὸν μόνον καλόν or τὸ καλὸν μόνον ἀγαθόν.)

SP., 272. 'Zoe kai psyche' = *ζωὴ καὶ ψυχὴ* (quoted from Juvenal, 6. 195).

I, p. 196. 'Calon, agaton, cum areta' = *καλὸν ἀγαθὸν cum ἀρετῇ*.

ibid. 'epitōma' (treated as a neuter noun). *Epitoma* occurs in Cicero.

ibid. 'in phagoloedoros' = in *φαγολοιδόρους* (apparently a mediaeval

coinage). Cf. *Journal of Philology* xiv, 37 (Épinal Glossary): 'fagolidori manducantes.'

I, 212 marg. 'o coaxantes ranae.' (But *coaxo* occurs in several Latin authors. See Lewis and Short s.v.)

I, 425, l. 7. 'botrigeria...uitis.' Cf. *βοτρίψ*.

SP., p. 3 marg. 'Katerina universalis vitii ruina, Graecum est.' (It is impossible to guess what was in the mind of the author of this remarkable statement. Perhaps he thought Katharine was a portmanteau-word, compounded of *Cath-olicus*, *καθαρός*, and *ruina*. At any rate it is decisive against Skelton's claim to be called a Greek scholar.)

SP., 82. 'In Affryc tongue *byrsa* is a thonge of lether.' (A Greek scholar would have known that *βύρσα* is Greek for a hide.)

SP., 165. 'Sophia.' This occurs in Latin authors he had read.

I, p. 209 marg. 'Perihermenias, Latine interpretatio, etc.' (But every mediaeval undergraduate knew that Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* was called *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* in Greek. See Rashdall, I, p. 435, n. 1: 'librum *periarmenias*.')

The few phrases in SP. no more prove a knowledge of Greek than the Welsh, Italian, and Spanish phrases prove a knowledge of these languages. Skelton's spelling (*myden*, *agaton*, *calon*) in the above phrases and some of his false quantities (*ecclēsia*, *chrōnica*, *epitōma*, *thēologi*, *Sōcrātes*, *Iacōbus*) make it probable that he did not even know the Greek alphabet.

Again there is no evidence that he ever came under the influence of any English or foreign humanist. When he was at Cambridge, that University was still untouched by the Renaissance. Similarly when he was made 'poeta laureatus' at Oxford, Grocyn and Linacre were still in Italy and Humanism had not begun to affect the old system of instruction. It does not appear that Louvain was much influenced by Humanism before 1490. At a later period Erasmus could get no teaching in Greek there (Allen, I, p. 4: 'Sed annis aliquot ante quam adirem Italiam, exercendae Graecitatis causa quando non erat praeceptorum copia, verteram Hecubam Euripidis, tum agens Louanii'). There is no evidence that he ever visited Paris or Italy¹. Thus there is every reason for believing that Skelton's education was of the old pre-Renaissance type.

¹ Koelbing (p. 68) writes: 'With the Italian poets of the renaissance he was apparently less familiar.' But as he does not mention Dante and seems to have read only the Latin works of Boccaccio and Petrarch, we are not justified in supposing that he knew Italian at all.

Too much has been made of Erasmus' praise of Skelton. In the autumn of 1499 Skelton was tutor to Prince Henry, a child of eight. Erasmus, then on his first visit to England, found himself obliged to send the prince a set of complimentary verses. In them he thus refers to Skelton: 'monstrante fonteis vate Skeltono sacros' (Dyce, I, p. xxiii). In the letter which accompanied these verses (not, as Koelbing (p. 67) strangely says, in the verses) he wrote 'et domi haberes Skeltonum, unum Britannicarum litterarum lumen ac decus, qui tua studia possit non solum accendere sed etiam consummare' (Allen, I, p. 241)¹. It will be obvious that under these circumstances Erasmus' words must not be taken as the expression of his real opinion. To flatter the prince he was obliged to compliment his tutor. That he really thought Skelton a distinguished scholar is most improbable, and it is significant that he never mentions him elsewhere. When he praises English scholarship in his celebrated letter to Robert Fisher (Allen, I, p. 273), he mentions Colet, Grocyn, Linacre, and More, but not the 'unum Britannicarum litterarum lumen ac decus.' Clearly Skelton, though doubtless a very competent tutor for a little boy of eight, was not a Cheke or an Ascham. With regard to Pico della Mirandola's verses in praise of Skelton (Dyce, II, p. 485) we know nothing of the circumstances under which they were written, nor do we know whether he was in a position to judge of Skelton's attainments. If we wish to see what the humanists really thought of Skelton, we must turn to William Lily. His verse—'doctrinam nec habes, nec es poeta' (Dyce, I, p. xxxviii)—is at least half true, which is good measure for an epigram.

Again we find in Skelton no trace of the characteristic ideas of the humanists; on the contrary he is at issue with them on many points. For instance, he disapproves of their educational reforms and prefers the old system of education. See *SP.*, 146 ff., where he complains that the old Latin grammars are going out of use, that Logic is neglected, and that Greek is ousting the older studies. With his references to Albertus, *de modo significandi*, and Alexander contrast the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*, Ep. 9: 'Ego mitto vobis hic quaedam scripta pro defensione Alexandri Galli grammatici antiqui et sufficientis: quamvis poetae moderni volunt eum reprehendere'; Ep. 25: 'et dixit quod non sum grammaticus bonus, quia non recte exposui ista vocabula, quando

¹ The occasion of the verses was related by Erasmus twenty-three years later (Allen, I, p. 6). It should be observed that the incident is generally wrongly dated, e.g. by Williams, p. 4, Koelbing, p. 67, Brie, p. 7. It happened, not in 1500, but in 1499 (see Allen, I, p. 239), and the prince was not nine (as Erasmus wrote in 1523), but eight (Allen, I, p. 6, n.).

practicaui in prima parte Alexandri: et in libro de modis significandi.' See also *C.*, 816–821 (the preacher who does not know his logic). The humanists in their contempt for the old cycle of studies tended to despise the University degrees; see *Epp. Obsc. Vir.*, *passim*, e.g. *Ep.* 17: 'et dixit quod magistri artium non sunt magistri in septem artibus liberalibus, sed potius in septem peccatis mortalibus, et non habent bonum fundamentum, quia non didicerunt poetriam, sed tantum sciunt Petrum Hispanum et parua logicalia.' Skelton however rates them highly, the more so perhaps because he had himself, it would seem, never proceeded as far as the B.A. (cf. Thümmel, p. 29). See *C.*, 791–810, *W.*, 505 ff., and cf. Thümmel, p. 40: 'Skelton does not share that supreme contempt for Scholasticism and University degrees which we find so strongly marked in Petrarch and the leading Italian humanists.'

Again Skelton has no sympathy with new movements in theology, see *C.*, 513 ff., and Dyce, I, p. 206 ff. Colet had read Wyclif's books (Erasmus, *Colloquia*: 'Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo,' and *Epp.*, Lond. 1642, col. 707: 'nullus erat liber tam haereticus, quem ille non attente euolueret'), but Skelton has only abhorrence for Lollardry (*C.*, 548–552, Dyce, I, p. 214, l. 166). Whereas Erasmus (*Colloquia*: 'Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo') and Rabelais (Livre I, ch. 45), scoffed at pilgrimages, Skelton defends them (Dyce, I, p. 209). While Skelton censures bishops for dissolving monasteries (*C.*, 365–430), most contemporary humanists unhesitatingly condemned the monastic system as it existed in their time (see e.g. *Colloquia*: 'Virgo Μισόγαμος,' 'Abbas et Erudita'). More advocated toleration for Utopia at least, but Skelton never even dreamed of it. Professor Williams' view that 'Colyn Cloute' and 'Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?' show the influence of Colet and More respectively (Williams, p. 28) rests on no foundation. Attacks on the abuses of the Church were no novelty, see e.g. *Carmina Burana*, p. 14: 'ubique sunt uenalia | dona spiritalia' (cf. *C.*, 291–302); *ibid.*, p. 15: 'episcopi cornuti | conticuere muti, | (cf. *C.*, 132 sqq.) ad praedam sunt parati' (cf. *C.*, 75–81). What differentiates Colet's teaching from the satire of Skelton and the *Carmina Burana* is that it was based on a general principle—the removal of superfluous accretions and the restoration of Apostolic simplicity alike in theory and in practice (cf. Allen, I, 247: 'ut veterem illam ac veram theologiam istorum spinis obsitam implexamque in pristinum nitorem ac dignitatem pro tua virili restituas'). Similarly More does not merely discuss particular defects of the English social system, but criticizes the whole fabric of society. Of such general ideas there is no trace in Skelton. He deals,

not with ideas, but with persons. 'Colyn Cloute' is an attack on bishops (probably with special reference to the bishop of Norwich), doctors by papal bull, friars, and Wolsey, 'Why Come Ye Nat to Courte?' is from beginning to end an attack on Wolsey. Dr Thümmel (p. 19) rightly observes that the English humanists did not share the scepticism of their Italian contemporaries. This is true. Most of the earlier English humanists and friends of humanism—Tilly, Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, Charnock, Warham, Fox, Fisher, Wolsey—appear to have been perfectly orthodox. But though one does not expect to find in an English humanist the scepticism of a Mutianus Rufus—to take a glaring instance—still there is a great difference between the friendly interest which Charnock and Warham took in the theological studies of Colet and Erasmus and the uncompromising conservatism of Skelton. And any one who compares the account of Colet's opinions in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. III, pp. 8-13, with Skelton's 'Replycacion' and 'Colyn Cloute' will see that Skelton and Colet were poles apart.

To sum up, we have seen that Skelton's undergraduate life fell at a period when the Universities at which he is believed to have studied were still practically untouched by Humanism, that he is not known to have been on intimate terms with any humanist, and that his writings show no clear trace of humanistic influence, but that on the contrary he is definitely opposed to the humanists on several cardinal points. It is clear, therefore, that he must be reckoned, not as a humanist, but as a belated representative of mediaeval scholarship¹.

II. SKELTON'S BIRTHPLACE.

One consideration of importance has been overlooked by all who have discussed this question. The name Skelton belongs to the numerous class of English surnames derived from names of places. Now these will be found to follow a simple rule. Strangers were named after places which were familiar to their new neighbours. If a man migrated from his native village to another village in the same county, he would be named after his native village, but if he removed to another county, where this village was not known, he would be named after his county, and so on. For instance, if John left Great

¹ Cf. *Magnifycence*, E. E. T. S., p. xiv: 'He was one of the learned men of the time, but his learning was of the preceding generation; in his *Speak Parrot* he attacks the New Learning, and he cannot be classed, as has sometimes been done, among the Humanists.'

Milton to settle in Wheatley or Garsington, he would be called John Milton, but if Thomas migrated from Polperro to Oxfordshire, he would become Thomas Cornwall or Cornish. Similarly if John left Oxfordshire for Scotland, he would be named John Inglis or England. Hence surnames derived from names of villages usually originated and remained commonest in the counties where these villages are situated.

Now in Bardsley's *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* we find these entries:

'Shelton: "of Shelton," a parish in Norfolk near Long Stratton, also a parish in Notts., also a parish in Bedfordshire.'

'Skelton: "of Skelton," (i) a village near Ripon in Yorkshire, (ii) a parish in Cumberland.' The name still exists, he says, in Cumberland and Yorkshire.

From this it follows that the names Skelton and Shelton are quite distinct and originated in different parts of England. Shelton was a Norfolk name, Skelton a Cumberland and Yorkshire name. The first point, therefore, to determine is the correct spelling of Skelton's name. If Dyce can be trusted, it was invariably spelt Sk- in the early editions, in the Cambridge University Register (Dyce, I, p. xiii), in the registers of the diocese of London (*ibid.*, pp. xx-xxi), and in most of the early references to the poet. It was so spelt by Skelton himself (see Brie, p. 47, where *c* should be corrected to *k*, since 10 stands for *k*). The Cambridge entry 'Scheklton' (Dyce, I, p. vi, n. 3) cannot refer to Skelton. Thümmel's arguments on this point (pp. 26-9) are conclusive. It is probably a perversion of the now familiar name of Shackleton. On the other hand the name was sometimes spelt Sh- or Sch- by his contemporaries, viz. Sch- by Whittington (Dyce, I, pp. xvi-xix—proved by the acrostich) and Lily (*ibid.*, xxxviii), and Sh- in the entry cited by Dyce (I, p. v, n. 1). In Erasmus' letter to Prince Henry the name was spelt Sh- in the *Adagia* (1500) and Sk- in the *Epigrammata* (1507) (see Allen, I, p. 241). On the whole it would seem that *Skelton* is the correct spelling and that *Shelton* and *Schelton* are blunders due to the fact that the name Shelton was much commoner in the south of England¹. Hence it must not be assumed that 'Skelton' and 'Shelton' are mere orthographic variants like 'Shakespeare' and 'Shakspeare,' and it would be worth while to examine the records to ascertain whether the various Skeltons mentioned by Dyce and Brie (pp. 3-4) as residents

¹ Cf. *Collectanea*, I, pp. 24-25 (Clarendon Press, 1885), where the same person is called W. de Skelton and W. de Schelton in two letters from the University of Oxford written in 1339 and 1340.

of Norfolk were not really Sheltons. If the entries have been correctly transcribed, it would appear that there was at least one family of Skeltons in Norfolk at the end of the fifteenth century, though it would still be possible that this family had lately migrated from Cumberland or Yorkshire. If the entries have been inaccurately transcribed, the principal piece of evidence for Skelton's Norfolk origin has disappeared, and we are thrown back on probabilities. The fact that he was beneficed at Diss obviously proves nothing.

In favour of his Northern origin we have then (1) his Northern name, (2) his fierce hatred of the Scots—more natural in a Borderer or Yorkshire man than in a Norfolk man, (3) his elegy on the Earl of Northumberland, (4) the northern forms and words which occur here and there throughout his works, (5) his references to Northern topography¹.

On the whole it would seem that Anthony à Wood's statement that he 'was originally, if not nearly, descended from the Skeltons of Cumberland' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, 1691, vol. I, col. 21) deserves more consideration than it has received. It is possible that Skelton came to Cambridge with one of the exhibitions from Sedbergh School in Yorkshire mentioned by Lever, *Sermons*, p. 81 (Arber's Reprint).

(To be concluded.)

R. L. DUNBABIN.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

¹ *M.* 994: 'Frome Tyne to Trent,' *M.* 1074: 'Cokermowthe,' *M.* 1136: 'Anwyke,' *G. of L.*, 196: 'Carlyll,' *B.*, 359: 'Of Kyrkeby Kendall was his shorte demye.'

WHO WAS SPENSER'S BON FONT?

IN his well-known description of the palace of Mercilla and the trial of Duessa in *Faerie Queene* v, ix, Spenser celebrates the justice and mercy of Elizabeth. Two rather obscure and remarkable stanzas (25 and 26) which precede this description illustrate the punishment of those who slander the Queen. When Arthur and Artegall were brought to the palace,

There as they entred at the Scriene, they saw
Some one, whose tongue was for his trespasse vyle
Nayld to a post, adiudged so by law:
For that therewith he falsely did reuyle,
And foule blaspheme that Queene for [i.e. through] forged guyle,
Both with bold speaches, which he blazed had,
And with lewd poems, which he did compyle:
For the bold title of a Poet bad
He on himselfe had ta'en, and rayling rymes had sprad.

Thus there he stood, whylest high ouer his head,
There written was the purport of his sin,
In cyphers strange, that few could rightly read,
BON FONT: but *bon* that once had written bin,
Was raced out, and *Mal* was now put in.
So now *Malfont* was plainly to be red;
Eyther for th' euill, which he did therein,
Or that he likened was to a welhed
Of euill words, and wicked sclaunders by him shed.

In the last three lines alternative renderings of *Malfont* are given, viz. (1) 'they do ill' and (2) 'evil well.' There would be little point in the second stanza if the passage only referred generally to those who maligned Elizabeth. It seems clear, although none of the editors have suggested it, that an actual person is alluded to, and that his name is indicated by the 'cyphers strange, that few could rightly read.'

I can find but one author of the time whose name even remotely resembles Bon Font—Malfont, and that is Ulpian Fulwell. The few facts known about his life are recorded in the *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He was the son of a Somerset gentleman, was born in or about 1546, published an interlude, *Like wil to like*, in 1568, became Rector of Naunton, Gloucs., in 1570, published in 1575 *The Flower of Fame*, a little treatise

in prose and verse in praise of Henry VIII, and another slender volume entitled *Ars Adulandi* in 1576. In 1579 he matriculated as a commoner of St Mary Hall, Oxford, an unusual step for a man of his age and position, but apparently took no degree. He was still Rector of Naunton in 1585, but in the following year, when he was about forty, the living had passed into other hands. After this date nothing is known of him.

There is nothing in *Like wil to like* or *The Flower of Fame* at all corresponding with Spenser's picture of a libellous poet. It is, I think, in *Ars Adulandi* that the clue must be sought. Of the very rare first edition of this book there is a copy in the Capell collection in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, and another, slightly imperfect, in the British Museum. It is a black-letter tract of 46 leaves, and bears the title: 'Tee [*sic*] First part of the eight liberall science: Entituled, *Ars adulandi*, the art of Flattery, with the confutation thereof, both very pleasant and profitable, deuised and compiled by Vlpian Fulwell.' A second edition, which I have not seen, appeared in 1579, and a third, differing in several respects from the first, was published without a date, probably about 1580. I quote below from the first edition.

It is remarkable, in the first place, that in this work the author repeatedly puns upon his own name. The first dialogue begins:

Author. Full well I do finde, that Fortune is blinde.

At the close of the seventh dialogue, after Ulpianus has given the name of his friend Edmund Harman in an acrostic, Diogenes says:

Ful wel I nowe perceiue his name.

In the third edition the address to 'the Freendly Reader' is signed 'Vlpian Full Well.' He puns in a different fashion near the beginning of the first dialogue:

I deeme you are guyded by this olde prouerbiall reason, *Fortuna fauet fatuis*, that is to say, Fortune fauoureth fooles, *ergo* Fortune fauoureth *Fulwel*.

Fulwell's enemies, who, as we shall see, were by his own account numerous and abusive, may have given the punning author the obvious nickname of 'Foul Well,' which is identical with Spenser's *Malfont*, 'a welhed of euill words.' The lack of correspondence between 'Full Well' and *Bon Font* is easily explained by the impossibility of reproducing the pun in French.

The slanderous character of *Ars Adulandi* is not at first very

obvious, and the fact that it was possible for three editions to appear suggests that, if Elizabeth was attacked, the authorities were hoodwinked. The book consists of eight dialogues in prose and verse, the latter chiefly in the common fourteen syllable metre. The author, who is a speaker in each dialogue, converses with persons of various classes, most of whom he denounces or ridicules for pursuing their fortunes by the art of flattery. Fulwell vehemently assails some of the most crying evils of the day, notably the spoliation of the poor by those who make haste to be rich, the simony and worldliness of the clergy, and the base arts of courtiers. But his satire is dull and poorly written, and his own grievances are intruded with morbid persistence.

The English motto on the title-page,

Who reads a booke rashly,
at randone doth runne,
He goes on his arant,
yet leaues it vndone,

suggests that there is a hidden meaning in the book which may escape the hasty reader. A similar inference may perhaps be drawn from a sentence in Dialogue viii, where after Tom Tapster has quoted some prolix verses uttered by 'U. F.' in which complaint is made of the unscrupulous ways of those who flatter princes, Miles Makshift remarks, 'The subtiltie of his metaphoricall Phrases deserued iuste punishment.' In this dialogue Tom Tapster has told how he dreamt he was at the court of Jove, where, he says:

there stoode a farre of, a simple sot named U. F. and when he saw how Mercurie was fauoured for his fables, and commended for his cogging: pe[r]swaded him selfe, that he by speakinge the trueth should bee right wel regarded. And euen on the suddeine russed into the place, as though his .q. was then to speake, with malepert and saucie boldnes, vttered these wordes following, etc. (p. 40).

'A very saucy and presumptuous foole' he is called by Miles Makshift, who agrees with the other time-server Wat Wily, that he ought to be punished.

A variant of this dream-scene at Jove's court is the visit of Fulwell to the court of Lady Fortune, which is described no less than three times. In Dialogue i (pp. 2 ff.) he says:

At my first entry into her court, I set asyde bashfulnes... Then with the courtlikst fashion that I could, (beeing in deede more carterlike then courtierlike) I prest my selfe into the chamber of presence, my thredbare cloke was markt of many...but specially of them that swinged up and downe in brauery of other mens cost, and I was thought verie saucy and malapart... I was called into the presence of this blinde goddess...she crossed my hande with many bare blessinges, but the gifts fel on both sides of my fist and none right... The detestable crew of fooles, flatterers, and parasites that receiued gifts of this blinde Lady *Fortune*, would be to tedious to describe.

Dialogue ii begins (p. 5 verso):

Fortune. What malapert iack is it that so saucyly checketh my doings? it were more fit for him to sit by the heeles in the porters lodge, then so presumptuously to prate in our presence.

The author tells Dame Fortune his opinion of her, ending with the insult (p. 8):

And for a token I thee sende, A doting fig of Spayne.

In Dialogue vii 'Ulpianus' tells Diogenes that he went to court

That I might say by sight of eye,
as eke of hearsaies talke,
That Fortune is a vading flowre
A withred frutles stalke.

Whatever may be thought of the other allusions to Lady Fortune, surely this was dangerously ambiguous. Applied to Fortune it is not particularly appropriate, but Elizabeth, the fountain of honours and dignities, was forty-three in this year, and the postponement of her marriage was causing general anxiety. Appropriate also is the reply of Ulpianus to Diogenes' enquiry:

Declare to me how lustie lads
dame Fortunes grace doth winne :

viz. that the means they employ are fine clothes of the newest fashion, and smooth words. He refers again to his own 'thread bare robes' (p. 33 verso).

Comparing these four versions of the same story, with their persistent note of personal annoyance, one is naturally led to suppose that the author had suffered a rebuff at Elizabeth's court. In particular the reiterated application of such epithets as 'malapert,' 'saucy' and 'presumptuous' to himself suggests the rankling memory of the taunts which the courtiers had flung at him. One is tempted to connect the supposed incident with the publication by Fulwell in the previous year of *The Flower of Fame*, which contained fulsome eulogies of both Elizabeth's parents, a most difficult and delicate task, not too skilfully performed. Coming to court in the hope of a reward, he had perhaps gained nothing but thanks, and in a fit of irritation had 'blazed bold speeches,' and 'compiled lewd poems,' the malicious verses of *Ars Adulandi*. We learn from a dialogue between himself and his book, appended to the third edition (c. 1580), that the work had made a stir, and given great offence.

The supposition that Elizabeth is obliquely aimed at in the above passages is hardly weakened by the fact that the two direct allusions to her are complimentary. They could hardly be otherwise, and may well be of the nature of a blind, or indeed ironical. In Dialogue i Lady Trueth says that though herself 'abiecte from Fortunes presence,' she has heard that she is 'had in great veneration at this time within the realme of England,' and will therefore go thither (p. 4)

as wel for y^e singular good report that I heare of the most renowned Queene of that realme, compared to the godly and vertuous Queene of Saba (Elizabeth by name).

In Dialogue iv (p. 26 verso) Fulwell says that the disorders in the Church

are lyke to be reformed by the providence of our noble Queene & her honorable counsaile, with the Bishops and fathers of the Church,

an allusion to the reforms inaugurated by Archbishop Grindal in 1576.

One would suppose that when Spenser wrote Book v of the *Faerie Queene*, some seventeen years after the appearance of *Ars Adulandi*, that seemingly insignificant satire was half forgotten, and that its author was too obscure an offender to be pilloried in the immortal poem. And yet there is reason to think he may have been specially obnoxious to Spenser. In Dialogue iv, where 'Fortunatus' describes the intrigues by which he climbed to power, he says (p. 17):

I presumed not at the first to her [Lady Fortune's] owne presence, but...when I perceiued who was her mynyon, I also found out which of his gentlemen wayters was greatest in his bookes, and...I framed my selfe to be very officious and seruicable... Then began I to magnifie and extol the wisdome, prowes, fame, and renowme of his noble maister, yea, (and I may tell thee) far aboue his deserts, and...I compyled a pleasant pamphlet, and dedicated the same vnto him, in the preface wherof I fed his vaine glorious humor with magnificent titles and termes... Within shorte space I grew into greater fauour then was my first maister, his man before specified, so that I was not Lady Fortunes mynions mans man, but Lady Fortunes minions fellow.

Readers in 1576 would inevitably identify 'Lady Fortune's minion' with the Earl of Leicester, and his *protégés*, like Spenser, would regard the passage as highly offensive. Fulwell dedicated *Ars Adulandi* to Lady Burghley, as he had dedicated *The Flower of Fame* to her husband, who was the enemy of Leicester, and indeed of Spenser.

In October 1579, as we learn from a letter of Spenser's to Gabriel Harvey, he was already in the service of Leicester, and had also been presented at court. He had perhaps entered the Leicester circle in or before February 1577, for Harvey probably introduced him to Philip

Sidney, who was abroad from February to June of that year, and it has been thought that Spenser was with Sir Henry Sidney at Limerick in July (see *View of the State of Ireland*, in Globe edition, p. 636, also the confused statement by Edward Phillips quoted on p. xiv). In any case it is likely that Spenser heard indignant comments on Fulwell's behaviour from persons who would be specially scandalized at it.

When he came to celebrate the justice of Mercilla, Leicester had been some five years dead, but Spenser was not the man to forget an attack on a deceased friend and benefactor. Whether the punishment of Bon Font symbolizes some actual penalty inflicted on Fulwell is perhaps not to be ascertained, but it is worthy of note that he matriculated at Oxford in the year when the second edition of *Ars Adulandi* appeared, and that there is no record of his graduation.

ALFRED B. GOUGH.

REDHILL, SURREY.

MARYLEBONE—TYBURN—HOLBORN.

THE name of the church and parish of St Marylebone (at the present time a rich residential quarter in London) has been the subject of much speculation. It has been suggested that St Marylebone was a 'corruption' of St Mary-la-Bonne, i.e. 'the church of Our Good Lady,' and that this name was subsequently transferred to the manor and the parish. In order to ascertain whether this hypothesis is correct or not, it is necessary to consult the evidence of the early forms. For this reason I have gone through a great number of mediæval records from which I collected material for an article on *The French Definite Article in English Place-Names* (*Anglia*, xxxiv, pp. 308—353), where I had occasion to deal—though more incidentally—with the origin of Marylebone. As this name is not mentioned in the records until the 15th century, I have had to supplement my material from sources of a more recent date. The principal of these are the following:

Calendarium inquisitionum post mortem sive escaetorum, Henry III—Richard III (1806—) (= *Inq. Post Mortem*).

A Calendar of the feet of fines for London and Middlesex, Richard I—12 Elizabeth, ed. W. J. Hardy and William Page, 1892—93 (= *Feet of Fines*).

Calendars of State Papers.

Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII (19 vols.) (1862—) (= *Papers Foreign and Domestic*).

Domestic Series 1547—1673, 1689—92 (66 vols.) (1856—) (= *State Papers, Domestic Series*). In the vols. 1547—1673 only the modern forms of the place-names are noted. I have therefore only given references to a few entries (most of them referring to 'Marybone Park') in which the early spelling has been kept. The modern form Marylebone does not seem to occur in any *original* documents of the 17th century.

Domestic Series, Committee for Advance of Money, 1642—1656 (1888) (= *Dom. Ser. Advance of Money*).

Domestic Series, Committee for Compounding, etc., 1643—1660 (1889—) (= *Dom. Ser. Compounding*).

Treasury Papers, 1557—1728 (1868—), and *Treasury Books and Papers*, 1729—1745 (1898—) (= *Treasury Papers*).

Early Spellings.

15TH CENT. *Tyborne maner' alias Marybone*, 1461, *Inq. Post Mortem*, iv, p. 314.—*Tyborne alias Maryborne*, 1490, *Feet of Fines*.

16TH CENT. *Marybourne alias Tybourne* (grant to Wolsey's Colleges of), 1525, *Papers Foreign and Domestic*, iv, 1, No. 1833; *Mariborne alias Tyborne* (mortmain

licence to Cardinal Wolsey to appropriate the **rectory** of), 1526, *ibid.*, iv, 1, No. 2167; *Maryborne alias Tyborne* (draft of a bull of Clement VII appropriating to Cardinal's College, Ipswich, the **parish church** of), 1528, *ibid.*, iv, 2, No. 4229, 1; *Maryborn (rectory of)*, 1530, *ibid.*, iv, 3, No. 6516, 15 (inquisition on land held by Wolsey); *Maryborn & Tyborn* (grant of, to St George's Chapel, Windsor), 1532, *ibid.*, v; *Maribourne* (letter dated at), 1533, *ibid.*, vi; *Maryborne (parsonage of)*, 1533, *ibid.*, vi; *Maryborne, Marrybone*, 1539, *ibid.*, xiv, 1; *Marybourne*, 1540, *ibid.*, xv; *Marybound*¹, 1541, *ibid.*, xvi; *Marybon (parish of)*, 1542, *ibid.*, xvii; *Marybon* (chief **mansion** of), 1542, *ibid.*, xvii.—*Marebone*, 1562, *Maribone*, 1566, *Marybon, Marybourne*, 1577, *Feet of Fines*.—*Mariborne*, 1534, *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, p. 430.—*Marybone (parish of)*, 1594, *State Papers, Domestic Series*, 1591—1594, p. 516 (erroneously given as 515 in Index).

17TH CENT. *Marybone (park of)*, 1615, 1623, 1638, 1660, 1662, 1664, 1666, 1668, *State Papers, Domestic Series*; *Marrowbone*² (**park of**), 1638, *ibid.*; *Marybon (park of)*, 1689, *ibid.*; *Marybone*, 1666, *ibid.*; *Marybone (park of)*, 1651, *Domestic Series, Advance of Money*, III; *Marybone*, 1647, *Domestic Series, Compounding*, III, p. 1716.—*Marybone, Speculum Britanniae*; *Maribone*, 1623, *Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum*; *Maribone*, Map in Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1722).

18TH CENT. *Marybone (parish of)*, 1715, *Treasury Papers*; *Marylebone*³? (**manor of**), 1730, *ibid.*, vol. 1729—1730, p. 430; *Marybone (manor and park of)*, 1730, 1735, 1742, *ibid.*; *Marybone Street*, 1734, 1735, *ibid.*.—*Marybone Street, Stow, Survey of London* (ed. 1720). *St Mary le Bone, Street Mary la Bonne, Stow, Survey of London* (ed. 1754).—'*Mary-le-bone* (to be pronounced *Marribone*),' 1787, *Elphinstone, Propriety Ascertained*, i, 36, II, 249.

By an interrupted sequence of forms from the time of the Tudors to Queen Anne it is consequently established that the genuine form of the name was *Maryburn, Marybo(u)rn(e)*, which by a regular phonetic change became *Marybone*⁴.

In the article previously referred to I have shown that the alteration of *Marybone* to *Marylebone*, which apparently took place towards the middle of the 18th cent., was quite arbitrary and in all probability due to a mistaken notion of the etymology of the name on the part of the local authorities. Modern place-names such as Clayton-le-Moors, Lancs., Thorpe-le-Street, Yorks., etc., go back to earlier (from the 14th cent.) prototypes where *le* was preceded by a preposition, viz., *Claiton en*

¹ The loss or addition of a final *d* after a consonant is usual during the whole N. E. period. Cf. 'hind,' e. N. E. *hynd*, 6, *Oxford Dict.* < O. E. *hina*, g. pl. of *hiwa*, *higa*, and 'horehound,' e. N. E. *hoarhounde*, 5, *horehounde*, 5—6, *Oxford Dict.* See also the references given by Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, 7·61, and Wright, *English Dial. Dictionary*, §§ 306, 307.

² *Marrowbone* is merely another spelling for *Marybone, marry* (< O. E. *mer* with palatalized *ɜ*) being a common M. E. and early N. E. variant of *marrow*. For references, see the *Oxford Dictionary*. In the writings of Thomas More (1478—1535) we find *maribone* for 'marrowbone.' See Grünzinger, *Schriftsprache in den Werken des Sir Thomas More*, 89. According to Elphinstone, *Propriety Ascertained*, 1787, i, p. 36, 'the name of the suburb *Marribone* must, but in the nicest discrimination of the febel vowel, coincide with *marrowbone*.'

³ This may be the modern form which has crept in by mistake, although the original spellings seem to be faithfully recorded in this series.

⁴ The loss of *r* in the second element may be due either to dissimilation or to want of stress. Cf. *wunderlice, sundcon* for *wunderlice, sundcorn* in *Herbarium Apuleii* (12th cent.), and other references given in my essay *Two Instances of French Influence on English Place-Names*, p. 20, n. (*Studier i Modern Språkvetenskap*, v, Stockholm, 1914).

le Mores, *Thorp in le Streit*, etc.¹ These are mere French (or Latin) translations of the corresponding English forms, *Claiton upon the Mores*, *Thorp in ye Street*, etc. which often appear in the same records. By the elliptical omission of the preposition, *Claiton en le Mores* became *Claiton le Mores*, *Howton in the More* passed into *Howton ye Moor*, etc. In the 17th and early 18th cents. French forms, such as *Thorp in [en] le Street*, were of rare occurrence², but were revived in the course of the 18th cent., possibly as the result of a general tendency to restore the earlier spellings³. At this date the origin of *le* may have been forgotten. It seems to have been looked upon as a local preposition with the meaning of 'in,' 'on,' 'at,' etc., and was consequently inserted in names where it had no historical justification. As a rule, it replaces a preposition, as when *Stratford at Bowe*, London, *Carlton in Moreland*, Lincs., *St Michael at Querne*, London, *Preston upon Skerne*, Durham, and *Witton upon Weare* were transformed into *Stratford-le-Bow*, *Carlton-le-Moorland*, *St Michael-le-Querne*, *Preston-le-Skerne*, and *Witton-le-Wear*, Durh.; less frequently we find it as a connecting link between a place-name and a descriptive noun, as in *Newton-le-Wold* for earlier *Woldnewton*.

The early spellings of these place-names never exhibit the definite article either in a French or in an English garb.

We have consequently to assume that *Marybone* was altered to *Marylebone* after the manner of *Newton-le-Wold* for *Woldnewton* or *Newton Wold*⁴. Nevertheless the procedure has not been the same in both cases. In the latter, *le* is used to connect two elements which were comparatively independent; in the former, it has been thrust in, as it were, to separate two elements which had been so completely amalgamated that the meaning of the second element seems almost to have been forgotten. It is hardly likely that *Marybone* was construed as 'Mary Bourne,' and *le* inserted in order to emphasize that the meaning of the name was 'Mary at the Bourne.' Had this been the case, the earlier form *Maryborne* would undoubtedly have been preferred to the one

¹ Cf. such modern names as *Alsop en le Dale*, Derby, *Chapel en le Frith*, Derby, *Clayton in le Dale*, Lincs., where, however, the appearance of the preposition may be due to reconstruction on the evidence of M. E. or early N. E. forms.

² For a detailed discussion of the mutual frequency of the four types: *Thorpe in the Street*, *Thorpe the Street*, *Thorpe in (en) le Street*, *Thorpe le Street*, see *French Article in English Place-Names*, pp. 341--344, 347.

³ About the same time the old Anglo-French spellings with *au* seem to have been revived in names of the type *Staunton*, *Saundby*, *Saunderton*, etc. See *Zachrisson, Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 156.

⁴ The latter form is still used as a designation of the place by the side of the form with *le*.

worn down by phonetic changes. We are therefore bound to look elsewhere for the cause of the alteration. There is the possibility that *-bone* by popular etymology was connected with the French adjective 'bonne' and *Marybone* consequently 'improved' to *Mary la Bonne*, a form which is actually found in the 1754 edition of Stow's *Survey*¹. If this conjecture is correct, *la* may have been exchanged for *le* simply because it did not occur in names of a similar type². On the other hand, *Marylebone* may be the original form and *Mary la Bonne* a secondary one due to folk-etymological association with the name of the Holy Virgin.

If this is the case, we shall have to trace the origin of *-le-* to a more profane source. In early times *Marylebone* was a place of little significance. In the majority of the records I have consulted in order to ascertain the early forms of the name, it is not even mentioned. As late as 1742 *Marylebone* was still detached from London, and the winding path which led to the village from the high road was the present *Marylebone Lane*³. From about this date we often hear of the *Marylebone Gardens* which were first thrown open to the public at the time of the Restoration when pleasure and amusements of every kind were the order of the day. Towards the middle of the century (1738—1776) the Gardens had become one of the favourite pleasure resorts of London, and were patronized by every class of society including the beaux and belles of the Court of King George II⁴. The changing of *Marybone* to *Marylebone* seems to have taken place at this very time. This might lead us to assume that the insertion of the French article reflects a conscious attempt to give a more refined air to the name to bring it in keeping, as it were, with the pomp and festivity which at this time had become associated with the place.

At first *le* was probably a mere ornament of which little notice was taken in the pronunciation⁵. At present the etymologically correct pronunciation [*'mæribən*] is being ousted by spelling-pronunciations,

¹ Elphinstone, *Propriety Ascertained* (1787), I, 36, likewise derives *Marylebone* from 'Marie la bonne or Mary dhe boon.'

² A seeming exception is Kirby-La-Thorpe, Lincs., which however has originated by a juxtaposition of two names Kirby and Lathorp < Laythorp < Laylthorp < *Leipulfthorp, see *French Article in English Place-Names*, p. 330.

³ See Timbs, *Curiosities of London*, p. 142.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142; W. Besant, *London in the 18th Century*, p. 415; *Encyclopædia Britannica*: *Marylebone*.

⁵ There is reason for believing that the local pronunciation often ignores *le* even in names where it is found in the early spellings; *le* was felt to be a strange element and therefore avoided in colloquial speech. See *French Article in English Place-Names*, p. 344.

such as 'mæriləboun, 'mæ(r)ləbən, 'mæraɪboun, 'mæriɪ'boun etc.¹—many Londoners have told me that they say ['mæriɪbən], 'although the other pronunciation is more correct.' Practical considerations will probably forbid the reintroduction of the original spelling *Marybone* but it will be well to remember that those who pronounce the name without *-le-* are on the right side, whereas the others follow the evil, though—where names and place-names are concerned—usual, practice of preferring the pronunciation based on the spelling to the one sanctioned by tradition and etymology. Few of the present generation are aware that the correct pronunciation of Cromwell², Bodley³, and Bromley⁴ is ['krʌmwəl], ['bɒdli] and ['brɒmli], not ['krɒmwel], ['bɒdli] and ['brɒmli]. In spite of Elphinstone's (1787) emphatic assertion that *l* is mute in *Bristol*, 'nor can Affectacion (the dubble of Ignorance) ever render *l* effective,' the genuine form *Bristow* survives only as a personal name⁵. In a few generations the pedantic spelling-pronunciation ['eylənd] will probably have ousted the correct form ['yglənd] the authenticity of which is proved by numerous M.E. spellings such as *Inglonde*, *England*, and perhaps there will be a time when the pronunciation ['wɜ:sɛstə] for ['wʊstə] will be heard from others than phonetically untrained foreigners, and when the address of 'The Empire' will be ['leisɛstə-] Square.

After having seen how *Marybone* < *Maryborne* was altered to *Marylebone* we will now proceed to a discussion of the etymology of the name. In the article already referred to I suggested that the meaning of *Marylebone* was 'St Mary on Burn' or Tyburn. This explanation involves two difficulties, viz., that the place is not called *St Marylebone* until more recent times, and that the name of the river on which it was situated appears in the shortened form 'Burn.' We may also well ask why the place was named after the Virgin Mary. In my attempt to ascertain the etymology I had not turned into account the important evidence afforded by the first early references, which not only give the clue to the origin of the name, but by means of which it is possible to establish an intimate connexion between the changes undergone by the name and the history of the place itself.

¹ See Michaelis-Jones, *Phonetic Dictionary* and A. Schröer, *Neuenglisches Aussprache-wörterbuch*.

² Cf. the Cavalier's toast: 'Wash this crumb well down' (Bardsley, *Dict. of Engl. Surnames*, p. 218), illustrated in this *Review*, Vol. xi, p. 278.

³ The historically correct spelling is kept in the place-name Budleigh, Devon.

⁴ The first element is due to O. E. *brōm*.

⁵ *Bristol* goes back to *Bristolia*, *Bristollum*, a Latinized form of *Bristou* which in mediæval times seems to have been confined to records and official *Latin* documents. Walker (1791) seems to be the first authority for the pronunciation with *l*. See Zachrisson, *Latin Influence on English Place-Nomenclature*, pp. 18—21.

In the *Encyclopædia Britannica* it is stated that Marylebone was in the manor of Tyburn which is recorded as early as in *Domesday Book* (1086). *Tyburn* as a village and parish name, however, seems to be falling out of use at the time when we first hear of *Maryburn* (cf. below p. 152), while the latter name is of no great antiquity. The first entry relating to it bears the date of 1461. It would therefore be tempting to assume that the name of the parish and village of *Tyburn* was altered to *Maryburn* in the 15th cent., and this assumption is substantiated by the evidence of *all* the earliest entries (1461, 1490, 1525, 1526, 1528, see lists of early spellings pp. 146, 147) in which the place is invariably referred to as *Maryborne alias Tyborne* or *Tyborne alias Maryborne*.

When a name is exchanged intentionally for another, the new name is of course thought to be better than the old. For example the name Fúrness is said to have been altered to Furnéss soon after the head of the family had been knighted, obviously because the French accentuation was thought to give additional lustre to the new dignity. More often the alterations are caused by a desire to avoid painful or vulgar associations. For this reason Ugley, the name of a village in Essex, has in quite recent times been replaced by Oakley¹ and in M. E. times *Mulcaster*, Cumb., was turned into *Muncaster*² possibly because the first member was thought to be identical with a dialectal word 'mul' = 'dust,' 'rubbish.' A family named Uglow insisted on having their name pronounced ('ju: glou) and not ('aglou) as a safeguard against confusion with 'ugly,' and Mrs Sidebottome in Mr Baring-Gould's *The Penny-comequicks* (p. 6) pronounces her name as 'Siddybotóme' regardless of etymology and phonetic usage.

In the present case there was a very good reason for a change, when the name Tyburn, from having designated a small river and village thereon, became attached to the place of execution for Middlesex and to the instrument of the law, also called Tyburn Tree and Deadly Never Green. The gallows stood on the bank of the river not far from the present Marble Arch³. The first execution on record there was that of William Fitz Osbert which took place as early as the 12th cent.⁴ In Langland's *Piers Ploughman* (1377) occurs a reference to 'the hangeman of Tyborne'⁴, and the later literature abounds with allusions to this fatal spot. In earlier times an execution was looked upon as a great public treat and around the gibbet were erected open galleries like a

¹ For early references, see Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 133 and nn.

² For early references, see Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence*, p. 133 and nn.

³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

⁴ See *Oxford Dict. sub verbo* 'Tyburn.'

race-course stand where seats were let to spectators¹. The London burgher Machyn², a contemporary of Shakespeare's, carefully records the many executions in those days of summary and severe justice, and was himself undoubtedly an eye-witness of many of them. In a transferred sense Tyburn is found in numerous phrases and expressions, some of them referring to the grim trade and its implements, others entering into compounds used as opprobrious terms. The first reference to a metaphorical use of the name is from Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods* (1420), where we hear of 'Tyburne collopes, and pursekytters,' l. 697 (*Oxford Dict.*). According to Grose, *Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1769), a 'Tyburn-Blossom' is a young thief 'who in time will ripen into fruit borne by the deadly never-green,' the halter went under the name of 'Tyburn tippet' (1549, Latimer, *Sermons*), and the act of hanging is grimly referred to as a 'Tibourne stretch' (1557, Tusser, *Husbandrie*) or a 'Tyburn-jig' (1689, Farquhar, *Love and a Bottle*). Congreve, *Love for Love*, II, vii (1695), characterizes a criminal in the following way: 'Has he not a rogue's face, a damned Tyburn face without the benefit o' clergy³?'

Seeing that the name of Tyburn had for centuries been coupled with crime, horror, and ignominy, it is no wonder that the good villagers of Tyburn were anxious to seize the first opportunity of exchanging this name of evil omen for another of a more neutral character. An opportunity may have offered itself when the ancient church of Tyburn 'which stood in a lonely place near the highway, subject to the depredations of robbers who frequently stole the images, bells and ornaments' (Lyson's *Environs*, vol. III, 1795), was removed, and the present Church of St Mary (rebuilt in 1791) was erected on the site of the ancient edifice⁴. As the removal of the old church took place in 1400 and the first reference to the new name bears the date of 1461, it seems more than probable that the village of Tyburn was renamed *Maryburn* after the new church. In later times the place was called Saint Marylebone obviously with reference to the church from which it obtained its name. It is worth noticing that the parish, church, and rectory are always designated by the new name. Cf. *Mariborne*, *Maryborn* (rectory of), 1526, 1530, *Maryborne* (parish church of), 1526, *Marybon*, *Marybone* (parish of), 1542, 1594. In *Inq. Post Mortem*, 1461, and *Papers Foreign*

¹ See Timbs, *Curiosities*, p. 744.

² See *Diary of H. Machyn* (Camden Society, 42), Index.

³ For additional references, see *Oxford Dict.*, and Farmer and Henley, *Dictionary of Slang*.

⁴ See Timbs, *Curiosities*, loc. cit.

and *Domestic*, 1542, the **manor** is also referred to as *Marybourne*, *Marybon*, but its earlier name has been kept in two entries of a later date. One of these (*Papers Foreign and Domestic*, xvii, p. 703, A.D. 1542) concerns the appointment 'of a certain Ant. Denny as keeper of *Tybourne* manor in *Marybone* parish except the mansion and gardens and the lands enclosed in Marybone Park,' the other 'the grant of the manor of Tyburn to Edward Forsett' (*State Papers Domestic Series*, 1611—15, p. 40). Otherwise, in these as well as in the other 16th and 17th cent. records I have gone through, **Tyburn** is mentioned only as a place of execution.

In the beginning of the 18th cent. Newgate succeeded Tyburn as the place of execution for the county of Middlesex. The dread associations of the name were now being forgotten, and towards the middle of the next century it appears in a slightly modified form—Tyburnia¹—as a designation of the fashionable district (north-west of Hyde Park) which had grown up where the river had formerly been. This name, however, seems to have enjoyed but a brief existence. It is still noted in Bartholomew's *Gazetteer* (1904) but is marked as obsolete by Farmer and Henley, *op. cit.*

Timbs says with reference to the river Tyburn: 'Strange have been the mutations in which the rural Tybourn "welled forth away" through pleasant fields to the Town, there became linked with the crimes of centuries, and lost in a murky sewer.' Equally strange are the mutations undergone by the name itself. First it was given to a little village on its banks, afterwards to the spot where justice was administered to the worst criminals of the neighbourhood. The village was then renamed after the newly built Church of St Mary to ward off, as it were, the evil spirits of those who had not been allowed to rest in consecrated ground. In its new garb the name became associated with one of the favourite pleasure resorts of the time and was then inoculated with a French element either owing to an erroneous conception of its meaning, or for the mere sake of ornament. When by altered circumstances the name of Tyburn had lost some of its former horror, it was revived and given to the city of palatial mansions which had in the meantime grown up in the neighbourhood of the former place of execution.

We will now try and account for the meaning of the river-name

¹ In M. E. times many **English** (*Cantuaria*, *Dunelmia*, *Ezonia*, *Glovernia*, *Shaftonia*, *Vintonia*, *Wigornia*, etc.) and more especially **foreign** geographical names (*Russia*, *Servia*, *Silesia*, etc.) appear with the Latin ending *-ia*. See Zachrisson, *Latin Influence on English Place-Nomenclature*, 7—13. That this suffix is productive also in modern times is seen in Tyburnia, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Nova Scotia, etc.

Tyburn which, as we have seen, is contained in the second element of Marylebone. Many English river names are of Celtic origin, but *burn* being an O. E. word for a small stream we have reason for believing that the whole name is English.

The Tyburn which now has its course entirely within London and underground—it is still shown on Seller's map of 1733—rose at Hampstead, ran south crossing Regent's Park, and joined the Thames through branches on either side of Thorney Island, now the site of Westminster Abbey¹.

I have noted the following early references to the name :

Tiburne (*manerium de*), 1086, *Domesday Book*.

Tyburnam (*ad furcas prope*), 1200, Ralph de Diceto, *Chron.* ii, 143 (*Oxf. Dict.*).

Tyburn, circa 1250, *Rotuli Hundredorum*.

Tyburn, *Tiburn* (church and manor of), 1254, 1325, *Index to Charters and Rolls in the British Museum*.

*Tyfbourne*², 1540, *Papers Foreign and Domestic*, xii, 2, No. 228.

The first element admits of a twofold derivation. *Ty-* may be identical with O. E. *twȳ* which is likewise contained in the place-name Twyford, Bucks. < O. E. *twyford* (Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 1282), i.e. 'the double ford.' If this conjecture is correct 'Tyburn' means the double stream, and it was probably named so because it fell into the Thames by two branches. There is one serious drawback to this explanation of the name, viz. that the change of *twī*, *twȳ* into *tī*, *tȳ* is not evidenced in O. E. words of this type³. That *w* could be dropped before *ȳ* is seen, however, in the name of Tythorp, Oxon, which in the 13th cent. appears as *Tuphrop*, *Twythrop*, *Tvytroph*⁴. To account for this we have to assume either dialectal⁵ loss of *w* before *y* or analogical influence from related forms, such as *tū* and *tuwa*.

A second possibility would be to derive *Ty-* from an O. E. word *tīg*⁶ (perhaps from **tauzjō*, a by-form of O. E. *tēah* < **tauzō*, cf. also *brōmtēag*, Bosworth-Toller) which, according to Middendorff⁷, is found in O. E. *tīgwellan* and *tūntīh*⁸ (Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 326, 1023), and

¹ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, *Oxford Dict.*, and Timbs, *op. cit.*

² It would be interesting to know if this folk-etymological interpretation of the name is due to a whim of the scribe's or if it was in general use.

³ For references, see Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*.

⁴ See Alexander, *Place-Names of Oxfordshire*, 210.

⁵ There are no known parallels to the development of *twī* or *twȳ* > *tj*. Some examples given by Alexander instance the well-known loss of *w* before *u*, as in O. E. *tū* < *twū* < W. G. **twō* and W. S. *wucu*, *tuwa*. If however Tythorp is identical with *Duchitorp* (for *Tuthitorp*?) *Domesday Book*, it must be explained differently. Cf. Tythby, Notts., < *Titheby*, 1190 (Mutschmann, *Place-Names of Nottinghamshire*, 144).

⁶ *tig* for *tēah* might also be due to the analogy of the O. E. verb *tigan* = Mod. Engl. 'tie.'

⁷ See *Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch*, 134.

⁸ Middendorff is of course wrong in connecting this word with *tiig*, *Mars*, *Martis* in the *Epinal Glossary*, which obviously is another spelling for *Tiw*, the name of the god.

probably also in *forþtūges, vestibuli, atrii*, Bosworth-Toller. If so *tīg* probably had the same meaning as *tēah*, i.e. 'enclosure,' 'paddock,' and their modern correspondent is 'tie,' 'tye' = 'an extensive common pasture,' 'a large common,' 'an enclosure'¹ now only in dialectal use. This interpretation of the name offers no phonetic difficulty, but the meaning 'enclosed stream' or 'stream by an enclosure or common' seems less satisfactory.

In the preceding account the old derivation of Tyburn from 'Eye-bourn,' 'Aye-bourne' quoted in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and by Farmer-Henley and Timbs, *op. cit.*, has been disregarded. If this is an old name for the river, it can hardly be etymologically connected with Tyburn, but seems to be due to O.E. *ēg* and *burn* and mean 'water stream' which is both tautological and nonsensical. The name, to judge by the spelling, is of no great antiquity. It is quoted by Timbs on the authority of Robins's *Paddington*, 1853. We therefore have reason for assuming that it is a comparatively recent invention. In one of his books the late Prof. Skeat very appropriately remarks that in the olden times everybody thought he could drive and derive. The old antiquarians delighted in fanciful etymologies and did not hesitate to support their conjectures by the evidence of early forms made to suit the need of the moment. A few instances will suffice to illustrate this. The local pronunciation ['brʌmidʒəm] for Birmingham is traced back by many writers to an O.E. form **Bromwicham* which appears to be merely conjectural². In *Speculum Britannicæ* (1600) it is stated that Chelsey < O.E. *Cælic hȳþ*³ is 'also called *Cheselsey* for the sake of the pebbles.' Uttoxeter is derived by Camden from an O.E. bogus form **Uttocceaster*⁴.

The same author seems to be responsible for the erroneous explanation of Holborn as *Oldburn* which figures in many subsequent works⁴. The place is continually referred to as *Oldborne* by Stow in his *Survey of London* (1598). Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the current explanation of Holborn as 'the hollow stream,' the name given to the Fleet (formerly a tributary of the Thames) in one particular part where the banks were very high and steep (*Encyclopædia Britannica*), is the correct one. The name is spelt *Holeburne* in *Domesday Book*, it appears as *Holbourne* in numerous records from the time of King

¹ See Wright, *E. D. D.*

² See *The Suffix *-ingia in Germanic Names*, *Archiv der neueren Sprachen*, 133, p. 292.

³ See Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence*, pp. 78, 86.

⁴ 'Holborn or rather Oldburn,' Camden's *Britannia* (ed. 1722), I, 391. The date of the original edition is 1586.

Henry VIII, and as *Holbourn* (and *Holborn Conduit*) on the map in *Speculum Britannie* (1600).

The by-form *Oldborne* may be due to the omission of the aspirate in the original form, whereupon *Olburn* was turned into *Oldburn* by popular etymology. In Machyn's *Diary* we find, by the side of many irregularities which have now fallen out of use¹, others characteristic of the present vulgar speech of London. Misplacements of the letter *h* are very frequent². Machyn is consequently one of the first *h*-droppers known to us, and through him the modern Cockney can trace his pedigree right back to Shakespeare's time.

R. E. ZACHRISSON.

STOCKHOLM.

¹ Like Samuel Weller, Machyn confuses initial *v* and *w*: *veyver* (= weaver), 83, *Vetyngtun* (= *Whittington*), 96, *vomen*, 59, *welvett*, 57, etc.

² Cf. *not alff fulle*, 21, *alff a nore* (= an hour), 29, *hetten* (= eaten), 16, *Amton courte*, 9, etc.

LESSING'S INTERPRETATION OF ARISTOTLE.

I.

So much has been already written on the subject of Lessing's attitude to Aristotle¹, that it may seem supererogatory to add to it, even by way of summarising and criticising the labours of others. I do not, however, propose merely to offer a critical summary in the present study, but also to deal with an aspect of the subject which has not yet received adequate attention, namely, the actual sources of Lessing's knowledge. Commentators on the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* have hitherto been so zealously engaged in explaining and discussing Lessing's criticism of the Aristotelian theory that they have overlooked, or given but scant attention to, his relation to the other interpretations of his time; and where they have broached the question of sources, they have often been inclined to discover these in quarters unnecessarily remote. It is obviously, however, of the first importance to know exactly what in Lessing's criticism is his own, what he has taken over from his predecessors. This is the first step.

It would be difficult to say exactly when Lessing began to study the theoretical side of the drama; he says in the Preface to his *Leben des Sophocles* that he had interested himself in the *Poetics* of Aristotle before he had studied 'die Muster, aus welchen er sie abstrahierte².' As far, however, as his works are concerned, the *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters* (1750), in which he published a translation—possibly by himself³—of the *Trois Discours* of Corneille and discussed from a theoretical standpoint the *Captivi* of Plautus, affords a starting-point. At this stage of his development Lessing stood completely under the domination of the French classic canon, and had nothing to

¹ See especially Emil Gotschlich, *Lessings Aristotelische Studien und der Einfluss derselben auf seine Werke*, Berlin, 1876. Other literature will be referred to in the course of the following pages.

² *Schriften*, ed. Muncker, viii, p. 294.

³ See *Modern Language Review*, ix (1914), pp. 214 ff.

say of Aristotle¹. We shall probably not be far wrong in dating Lessing's actual acquaintance with the Greek *Poetics* from the appearance in 1753 of Curtius's German translation, which he reviewed in the *Berlinische privilegierte Zeitung* of August 23 of that year². Here, at least, Lessing first recognises the importance of Aristotle:

Er herrscht in dem Reiche des Geschmacks unter den Dichtern und Rednern eben so unumschränkt, als ehemals unter seinen Peripatetikern. Seine Dichtkunst, oder vielmehr das Fragment derselben, ist der Quell, aus welchem alle Horaze, alle Boileaus, alle Hedelins, alle Bodmers, bis so gar die Gottschede, ihre Fluren bewässert haben.

The *Theatralische Bibliothek* (1754—58) marks no advance of Lessing's interest in Aristotle, the name being again conspicuously absent from that periodical, except in the translations of Gellert's *Abhandlung für das rührende Lustspiel* and Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*³. Lessing's theoretical interests, such as they were, inclined rather to the art of acting (Rémond de Saint-Albine), or of theatrical representation (Dubos), than to that of dramatic composition; and even his serious interest in the 'bürgerliche Trauerspiel,' as a type of tragedy, appears to have set in subsequent to his own *Miss Sara Sampson*; it dates, in fact, from his acquaintance with the plays and treatises of Diderot. It is significant that he preferred to translate Hermilly's second volume, containing Montiano's *Virginia*, rather than the first, containing the Spanish writer's *Discurso sobre las Tragedias españolas*. The beginnings of a theoretical interest in literature are to be sought, not in the *Theatralische Bibliothek*, but in scattered reviews, such as that of Batteux in the *Neueste aus dem Reiche des Witzes*, of Le Bossu, and of Curtius's translation of Aristotle just referred to, and, in a more remote degree, of the essay written in collaboration with Mendelssohn, on *Pope ein Metaphysiker*!⁴

Thus we may say that down to the year 1756 Lessing had busied himself but little with the theory of the drama. In that year his friend Nicolai wrote for the first number of the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissen-*

¹ The name occurs only twice (*Schriften*, iv, pp. 136, 154) and both times in the *Critik über die Gefangenen des Plautus*, which, I am convinced, was not written by Lessing himself. Cp. *Modern Language Review*, viii, pp. 525 ff.

² *Schriften*, v, pp. 194 f. G. G. Fülleborn reported to Lessing's brother Karl (K. G. Lessing, *G. E. Lessings Leben*, Berlin, 1795, iii, p. vi) that among papers 'aus Lessings Jugendzeit' he found 'hin und wieder auf einzelnen Blättern Perioden aus Aristoteles Poetik übersetzt, die Lessing später in der Dramaturgie weit richtiger und deutscher wiedergegeben hat.' But as these papers have disappeared, it is impossible to say whether, as Muncker suggests (*Lessings Schriften*, xiv, p. 164), they belonged to a period before the appearance of Curtius's book, or subsequent to it, or, for that part, whether they were not merely excerpts from the German translation.

³ *Schriften*, vi, pp. 32, 252 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 413 ff., v, pp. 193 f., 194 f., vi, pp. 411 ff.

schaften und der freyen Künste, an Abhandlung vom Trauerspiele, which was to serve as a guide for the authors who might take part in the competition for the best German tragedy¹; and on August 31—the first number of the *Bibliothek* did not appear until the following year—Nicolai wrote to Lessing, who had set out on his European tour with Winkler, giving him a brief account of the subject of his essay². The letter had, however, to follow Lessing back to Leipzig, from which place he replied to it in November. There now ensued a correspondence between the three friends, Lessing, Nicolai and Mendelssohn, which continued until the spring of the following year. The letters of Lessing's which are concerned in this controversy are eight in number, namely: to Nicolai, November 13, 1756: to Mendelssohn, November 13 and 28: to Nicolai, November 29: to Mendelssohn, December 18 and February 2, 1757: to Nicolai, March 29 and April 2³.

With this correspondence Lessing's real interest in questions of dramatic theory begins. He seems, however, to have turned by preference to the analysis of the emotions that lie beneath dramatic effects, while the discussion of the technique and theory of tragedy in the stricter sense occupies a subordinate place. He is more particularly concerned with the definition of 'Schrecken,' of 'Mitleiden,' of 'Bewunderung,' with the difference between 'Bewunderung' and 'Verwunderung.' This metaphysical trend of his thought was no doubt due in the first instance to the influence of his friend Mendelssohn; it was further strengthened by his study of English moralists like Hutcheson, a translation of whose *Elements of Moral Philosophy* he published in 1756, and by Baumgarten, or rather Baumgarten's *vulgarisateur*, G. F. Meier. Lessing followed Meier's work closely; the well reasoned attack on Gottsched which Meier published in 1747 and 1748 helped Lessing to emancipate himself from the Leipzig dictator; and there is a distinct echo of the *Anfangsgründe aller schönen Wissenschaften* in the correspondence with Nicolai and Mendelssohn. Possibly, too, that theory of laughter, on which, according to Mendelssohn, Lessing was engaged in 1755⁴, owed something to Meier's *Gedanken von Scherzen*, as well as to Hutcheson. But these are matters that lie outside the scope of the present investigation. Suffice it to say, that Lessing's own

¹ The *Abhandlung* is reprinted in Minor's *Lessings Jugendfreunde* (Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, LXXII, 1883); a convenient edition of it, together with the correspondence, has recently been published by R. Petsch, *Lessings Briefwechsel mit Mendelssohn und Nicolai über das Trauerspiel* (Dürr's *Philosophische Bibliothek*, CXXI), Leipzig, 1910.

² *Schriften*, XIX, pp. 40 ff. (Petsch, pp. 46 ff.).

³ *Ibid.*, XVII, pp. 63 ff.

⁴ See Lessing's *Schriften*, XIX, p. 20.

theory of tragedy at this time was based, in the main, on that which he found in Batteux's *Principes de la Littérature*; or, at least, it drew more from Batteux than from any other theorist. And Batteux continued, as will be seen in the course of the following investigation, a factor in all Lessing's later speculation on the theory of the drama¹.

Gottschlich infers that, in the course of his correspondence with Mendelssohn and Nicolai, Lessing turned from Curtius to the Greek text of Aristotle²; but this contention, which is based solely on the note on *φóβος* in the letter of April 2, 1757, is far from convincing. I am very doubtful if Lessing undertook any serious study of Aristotle at this time. He had, however, the intention of pursuing the matter further, for he begged his friends to return his letters to him that he might gather his ideas together in one lengthy letter—an 'ordentliches Buch'—to Mendelssohn³: but nothing came of the plan, and the materials were put aside, possibly not to be looked at again until ten years later. In 1759 Lessing published his *Fabeln*, accompanied by theoretical treatises, and in 1760 his translation of Diderot's dramas and dramaturgic writings. Then, however, a new and varied life opened up for him in Breslau, and his study of the theory of the drama gave way to a new interest in the aesthetic problems of the *Laocoon*.

Thus, when Lessing found himself suddenly called upon to act as mentor and critic to the 'Hamburg Enterprise' in 1767, he had to resume a line of thought that had been virtually broken since 1758, or, at least, 1760: he himself confessed that his love for the theatre had died down⁴. The years of Lessing's life when he was most vitally interested in the theory of the drama were thus, I am inclined to think, 1756—58, rather than 1767—68: and there is no reason to infer that he approached

¹ It is hardly necessary to adduce evidence of Lessing's familiarity with Batteux, whose original work (*Les Beaux-arts réduites à un même Principe*, Paris, 1746) had been first translated by P. E. B[ertram], Gotha, 1751; then by J. Adolf Schlegel (1752, or rather 1751; 3rd ed., 1769; cp. H. Bieber, *J. A. Schlegels poetische Theorien, in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange untersucht*, Berlin, 1912); while the complete *Cours de Belles-lettres ou Principes de la Littérature* (Paris, 1747—50) was translated by Lessing's friend K. W. Ramler (1756—58; 2nd ed., 1762—63; a sixth and last ed. appeared in 1802). In 1751 Lessing noticed the two earliest translations of the *Einschränkung der schönen Künste auf einen einzigen Grundsatz*, 'dieser glücklichen Arbeit des Hrn. Batteux,' in the *Neueste aus dem Reiche des Witzes* (*Schriften*, iv, pp. 413 ff.), where he clearly places himself on the side of the French critic, against whom Schlegel had asserted a certain independence; and in 1758 Lessing defended him again in a review (*Schriften*, v, pp. 151 ff.). In his *Abhandlung von dem Wesen der Fabel* (1759; *Schriften*, vii, pp. 433 f.) he refers to Batteux with all respect, although maintaining his own theory of the fable against him (cp. M. Schenker, *Ch. Batteux und seine Nachahmungstheorie in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 137 ff.).

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 2 ff., 26 f., 31.

³ Letters of February 19 and March 29, 1757 (*Schriften*, xvii, pp. 94, 96; cp. 101 f.).

⁴ Cp. his letter to Gleim (February 1, 1767), before going to Hamburg, in which he speaks of his 'erloschene Liebe zum Theater' (*Schriften*, xvii, p. 228).

his work in Hamburg from a more advanced standpoint than that which he had maintained in his Leipzig letters. When he set out for Hamburg to take over his new duties, he no doubt took with him his old notes, he selected from his library the text-books he had studied in earlier days, procured one or two new ones—not many; for it is surprising how small the library was which he had at his disposal in writing the *Dramaturgie*—and left the rest of his library to be sold in his absence. As a critic he had gained in insight and power of expression; but the ideas to which he gave such trenchant shape in the *Dramaturgie*, show, when carefully scrutinised, but little advance on those which he had held ten years before.

The most cursory reader of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* is forced to admit that there are very varying degrees of Lessing's interest in Aristotle in that work. Throughout the first thirty-six sections he was clearly no nearer to Aristotle than he had been ten years before. The philosopher's name is only mentioned once by him in these sections, and that in a passage where no reference to the Aristotelian text is implied¹; and such statements concerning the nature and function of the drama as appear sporadically, make the irresistible impression of having come down from an early stage of Lessing's dramaturgic studies². In Stück xxxvii, however, he plunges unexpectedly into a problem of Aristotelian exegesis, suggested by a remark of Tournemine's on Voltaire's *Mérope*, with regard to the best form of tragic plot: and he follows this up in Stück xxxviii with a discussion of the meaning of certain technical

¹ St. xix (p. 261; my references are to Muncker's edition of the *Schriften*, ix and x): 'Nun hat es Aristoteles längst entschieden, wie weit sich der tragische Dichter um die historische Wahrheit zu kümmern habe.' A second mention of the name (St. xxxi, p. 314) occurs in a quotation from Corneille.

² For example: St. i (p. 187): 'Doch diese Thräne ist keine von den angenehmen, die das Trauerspiel erregen will'; St. ii (p. 189): '...mit dem ganzen Geschäfte der Tragödie, welches Leidenschaften durch Leidenschaften zu reinigen sucht'; St. xii (p. 231): 'Ich will nicht sagen [with reference to Voltaire's assertion that: 'les Anciens avaient souvent, dans leurs ouvrages, le but d'établir quelque grande maxime'], dass es ein Fehler ist, wenn der dramatische Dichter seine Fabel so einrichtet, dass sie zur Erläuterung oder Bestätigung irgend einer grossen moralischen Wahrheit dienen kann. Aber ich darf sagen, dass diese Einrichtung der Fabel nichts weniger als nothwendig ist; dass es sehr lehrreiche, vollkommene Stücke geben kann, die auf keine solche einzelne Maxime abzielen; dass man Unrecht thut, den letzten Sittenspruch, den man zum Schlusse verschiedener Trauerspiele der Alten findet, so anzusehen, als ob das Ganze blos um seinetwegen da wäre': St. xxxv (p. 331): 'Das Drama hingegen macht auf eine einzige, bestimmte, aus seiner Fabel fliessende Lehre, keinen Anspruch; es gehet entweder auf die Leidenschaften, welche der Verlauf und die Glücksveränderungen seiner Fabel anzufachen, und zu unterhalten vermögend sind, oder auf das Vergnügen, welches eine wahre und lebhafte Schilderung der Sitten und Charaktere gewähret; und beides erfordert eine gewisse Vollständigkeit der Handlung, ein gewisses befriedigendes Ende, welches wir bey der moralischen Erzählung nicht vermissen, weil alle unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf den allgemeinen Satz gelenkt wird, von welchem der einzelne Fall derselben ein so einleuchtendes Beyspiel giebt.'

terms used by Aristotle. So far, however, from this beginning being a prelude to further Aristotelian interpretation, Aristotle disappears entirely, or, at least, with the exception of a passing mention of his name¹, until Stück lxxiv. In xlv and xlvi Lessing discusses the unities, with reference to the views of Hédelin and Corneille, but, strange to say, without a single mention of Aristotle's name!

It is not until Stück lxxiv (published at the end of March, 1768) that he settles down in earnest to the study of the *Poetics*. As a first step, he puts himself right with regard to the translation of *φόβος*, which, he says, should be translated 'Furcht' and not 'Schrecken.' But surely there could be no more eloquent proof of Lessing's indifference to Aristotle throughout three quarters of his *Dramaturgie* than the fact that he should have gone on writing 'Schrecken' until he suddenly, in Stück lxxiv, remembered how, in 1757, he had already corrected Nicolai on this very point! From Stück lxxiv on Lessing's interest in Aristotle is constant, but, unfortunately, the failure of the 'Enterprise,' which, as Lessing, no doubt, foresaw, was inevitable long before the *Dramaturgie* had reached this stage, damped his enthusiasm; and in the later sections he too often regarded it merely as an irksome task to spin out the journal to the hundred and four numbers promised to the subscribers². But the interest in Aristotle's *Poetics* remained, and on November 5, 1768, we find him writing to Mendelssohn: 'Ich gehe in allem Ernst mit einem neuen Commentar über die Dichtkunst des Aristoteles, wenigstens, desjenigen Theils, der die Tragödie angeht, schwanger³.' When that letter was written, eighty-two parts of the *Dramaturgie* were published, and, no doubt, the greater part of the remainder, promised for the middle of May, 1768, was in type, although the actual publication did not take place until Easter, 1769.

Looked at in this way, it seems incredible that Guhrauer⁴, and after him, Gottschlich and others⁵, could have made the claim that the criticism of Aristotle is the fulcrum round which the entire *Dramaturgie* turns.

¹ Stück xlix (p. 392); Stück l (p. 395); Stück lxx (p. 84).

² Cp. letter to Nicolai of Feb. 2, 1768: 'Ich muss um mich greifen, um die Materie zu meiner *Dramaturgie* so lange zu dehnen, bis die Gesellschaft wieder nach Hamburg kömmt.'

³ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 270. Cp. also the *Dramaturgie*, St. ci—civ (p. 214): 'Ich habe von dem Entstehen, von der Grundlage der Dichtkunst dieses Philosophen meine eigene Gedanken, die ich hier ohne Weitläufigkeit nicht äussern konnte.' In St. lxxxiii (p. 136) he also refers to an 'andere Gelegenheit' when he will deal more fully with the interpretation of Aristotle.

⁴ Th. W. Danzel and G. E. Guhrauer, *G. E. Lessing*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1880 f., II, pp. 156 ff.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 16 f. Cp. M. Preusgen, *Geschichte der Theorie der Tragödie*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 125.

II.

Before passing to a systematic consideration of Lessing's interpretation of Aristotle, it seems of importance to ascertain, as far as possible, what editions of Aristotle, and what translations and other aids to interpretation, Lessing used.

In the *Dramaturgie* we find the statement that before any one can understand the *Poetics* properly he must have studied every other work of Aristotle¹. Whereupon the inference has been drawn that Lessing had actually done so². But I am doubtful if this inference is at all justified; there is no ground for believing that Lessing was intimately familiar with any work of Aristotle's except the *Poetics*. Looking through Lessing's writings, I find references to the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Politics*, *Rhetoric* and *Poetics*; but in the majority of cases these references are vaguely general or based on second-hand sources³. It is not even possible to say with certainty what edition of Aristotle—of the works in general, or the *Poetics* in particular—Lessing possessed. In the *Dramaturgie* he quotes the *Poetics* more than once in the original Greek⁴; but neither here nor in the *Leben Sophocles* and *Laocoon*—in

¹ St. lxxv (p. 102): 'Wer uns einen neuen Commentar über seine Dichtkunst liefern will, welcher den Dacienschen weit hinter sich lässt, dem rathe ich, vor allen Dingen die Werke des Philosophen vom Anfange bis zum Ende zu lesen.' And he recommends especially the study of 'die Bücher der Rhetorik und Moral.' He had written similarly, ten years before, to Nicolai (April 2, 1757; *Schriften*, xvii, p. 98; Petsch, p. 104): 'Ich kann mir nicht einbilden, dass einer, der dieses zweyte Buch [der Rhetorik] und die ganze Aristotelische Sittenlehre an den Nicomachus nicht gelesen hat, die Dichtkunst dieses Weltweisen verstehen könne.'

² Cp. Gottschlich, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

³ The *Nicomachean Ethics* is mentioned in the letter to Nicolai just quoted, in the Preface to the translation of Hutcheson's *Sittenlehre der Vernunft* (*Schriften*, vii, p. 64), and in the *Dramaturgie*, St. xc, note (p. 167); the *Politics* in the *Leben Sophocles* (*Schriften*, viii, p. 312), and with a specific reference to H. Couring's edition (1656), in *Laocoon*, II (*Schriften*, ix, p. 11); the *Rhetoric* in the review of Curtius (*Schriften*, v, p. 194), in the letter of April 2, 1757, to Nicolai (*Schriften*, xvii, p. 98), in the *Abhandlungen von den Fabeln*, both in the original and in translation (*Schriften*, vii, pp. 424, 440, 444 f.), in a quotation from himself in the *Litteraturbriefe*, lxx (*Schriften*, viii, p. 188), and in the *Dramaturgie*, lxxv (p. 102), lxxvii (p. 112), and lxxix (p. 119). In his note to lxxv (p. 103) Lessing quotes the edition of the *Rhetoric* by Aemilius Portus, Spiraë, 1598, but he does not draw his text from this edition; nor does the passage quoted in a note to St. lxxvii (p. 112) correspond with Portus, and the latter numbers his chapters differently. In St. lxx (p. 84), however, he quotes from Portus's commentary on the *Rhetoric* (ii, p. 3): 'Solet Aristoteles quaerere pugnam in suis libris. Atque hoc facit non temere et casu, sed incerta ratione atque consilio: nam labefactatis aliorum opinionibus.' The *Poetics* is discussed in the review of Curtius (*Schriften*, v, pp. 194 f.), in the correspondence of 1757 (see especially letter to Nicolai of April 2, 1757, already referred to); it is quoted both in Greek and in the translation of Dacier in the *Leben Sophocles* (*Schriften*, viii, pp. 351 f.) and in *Laocoon* (*Schriften*, ix, pp. 4, 140, 144). Lastly, the Aristotelian treatise *De incessu animalium* is referred to as cited by Erasmus, in the materials for the *Laocoon* (*Schriften*, xiv, p. 420).

⁴ Stück lxxxix (p. 162), xc (p. 164), xci (pp. 168, 169, 170), and, in a quotation from Hurd, xciv (p. 181).

both of which treatises the *Poetics* is quoted in Greek—does Lessing give any indication of his edition. We know from Stück lxxvi (p. 108) that he possessed Goulston's Latin paraphrase (see below); but the passage quoted in Stück xc (p. 164) differs materially from the reading of Goulston's edition of the *Poetics* (1686). The fact of the edition not being specified—and, as a rule, Lessing does specify the editions of the classics which he uses—would point to one in general use in the eighteenth century. The text of Lessing's quotations from the *Poetics*, as well as from the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Rhetoric*, corresponds, however, with the text of the Du Val editions¹, and we shall probably not be far wrong in assuming that Lessing had one of these editions at hand.

A further clue to Lessing's Aristotelian literature is afforded by his discussion, in Stück lxxvi (p. 108), of the meaning of the word *φιλάνθρωπον*:

Ich kenne, he says, nichts kahleres und abgeschmackteres, als die gewöhnlichen Uebersetzungen dieses Wortes Philanthropie. Sie geben nehmlich das Adjektivum davon im Lateinischen durch 'hominibus gratum'; im Französischen [Dacier] durch 'ce que peut faire quelque plaisir'; und im Deutschen [Curtius] durch 'was Vergnügen machen kann.' Der einzige Goulston, so viel ich finde, scheint den Sinn des Philosophen nicht verfehlt zu haben; indem er das *φιλάνθρωπον* durch 'quod humanitatis sensu tangat' übersetzt.

Goulston's translation is to be found in his *Aristotelis de Poetica liber, Latine conversus et analytica methodo illustratus*, Cambridge, 1686, p. 37. The other Latin translation of *τὸ φιλάνθρωπον*, 'hominibus gratum,' is that of the Du Val editions; but it would appear to go back to Victorius², and was also adopted by Antonio Riccoboni³. Daniel Heinsius has been suggested as Lessing's source here, as in one passage of his translation of the *Poetics* he renders the Greek word by 'aliquid gratum hominibus'; but the fact that Lessing does not refer to the more picturesque interpretation, 'communis lex ac vinculum humanitatis,' which Heinsius also gives⁴—an interpretation which might have appealed to Lessing—does

¹ *Aristotelis Opera omnia quae extant, Graece et Latine*, Tom. II, pars iii. Paris, 1619, 1629, 1639, 1654.

² P. Victorii *Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis de Arte Poetarum*, Florence, 1560, p. 121. The fact that Lessing mentions Victorius in his *Dramaturgie* (St. xxxvii, p. 340) is no proof that he had a first-hand knowledge of that writer, as the reference occurs in a passage quoted from Dacier.

³ Cp. A. Riccobonus, *Compendium Artis Poeticae Aristotelis*, Patavii, 1591, p. 76: '... philanthropum quod tripliciter explicatur: a Madio, conferens ad vitam humanam; a Victorio gratum hominibus; ab Alexandro Piccolomineo, accommodatum ad humanum affectum. Videtur autem interpretatio Victorii sequentibus exemplis valde convenire.'

⁴ D. Heinsius, *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, Leyden, 1643, pp. 268 f.; also *Aristotelis de Poetica*, Leyden, 1611, p. 28. That Lessing at a later date was familiar with Heinsius is to be seen from a letter to Eschenburg of April 25, 1772, concerning the latter's translation of Hurd's *Commentary on Horace* (*Schriften*, xviii, p. 37): 'Ich wünschte, dass Sie aus der

not lend support to the view that he consulted Heinsius when he wrote his Stück lxxvi.

Of all Lessing's guides to the interpretation of Aristotle, the most important was clearly Dacier's commentary, which appeared in 1692 under the title: *La Poétique d'Aristote, contenant les Regles les plus exactes pour juger du Poëme Heroïque, et des Pieces de Theatre, la Tragedie et la Comedie. Traduite en François avec des Remarques Critiques sur tout l'Ouvrage. Par Mr Dacier. Paris, 1692*¹. This work merits a more careful analysis and examination than I have space to give it here; but I hope to return to it in a subsequent article. It has been unduly neglected by students of eighteenth-century literary theories. Lessing, it is true, does not speak very kindly of Dacier: he calls him a 'Pedant' (Stück lxxxii, p. 128), refers to him ironically as 'der ehrliche Dacier' (Stück xxxvii, p. 341); and when he does quote him, it is usually to refute his opinion. But his indebtedness to Dacier is none the less great; indeed, it is hardly too much to say that, without the French work we might probably never have had Lessing's Aristotelian interpretation at all.

By making Aristotle's *Poetics* universally accessible in his French translation, Dacier reopened the Aristotelian question amongst those poets and men of letters who made no special pretence to classical scholarship; his purpose was not merely to familiarise the modern world with Aristotle's treatise; he also hoped to assist the theatre to counteract 'le desordre où il est tombé depuis quelque temps².' Dacier advanced the movement of critical thought from the pseudo-classical to the true classical, a movement with which Lessing himself was wholly identified. The method, moreover, which Dacier followed in his interpretation was also Lessing's, and he approached his task with no contemptible equipment of learning, both classical and modern. Amongst his prede-

Erklärung des Aristotelischen *φιλανθρωπον* das Wort "Pflichtmässig" wegliessen. Sie scheinen es aus dem "lege" der Heinsiusschen Umschreibung genommen zu haben, wo es aber nicht absolute steht, sondern auf "humanitatis" geht, und so viel als "vinculo humanitatis" seyn soll. Das Pflichtmässige wäre, meiner Meinung nach, gerade wieder das *φιλανθρωπον*. Denn es wäre ohnstreitig unsere Pflicht, uns über das Unglück eines Bösewichts zu freuen: wenn Pflicht das heisst, was dem positiven Gesetze gemäss ist. Aber dieser Pflicht ungeachtet, können wir ihn nicht ganz ohne Mitleid lassen, weil dieser Bösewicht doch ein Mensch ist.' But I can find no certain evidence that Heinsius's *De Tragœdiæ Constitutione* was one of Lessing's direct sources when he was engaged on the *Dramaturgie*. With the contention of M. Zerbst, *Ein Vorläufer Lessings in der Aristotelesinterpretation*, Jena, 1887, I will deal later.

¹ In his *Schriften*, vi, p. 32, Lessing quotes the Paris edition of 1692. R. Petsch, *op. cit.*, p. xv, note, mentions that Dacier's work was anonymous; but there were two editions, a 4to one which appeared anonymously, and a 12mo one with Dacier's name. It is the latter to which Lessing refers in vi, p. 32. There was also an Amsterdam edition of 1733.

² Préface, p. [iii] (the Préface is not pagéd).

cessors, he pinned his faith to Victorius, 'le plus savant, le plus exact et le plus sage¹,' and his own commentary is, in many respects, a polemic against the more arbitrary methods of Castelvetro². Of other critics, he speaks with most respect of Le Bossu, and finds much to approve of in Hédelin's *Pratique du Théâtre*³.

Dacier's attitude towards Aristotle foreshadows—one might perhaps go so far as to say that it actually suggested—Lessing's. The rules of poetry, he asserts, 'sont si certainement celles qu'Aristote nous donne, qu'il est impossible d'y réussir par un autre chemin,' and he compares the laws of Aristotle to the laws of nature, not of men⁴. Lessing repeatedly expressed a similar confidence in Aristotle⁵; and at the close of the *Dramaturgie* went so far as to declare that the *Poetics* is

ein eben so unfehlbares Werk, als die Elemente des Euklides nur immer sind. Ihre Grundsätze sind eben so wahr und gewiss, nur freylich nicht so fasslich, und daher mehr der Chikane ausgesetzt, als alles, was diese enthalten. Besonders getraue ich mir von der Tragödie, als über die uns die Zeit so ziemlich alles daraus gönnen wollen, un widersprechlich zu beweisen, dass sie sich von der Richtschnur des Aristoteles keinen Schritt entfernen kann, ohne sich eben so weit von ihrer Vollkommenheit zu entfernen⁶.

It is Dacier's mission as well as Lessing's to uphold Aristotle in the face of modern detractors and perverters of his views: and an immediate model for Lessing's anti-Cornelian criticism is to be found in Dacier's

¹ *Ibid.*, p. [xxiv]; cf. pp. 44 f., 53, 95, 102, 235, 266, etc.

² *Ibid.*, pp. [xxv], 47.

³ *Ibid.*, p. [xxv f.]; he quotes Le Bossu very frequently (pp. 111, 246, 251, 266, 304, etc.); Hédelin, pp. 168, 170, 174.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. [iii, x]. Corneille, too, had said of Aristotle's precepts that they 'sont de tous les temps et de tous les peuples' (Avertissement to the *Cid*, ed. Marty-Leveaux, III, p. 85). This confidence in Aristotle would appear to go back to Scaliger.

⁵ *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, St. xxxviii (p. 342): 'Eines offenbaren Widerspruchs macht sich ein Aristoteles nicht leicht schuldig. Wo ich dergleichen bey so einem Manne zu finden glaube, setze ich das grössere Misstrauen lieber in meinen, als in seinen Verstand. Ich verdopple meine Aufmerksamkeit,' etc. and St. lxxiv (p. 97): 'Aristoteles würde ihn schlechterdings verworfen haben; zwar mit dem Ansehen des Aristoteles wollte ich bald fertig werden, wenn ich nur auch mit seinen Gründen zu werden wüsste.' These passages recall Batteux (*Principes de la Littérature*, Traité v, ch. iv, ed. 1764, III, p. 19): 'Quand un homme, tel qu'Aristote, a prononcé avec assurance et sans intérêt, sur des matières qui sont véritablement du ressort de l'esprit humain, il faut tenter toutes sortes des voies pour l'expliquer; ou avoir des démonstrations rigoureuses, pour le condamner.' Curtius, too, the German translator of Aristotle, had said (p. 213): 'Die genaue Uebersetzung, womit Aristoteles schrieb, erlanbet nicht, einem so grossen Manne einen Widerspruch bezumessen.'

⁶ Stück ci-civ (p. 214). In his commentary on the *Dramaturgie* (Lessings Werke, Goldene Klassiker-Bibliothek, VI, p. 217), Julius Petersen draws attention to two parallel comparisons of Aristotle with Euclid in reviews ascribed to Lessing in the *Critische Nachrichten* of 1751. They are (*Schriften*, IV, p. 217): 'Die Geometrie und Poesie haben ganz verschiedene Regeln, und derjenige, welcher den Homer nach dem Euklides beurtheilen wolte, würde eben so abgeschmackt handeln, als der, welcher den Euklides nach dem Homer beurtheilte'; and (*Ibid.*, p. 240): '...dass man also hier [in Euclid] die logischen Regeln beysammen antrifft, deren Nutzen und Wahrheit so zu reden die Erfahrung vieler Jahrhunderte bestätigt hat; eben wie die Vorschriften in des Aristoteles Poetik von den Mustern hergenommen sind, deren Schönheit eine allgemeine Empfindung erkennet hatte.'

sharp attacks on Corneille for his 'accommodating' interpretation of the *Poetics*. But Lessing went a step further than his predecessor and defended Aristotle's opinion in passages where to Dacier he seemed to have nodded¹. Lastly, Lessing's method of interpreting Aristotle by Aristotle, had also been extensively employed by Dacier².

The German translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*³ by Michael Conrad Curtius—*Aristoteles Dichtkunst, ins Deutsche übersetzt, mit Anmerkungen, und besondern Abhandlungen versehen*—appeared at Hanover in 1753, and, as we have seen, was briefly reviewed by Lessing on August 23 of the same year, in the *Berliner privilegierte Zeitung*. The character and form of Curtius's work are clearly suggested by Dacier; but it is not by any means a mere copy of the French work. It benefited, moreover, by the advance of literary and critical ideas during the fifty years that lay between the two translations. Curtius is even more interested than Dacier had been in contemporary literature and in the newest literary theories of his day: indeed, his familiarity with such things is clearly greater than his Greek learning. His opinions are less original than Dacier's and are often lacking in logical consistency. Dacier was an 'ancient'; Curtius tries to reconcile the 'ancient' standpoint with that of the 'moderns.' He holds to Aristotle, but is in sympathy with the new conception of poetry as a 'vollkommen sinnliche Rede,' set forth by Baumgarten and Meier; and he does not recognise the damaging effect of Baumgarten's theory on the older aesthetics of Gottsched and his school. Thus Curtius often flounders helplessly between conflicting theories; he accepts Gottsched as well as Bodmer as an authority; he looks up to Corneille and Voltaire as unsurpassable masters of modern tragedy, but at the same time he twice mentions Shakespeare⁴, whose *Julius Caesar* he knew from Borek's translation;

¹ Stück xxxvii (p. 341); lxxvi (p. 105).

² Dacier refers especially frequently to the *Rhetoric* (pp. 5, 37, 63, 100, 189, 329, 340, 364, 366 f., etc.). But such cross references were general even in the early Italian editions; as a matter of fact, they go back, in the great majority of cases, to that most industrious of Aristotle's commentators, Robortelli.

³ This was not the earliest German translation of the *Poetics*; one had appeared at Hamburg in 1737, by Wolfgang Balthasar von Steinwehr, and Gottsched contemplated, when, in 1740, he planned his *Deutsche Schaubühne*, opening the first volume with 'Die Dichtkunst Aristotels... in's Deutsche übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Herrn Prof. Gottscheden' ('Nachricht von der unter der Presse befindlichen deutschen Schaubühne' in the *Beyträge zur critischen Historie*, etc., vi, 1740, p. 525). And in the preface to the first volume of the *Schaubühne* (1742, p. 7) he said: 'Die Uebersetzung... ist längst von mir verfertigt worden; indem ich vor zwölf Jahren schon, gleich nach dem Antritt meines poetischen Lehramtes darüber öffentlich gelesen, und dadurch die Regeln der guten Schaubühne in Deutschland zuerst bekannt zu machen gesucht.' Lessing refers to this promised translation in his review of Curtius.

⁴ Pages 111 and 115.

in one of the passages he even calls him 'der englische grosse Shakespear'; although this does not mean that he was in the least prepared to defend a form of drama in conflict with the classic canon.

Down to the controversy with Mendelssohn and Nicolai on the subject of tragedy, Lessing accepted Curtius as his guide. In the *Dramaturgie* he quotes him frequently¹, usually with a view to contradicting him; yet he cannot altogether obliterate his first indebtedness to him. When he cites Aristotle in German, he does not make use of Curtius's translation, as Nicolai and Mendelssohn, and even Schiller were obliged to do; but he shows at times an unmistakable dependence on Curtius, especially in his technical vocabulary².

Such were the editions and translations of Aristotle's *Poetics* which Lessing had at hand. He found, of course, much criticism and interpretation of Aristotle's theories in other eighteenth-century writers on aesthetics and literary criticism, but these will be more conveniently discussed in the course of my examination of Lessing's interpretation of the *Poetics*.

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¹ St. xxxviii (p. 342); lxxvi (p. 108); lxxvii (p. 111); lxxviii (p. 118); lxxxix (p. 164); xc (p. 164). Probably Mendelssohn was responsible for freeing Lessing from Curtius's leading-strings; that critic published in the *Litteraturbriefe* (No. 146; February 19, 1761) a review of Curtius's *Critische Abhandlungen und Gedichte* (Hanover, 1761), in which he did not conceal his low opinion of the author.

² These points will be dealt with fully in the continuation of this article.

ÉTUDES DE GENÈSE.

LA critique se borne en général à considérer l'œuvre d'art sous sa forme définitive, imprimée, et elle a les meilleures raisons de s'en tenir là; car cette forme est la plupart du temps la seule qui existe, elle représente l'effort extrême de l'écrivain vers la perfection, et c'est d'elle que le public tire son instruction et son plaisir.

Mais en général aussi l'œuvre d'art est l'aboutissement d'un long travail mental. Elle a dû passer par bien des indécisions, bien des tâtonnements, bien des corrections, avant de parvenir à sa forme définitive.

Depuis un certain temps, la critique à tendances scientifiques s'est préoccupée de ce travail d'incubation. Elle a compris tout ce que l'intelligence des œuvres et des talents pouvait en recevoir de lumières nouvelles. Le caractère et l'avenir des enfants se déterminent pour une large part dans la vie utérine; de même, tout le caractère, sinon toute la fortune des livres, se décide dans la vie cérébrale.

Les études de genèse supposent à peu près nécessairement deux moyens de méthode principaux. Le premier est la connaissance des sources. La recherche des sources a pour objet de retrouver les matériaux qu'a élaborés l'imagination de l'écrivain. Les études de genèse, qui commencent où elle finit, se proposent de retrouver les lois du mécanisme ou du chimisme mental qui ont présidé à cette élaboration, ainsi que les voies et étapes qu'elle a suivies. Le second est le dépouillement des manuscrits, dont les variantes représentent précisément ces voies et étapes. Par malheur le manuscrit est souvent très près de la forme finale, et déçoit; ce qu'il faudrait, c'est la série des brouillons aboutissant à ce qu'on nomme communément le manuscrit, et les écrivains sont plutôt portés à détruire ces témoins de leurs hésitations qu'à les conserver.

Je donnerai une idée sommaire des procédés et des avantages de ces études par une pièce de Hugo, choisie à dessein très simple, et que j'extraits de *L'Année Terrible*, Novembre¹.

¹ L'année terrible, c'est l'année de la guerre franco-allemande (1870-1871).

Du haut de la muraille de Paris, à la nuit tombante.

L'occident était blanc, l'orient était noir,
Comme si quelque bras sorti des ossuaires
Dressait un catafalque aux colonnes du soir,
Et sur le firmament déployait deux suaires.

Et la nuit se fermait ainsi qu'une prison.
L'oiseau mêlait sa plainte au frisson de la plante.
J'allais. Quand je levai mes yeux vers l'horizon,
Le couchant n'était plus qu'une lame sanglante.

Cela faisait penser à quelque grand duel
D'un monstre contre un dieu, tous deux de même taille ;
Et l'on eût dit l'épée effrayante du ciel
Rouge et tombée à terre après une bataille.

Le manuscrit ne donne que deux variantes, qui ne sont ni l'une ni l'autre très révélatrices. L'une, au vers 5, n'est qu'un mouvement de style : *La nuit se refermait*. L'autre, qui porte sur le titre, précise les conditions de la naissance du poème dans l'esprit de Hugo : *En errant sur les murs de Paris, à la nuit tombante*.

Les sources sont la nature, et une idée que Hugo y porte : l'idée de guerre. Le poème est un effet de soleil couchant, vu des fortifications de Paris assiégé.

Il est né à peu près sûrement de sa métaphore finale ; c'est à dire que Hugo n'a jugé qu'il valait la peine de l'écrire que quand il a été en possession de sa métaphore. Il a dû exister un état des brouillons, écrits ou mentaux, où seuls des morceaux du 11^e et du 12^e vers existaient, sous une forme aussi rudimentaire qu'on voudra. Mais la métaphore de l'épée était trouvée.

D'où est-elle née elle-même ? D'une sensation, de couleur et de forme, fécondée par une idée. La sensation de bande rouge à l'horizon ; l'idée de guerre.

Nombreuses seront sans doute les pièces de Hugo dont la naissance sera due au même procédé, volontaire ou instinctif ; et nous pourrons dire que la fécondation de la sensation par l'idée est une des lois de l'imagination de Hugo, l'une des conditions nécessaires chez lui à la création poétique.

Qu'on lise par exemple dans les *Contemplations* l'admirable pièce intitulée *Religio*, dans laquelle Hugo compare la lune à l'hostie de l'officiant à l'élévation ; ou encore, dans les *Châtiments* (VII, 5), la pièce plus mêlée qui commence par : *C'était en juin, j'étais à Bruxelles*, où il compare la lune à une tête sanglante roulant dans les cieux, on se rendra compte que ces deux pièces ont été écrites pour leur métaphore finale, qui n'est qu'une sensation idéalisée ; plus exactement en sont nées.

Une fois la métaphore finale trouvée, la mise en œuvre, la construction du poème a commencé. Hugo a pu faire l'inventaire de sa promenade, puisqu'il semble la raconter dans l'ordre réel, historique, et passer au crible la matière poétique qu'elle lui offrait.

Il a d'abord trouvé deux sensations, de pure couleur, celles-ci, dont il a fait son premier vers, tôt ou tard.

On pourrait supposer aussi que ces sensations ont dès l'abord frappé suffisamment son imagination pour la mettre en branle, et qu'il a travaillé sur cette première donnée, sans attendre que le paysage lui fournît sa métaphore finale. Ce n'est pas impossible ; mais ce n'est pas probable.

En tout cas, cette sensation de blanc et noir qui est l'origine de la strophe, Hugo ne l'a peut-être jamais ressentie ; elle est suspecte.

Sans doute les ciels d'hiver—rien bien entendu ne nous assure que cette pièce est spécialement de novembre—offrent de ces contrastes violents. Mais nous connaissons aussi par les dessins et les poèmes de Hugo¹ son habitude mentale invétérée, qui dépend à l'origine d'une sensibilité particulière de l'œil, de voir les choses par oppositions tranchées, et de décomposer le gris, par exemple, en blanc et noir. Nous pouvons être ici en présence d'un arrangement de cet ordre. Le ciel a pu n'être que plus clair à l'occident et plus sombre à l'orient, et Hugo a pu forcer les tons, sous l'influence de l'idée de guerre et de mort ; les deux nappes du ciel ont dû se prêter, plus ou moins, à une comparaison avec deux suaires, et la comparaison une fois trouvée a réagi sur les teintes du ciel dans l'imagination de Hugo. Ce qui nous paraissait une sensation pourrait bien n'être qu'une sensation déjà interprétée et recrée par une idée.

C'est ainsi que dans les deux pièces auxquelles j'ai renvoyé plus haut, Hugo nous donne la lune pour blanche dans la première, et pour rouge dans la seconde. Il se peut qu'il ne l'ait vue ni blanche ni rouge ; la nature ne se plie pas ainsi à la pensée. C'est l'idée du poète au contraire, qui soit immédiatement, soit après coup, a peut-être recoloré ses sensations ; le poète est un halluciné, instinctif ou réfléchi ; et ce que nous prenons pour du génie n'est parfois que de l'art.

Ici encore, par conséquent, nous constatons ou soupçonnons la réaction de l'idée sur la sensation. Le rapport des deux termes peut varier de nature ou d'intimité ; l'idée peut organiser, interpréter, créer même la sensation ; mais le procédé général demeure. En bien des cas,

¹ Cf. Hugnet, *La couleur, la lumière et l'ombre dans les métaphores de V. Hugo*, et le V. Hugo de Mabillean.

les sensations resteraient dans le chaos des innombrables impressions laissées inemployées par les poètes, sans la présence de l'élément intellectuel qui leur fournit le principe d'organisation nécessaire.

Le poème peut alors s'organiser spontanément, immédiatement, en vertu du mécanisme naturel ou acquis fixé par le poète; ou bien il faudra des heures, des jours ou des semaines pour que du rapprochement des sensations emmagasinées et de l'idée organisatrice l'étincelle jaillisse et le poème naisse.

On pourrait aller plus loin, et par exemple, pour notre poème, supposer que la promenade n'a jamais eu lieu, et que Hugo a interprété, en fonction de l'idée de guerre, d'anciennes sensations de coucher de soleil parfaitement banales en soi. On pourrait supposer encore que les trois sensations du poème ne sont nullement contemporaines; que Hugo a rapporté des pièces disparates pour en construire sa pièce. Mais notre poème étant d'une parfaite cohérence, on ne voit ici ni la raison ni l'avantage d'un scepticisme aussi radical.

On conçoit pourtant qu'il importerait à l'intelligence de Hugo, de son génie et de son art, de pouvoir résoudre ces différents petits problèmes.

Enfin, Hugo trouvait encore dans sa mémoire, comme éléments matériels, primitifs (à moins toujours qu'il ne les ait inventés), la tombée de la nuit (v. 5), la marche tête basse qui suggère si nettement son attitude favorite de songeur (v. 7), et comme sensation complémentaire, mais c'est peu probable, ses impressions du v. 6.

Voilà à quoi se réduit la matière du poème; tout le reste est affaire de mise en œuvre, et l'on en peut suivre assez clairement l'agencement.

*
* *

Parti des vers 11 et 12, c'est une question insoluble de savoir si Hugo a d'abord écrit sa troisième strophe, ou s'il a passé directement à la première strophe (je pencherais pour cette hypothèse), ou enfin s'il a ébauché la seconde. Il est naturellement possible qu'il les ait poussées toutes trois de front, par fragments. Mais la genèse de chaque strophe, prise sous sa forme actuelle, n'offre pas d'obscurité.

Strophe I.—Le premier vers—chose rare—a été écrit le premier. Mais de ce vers au second, il n'y a évidemment aucun lien sensible ni intelligible. Pour retrouver la suite des images et des idées, il faut passer du 1^{er} au 4^e.

Comme je l'ai dit, les deux nappes du ciel, l'une blanche (claire), l'autre noire (sombre), ont évoqué à l'imagination de Hugo, par l'inter-

médiaire des idées de guerre et de mort, deux suaires, et la comparaison une fois découverte a pu réagir sur la sensation.

Du 4^e vers au second, nulle suite non plus. Le développement s'est fait par les rimes; *suaires* a entraîné *ossuaires*. C'est une fatalité inhérente à la poésie française, et un procédé spécialement cher à Hugo¹.

Puis *ossuaires* a, plus ou moins vite, amené le *bras* (vu ou pensé d'abord comme un *os*), par application insistante de l'imagination et de l'œil sur le tas d'ossements, ou en réveillant soit une sensation personnelle que Hugo avait rapportée des 'charniers' de Bretagne, soit le souvenir de quelque dessin; on sait que Hugo avait un goût très prononcé du macabre, et l'amour de la ligne nette.

Il fallait que ce bras fît quelque chose. Il a, plus ou moins vite, dressé un catafalque, ce qui rentre bien dans le fantastique de la strophe.

Restait un trou de quatre syllabes à remplir; car en écrivant *noir* au v. 1, Hugo avait automatiquement pensé *soir* au v. 3; c'est une de ses rimes les plus odieusement fréquentes. Il est probable qu'autour du catafalque Hugo a vu les colonnes du temple; mais comme le mot *soir* était là au bout du vers qui guettait, les colonnes du temple sont devenues les colonnes du soir (peut-être les colonnes d'Hercule, qui sont au couchant, ont-elles fait passer cette expression insolite); d'architecturale l'image est devenue naturelle, et la fin du 3^e vers nous a ramenés au paysage qui remplit les vers 1 et 3. Tout cela se développe logiquement, par contiguïté d'objets dans l'espace et analogie de sujets.

Strophe II.—Selon toute apparence, elle a été écrite la dernière, et doit en partie son existence à un juste sentiment des proportions; en deux strophes, le poème eût été étrié; en trois strophes, il est parfait d'équilibre.

En outre, Hugo a dû surtout sentir la nécessité de préparer sa métaphore finale, dont la première strophe était vraiment trop éloignée par le sujet pour y conduire sans heurt ou sans incohérence et pour la faire valoir.

L'élément essentiel, générateur de la strophe en est donc les deux mots finaux. Mais ils sont eux-mêmes une sensation métaphorisée par l'idée: ce qui était au ciel une bande rouge est devenu une lame sanglante.

Il paraît d'ailleurs certain que cette sensation de bande rouge est

¹ Cf. Duval, *Dictionnaire des métaphores de Hugo*. Aux exemples qu'il donne de *Suaires-ossuaires* (ou vice-versa) on pourrait en ajouter beaucoup d'autres.

chronologiquement antérieure à la métaphore de l'épée; peut-être en est-il de même de la métaphore de la lame sanglante, dont la métaphore de l'épée n'aurait alors été que le développement. Mais c'est douteux; il n'est pas nécessaire de supposer que la métaphore finale a passé par ce stade intermédiaire.

Voilà donc toute une série de mots que Hugo nous présente en quelque sorte au second stade (logique ou historique) de leur existence: peut-être *blanc* et *noir*, mais *bras*, *plainte*, *frisson*, *lame*, *sanglante*, *épée*. Cela a tout l'air d'un procédé.

Procédé aussi, cette manière de garder pour la fin les éléments substantiels et primitifs, donc saisissants, de la pensée. Ici Hugo voisine avec Boileau, qui faisait son second vers le premier, et dont il appréciait le style. Mais la strophe permet une ampleur et une souplesse que ne comporte pas l'alexandrin.

Du vers 4, Hugo est probablement passé au vers 3. Puis les rimes ont joué. *Horizon* a commandé *prison*; *prison*, *se fermait*; *se fermait*, *la nuit*; ou bien la rime étant donnée, le vers a jailli d'un bloc. Car je décris les étapes logiques de la genèse; mais Hugo a pu brûler les étapes avec la rapidité du génie ou d'une longue habitude.

Il manquait une rime à *sanglante*. Ici on peut imaginer que Hugo a hésité davantage; le développement paraît d'un automatisme moins nécessaire. Enfin, d'une manière ou de l'autre, le 3^e vers avec sa rime *plante* est venu, soit que Hugo le tînt en réserve et attendît l'occasion de le placer bellement, soit qu'avec un sens admirable de la composition, il ait utilisé ou pressenti et inventé, mais en tout cas interprété par l'idée les sensations d'ouïe complémentaires de sa promenade: le chant des oiseaux à l'heure ingrate du crépuscule, qui devient une plainte; l'agitation des herbes couchées par le vent du soir dans le fossé des fortifications, qui devient un frisson. Placé là comme en parenthèse, et peut-être parasite, ce vers n'en est pas moins le plus profondément mystérieux, poétique, pathétique et musical du poème, celui qui établit entre la nature et l'âme du poète les harmonies les plus fines et les moins attendues; là est le génie.

Strophe III.—Hugo avait dès l'origine, sous une forme quelconque, ses deux derniers vers; il a surtout travaillé son rejet et l'épithète *effrayante* n'est qu'une cheville, mais bonne, destinée à le rendre possible.

Puis, une fois de plus, les rimes ont joué. *Bataille* a amené *tous deux de même taille*, qui n'est que du médiocre remplissage. *Ciel* a provoqué *duel*; mais ici une logique rigoureuse et la philosophie

générale de Hugo ont soutenu la rime. D'une part, le ciel n'ayant pas d'épée, Hugo a été amené à y placer un dieu ; d'autre part la large explication intellectuelle que ces deux vers visent à donner du paysage, dérive du manichéisme bien connu du poète ; le monstre c'est le mal ; le dieu c'est le bien. Il est à noter que ce manichéisme est l'expression philosophique de la disposition sensorielle spéciale à voir par couleurs opposées, comme l'antithèse, chère à Hugo, en est la face intellectuelle.

Deux autres éléments paraissent être intervenus dans l'élaboration de ces deux vers ; le patriotisme du poète (le monstre ce seraient les Allemands, le dieu les Français ?), et le souvenir de quelque légende païenne ou chrétienne réalisée en dessins : les titans et Zeus, le dragon et Saint-Michel, etc.

Ainsi finit le poème.



Assez nombreuses sont les pièces de Hugo dont on peut suivre ainsi le développement depuis l'obscurité des limbes jusqu'à la pleine lumière de l'être. Notre étude a reconnu des procédés qui, s'ils se généralisent, devront s'appeler des lois. Sur le jeu des sensations, le rapport des sensations et des idées, la naissance et le rôle des métaphores, l'élaboration du langage, elle a jeté une lumière que d'autres poèmes pourront compléter et nuancer encore. Elle éclaire assez vivement les procédés très curieux de la composition chez Hugo ; elle permet de sonder avec une certaine sûreté les mystères de son art, et de l'art.

Multipliées raisonnablement sur des pièces de caractères différents, des analyses de ce genre permettront de comprendre le mécanisme mental de Hugo, de saisir et de classer les lois de sa vision, de son imagination, de son intelligence et de sa faculté constructrice¹.

Ce mécanisme a pu et dû varier. Était-il en 1829 (*Orientales*) ce qu'il est devenu en 1857 (*Contemplations*) ? L'exil, la mer, la hantise de l'au-delà l'ont prodigieusement enrichi : l'ont-ils modifié ? Il se peut que des procédés nouveaux aient alors apparus. Inversement, quelques-uns de ces procédés ont disparu avec la vieillesse du poète. La sensation s'est appauvrie, son interprétation par l'idée a perdu de sa justesse toute classique et de son originalité, la métaphore s'est raréfiée, et nous avons eu les interminables tirades abstraites de l'Ane ou du Pape.

Les études de genèse fournissent donc un moyen pénétrant, précis et solide, d'écrire l'histoire du mécanisme mental d'un grand poète.

¹ Émile Hennequin en a essayé une définition dans sa *Critique scientifique*. Il serait curieux de la reprendre et de la vérifier par d'autres moyens.

Elles ne s'appliquent pas seulement à des pièces courtes ; elles valent aussi bien, avec un succès inégal, pour toute œuvre quelle qu'elle soit, une pièce de théâtre, un traité moral ou politique etc. Mais elles conviennent surtout aux œuvres d'art, et à la poésie.

Souvent elles sont absolument stériles, en particulier avec les artistes de type classique, qui travaillent à effacer les traces de leur travail. Mais il faut toujours les essayer, ne serait-ce que pour s'assurer qu'elles ne conduisent à rien.

Il serait dangereux d'en abuser ; mais il faut être capable d'en user, avec la prudence requise.

Elles répondent à la curiosité du comment et du pourquoi, qui est à la base de toute science.

Elles dépassent le point de vue linnéen de la description, ou de l'histoire naturelle des esprits telle que Sainte-Beuve encore l'entendait. Elles se rapprochent, dans la mesure où la critique le comporte, des méthodes biologiques, et permettent d'observer directement, jusqu'à un certain point, l'activité vivante de l'esprit et ses procédés de création.

Après tout la création artistique, comme toute création au monde, obéit à des lois. L'un des objets de la critique, et non des moindres, serait assurément d'atteindre ces lois, et l'on ne voit pas qu'on doive se refuser aucun moyen de les saisir.

GUSTAVE RUDLER.

LONDRES.

THE SOURCE OF TWO OF VOLTAIRE'S 'CONTES EN VERS.'

I.

ON the 1st day of December 1763 Voltaire wrote to the Marquise du Deffand : 'L'aveugle fait ce qu'il peut pour amuser l'aveugle...il croit que le présent conte pourrait faire passer un quart d'heure de temps attendu (comme il est très bien dit dans ledit conte) que les soirées d'hiver sont longues.' The *conte* to which he refers is undoubtedly *Ce qui plaît aux dames*, as that is the only one of his stories in verse which mentions long winter evenings. Since on the 3rd of November Voltaire tells Chauvelin that he has no verses for him because it is not yet 1764, when he had promised to send him some, we may evidently date this bit of poetry as having been written in November 1763. There seems to be no reason to believe the statement made in the *Mémoires secrets de Bachaumont* under the date of the 12th of December 1763 that the friends of Voltaire do not attempt to conceal the fact that Voltaire had had this story in his portfolio for more than thirty years. There is no mention made by Voltaire of this story before November 1763¹. It began to circulate in manuscript form in December and it was published late in the month with the date 1764, in twenty-two pages. It aroused a good deal of interest, and, at the same time, a tempest in a teapot, for Fréron immediately accused Voltaire of having copied Dryden. On the 19th of December Voltaire wrote to Damilaville that it should not appear at the same time as the *Traité de la tolérance*, but told him to do as he wished with it; and on the 4th of January 1764 he wrote to D'Argental that he was sorry that it had been printed, because 'it is withering little flowers which are only charming when they are not sold in the market.' He wrote to the Cardinal de Bernis on the 6th of January that a *conte* of his had been badly printed and that it was one that he would not dare

¹ *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres*, Londres, 1767.

to send to a prince of the Roman church. This undoubtedly refers to our story in verse, since in a letter of the 1st of January he complains of the misprints in it. He was perhaps a little troubled that the story had been made public because of the sly flings at the church in it at a time when, as we know, he wanted his *Traité de la tolérance* to be as well received as possible, and feared, as he had written Damilaville, that the public might think that a man who could write of religion and fairies at the same time was equally indifferent to both. By the 6th of January Voltaire denied the authorship of *Ce qui plaît aux dames* in a letter to Ruffey. Not only is the regret that it has been printed, the use of the name Guillaume Vadé as the author, the final denial of the authorship typically Voltairean, but also his attempt to conceal the exact source of the tale shows a curious state of mind no less typical of Voltaire in certain moods.

In his letter to Damilaville of the 19th of December 1763, he says that *Ce qui plaît aux dames* 'est tiré en partie d'un vieux roman, et a même été traité en anglais par Dryden.' As the sentence is worded, if one did not often find Voltaire misleading when mentioning his sources, one would be likely to infer that Voltaire drew the story from an old romance independently of Dryden, and that the old romance in question might be in French. Moland seems to have been partially misled in this way, for in his edition of Voltaire's works he merely adds that Dryden's story is called *The Wife of Bath* and that it is an imitation of Chaucer's tale of the same name taken itself from an old work¹. Moland does not seem to know of Fréron's charge, which practically amounts to one of plagiarism, and he does not indicate the exact source of *Ce qui plaît aux dames*.

If we accept Voltaire's implication that the source is an old romance, we find at the outset that there is no French romance known to deal with this tale. We are inevitably led to an English original. *The Wife of Bath's Tale* is distinctly English², and in addition to Chaucer's treatment of it, we find versions of it in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and in four ballads: *The Marriage of Sir Gawaine*, *The Wedding of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnall*, *The Ballade of King Henry*, *The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter*. One looks in vain in these versions for points of resemblance to Voltaire's poem; but both in Chaucer's treatment and in that of Voltaire, the knight, when almost despairing of answering the question, as to what pleases women most, comes upon

¹ Moland's edition of Voltaire, p. 9, vol. x.

² Maynardier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, p. 80.

some maidens dancing. This incident does not occur in any of the other early versions. Thus the possibility of influence upon Voltaire by these stories may be set aside. There are several later treatments of the tale, however, which might have served as Voltaire's source, such as: *Women Pleased*, a play by Fletcher; *A New Sonnet of a Knight and a Fair Virgin*, by Richard Johnson; *The Wanton Wife of Bath*, a ballad; *The Wife of Bath*, a play by Gay; and a version by Goldsmith in *A Citizen of the World*. There is no evidence, however, that any of these served as the source of *Ce qui plaît aux dames*.

In the third number of *L'année littéraire* for 1764, Fréron accused Voltaire of taking his *conte* from Dryden's modernization of Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale* and he strengthened this accusation by giving a prose translation of Dryden's poem. This must have galled Voltaire considerably, for he undoubtedly saw it, in spite of his assertion in his letter of the 24th of May 1764 that he never read *L'année littéraire*, for this remark is more or less of a joke, and we know very well that he did read this magazine¹. Let us now weigh the evidence and perhaps discover why Voltaire, so prone to reply in such cases even to the most obscure pamphleteer, now maintained a strict silence. We have reason to doubt that Voltaire could have read the old English of Chaucer; but it yet remains to be proved that Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale* is not the old romance which he claims is the source of his poem. Also we must not fail to take into consideration a French translation of Dryden's version which appeared in the June number 1757 of the *Journal étranger*.

If we examine these versions for points of similarity and difference, we find that in Chaucer the old hag is described as follows: 'A fouler wight there may no man devyse.' Dryden adds to this: 'Propped on her lusty staff not half upright.' This additional phrase appears in Voltaire: 'Pliée en deux, s'appuyant d'un bâton.' Chaucer has the old dame say: 'Thise olde folk can muchel thing.' Dryden modernizes this to read: '...for wisdom is in age.' Voltaire follows Dryden saying: '...le sens vient avec l'âge.' Chaucer has no line which corresponds exactly to Dryden's line: 'The female senate was assembled soon'; but Voltaire has the line: 'Incontinent le conseil assemblé.' Nor has Chaucer any phrase corresponding to Dryden's: '...and I expect my hire,' which Voltaire translates: 'et j'attends mon salaire.' Although other similarities between Dryden and Voltaire can be pointed out, this is

¹ *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres*, fév. 5, 1764.

sufficient evidence to prove that Voltaire followed Dryden's modernization and not Chaucer's 'old romance.'

As for the translation in the *Journal étranger*, there is enough evidence to show that Voltaire went to the original instead of being content with the wretched and incomplete translation, although it is possible that it was the reading of the *Journal étranger* which suggested the story to his mind. In Dryden the maid is going to market, and also in Voltaire, while in the translation she is merely going 'à la ville.' Voltaire renders the line, 'and I expect my hire,' quite exactly, 'et j'attends mon salaire,' while the *Journal étranger* reads: 'Pour salaire j'exige qu'il m'épouse.' In Dryden and in Voltaire the old dame admits that she is ugly and poor. The translation leaves out this idea. Plainest of all, however, is the evidence of relationship of these versions shown by the passages describing the dance. Chaucer says:

Wher-as he saw upon a daunce go,
Of ladies, four and twenty and yet mo.

Dryden adds the following details:

He saw a quire of ladies in a round,
That featly footing seemed to skim the ground.
Thus dancing hand in hand so light they were,
He knew not where they trod, on earth or air.

The *Journal étranger* is content to render this: 'Au clair de la lune, il aperçut une troupe agréable de femmes, qui se tenoient par la main pour danser en rond.' Voltaire must have gone to Dryden directly for the following lines:

Il vit de loin vingt beautés ravissantes,
Dansant en rond...
Rasant la terre et ne la touchant pas.

Thus Fréron was right; and if Voltaire did not reply it may well have been because there was nothing to say. This 'old romance' was certainly 'even treated in English by Dryden,' as Voltaire says. If it had not been, we should never have had the pleasure of reading *Ce qui plaît aux dames*.

II.

Another of this collection of *Contes en vers* published by Voltaire under the name of Guillaume Vadé is entitled *Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille*. Again Voltaire withheld the information in regard to the source of his story, and in this case did not give even a hint to the future commentator. Neither Moland nor anyone else seems to have discovered the source of this other 'flower' which Voltaire regretted to

have exposed to the crowd in the market place. Of course there is no real reason why Voltaire should name the author of these bagatelles, as he calls them, but since he often seems to take pains to conceal his sources, it is a rather interesting game to discover them. In this case it is Firenzuola who gave the Patriarch of Ferney a chance to while away a few hours of a long winter when the snow was almost blinding him, by composing and perhaps dictating what he calls 'un conte de ma mère l'oie' for his friends. It is interesting to note that Voltaire does not appear to have mentioned Firenzuola in any connection in his writings; and just how he came into contact with the *novelle*, whether in the original or in a French translation, is not plain.

The synopsis of the fifth *novella* of Firenzuola reads as follows: 'Mona Francesca s'innamora di Fra Timoteo, e mentre con lui si solazza, Laura sua figliuola accorgendosene, fa venire un suo amante; la madre se ne ayvede e gridala, e Laura con una bella parola la fa tacere, e vergognandosi dello erro suo, s'accorda con la figliuola.' This is, of course, plainly the source of Voltaire's *Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille*, although, as in the case of *Ce qui plaît aux dames*, the tone and esprit is distinctly Voltairean and of the eighteenth century. The Italian source, indeed, has been followed far less closely than the English source from which he translated whole phrases and many ideas. With the exception of the name of the daughter's lover, Andreuolo, which Voltaire has retained as André, nothing appears to have been literally translated from the Italian story.

Of course, in neither of these two cases ought anyone to accuse Voltaire of flagrant plagiarism. These *contes* were first intended by Voltaire to be mere trifles to amuse his friends. They became more important than he expected they would, and aroused a great deal of interest at the time of their publication. Several of them were made into comic operas, including *Gertrude ou l'éducation d'une fille*, which was set to music by Favart. That fact, together with the attempt on the part of Fréron in the case of *Ce qui plaît aux dames* to cast discredit on his most bitter enemy, gave the whole collection of his *Contes en vers* a prominence greater than Voltaire expected and, if we can believe him, greater than he really wanted. Also it must not be forgotten that when these tales have passed through the active and original mind of the Lord of Ferney, little remains of the sources except the bare plot of the story. The content is distinctly Voltairean.

DONALD CLIVE STUART.

PRINCETON, N.J.

DANTE'S LETTER TO THE FLORENTINES (*EPIST.* VI).

EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

THE text of this letter has been preserved in one MS. only, namely *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729 in the Vatican, a transcript of which was printed by me in a previous article in this *Review*, together with an *apparatus criticus*, in which are recorded the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter (see *M.L.R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 13-19).

*Emended Text*¹.

Dantes Alagherii Florentinus et exul immeritus
scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsecis.

[§ 1.] Aeterni pia providentia Regis, qui (2) dum coelestia sua bonitate perpetuat, (3) infera nostra despiciendo non deserit, (4) sacrosancto Romanorum imperio res hu-(5)-manas disposuit gubernandas, ut sub (6) tanti serenitate praesidii genus mortale (7) quiesceret, et ubique, natura poscente (8), civiliter degeretur. Hoc etsi divinis (9) comprobatur elogiis, hoc etsi solius podio (10) rationis innixa contestatur antiquitas, (11) non leviter tamen veritati applaudit, quod², (12) solio Augustali vacante totus orbis exorbi-(13)-tat, quod naucerus et remiges in navicula (14) Petri dormitant, et quod Italia misera, (15) sola, privatis arbitriis derelicta, omnique³ (16) publico moderamine destituta, quanta (17) ventorum fluctuumque⁴ concussione fera-(18)-tur verba non caperent, sed et vix Itali⁵ (19) infelices lacrymis metiuntur. Igitur in (20) hanc Dei manifestissimam voluntatem (21) quicumque

¹ For convenience of reference the numbering of the sections [in square brackets], and of the lines (in round brackets) of the text as printed in the Oxford Dante have been inserted in the emended text. For the variants of the printed editions reference should be made to the *apparatus criticus* mentioned above.

² MS. *sed*.

³ MS. *omnibusque*.

⁴ MS. *fluentium ue.*

⁵ MS. *italie*.

temere praesumendo tumes-(22)-cunt, si gladius eius qui dicit 'mea est (23) ultio,' de coelo non cecidit, ex nunc (24) severi iudicis adventante iudicio pallore (25) notentur.

[§ 2.] (26) Vos autem divina iura et humana (27) transgredientes, quos dira cupiditatis (28) ingluvies paratos in omne nefas illexit, (29) nonne terror secundae mortis exagitat, (30) ex quo, primi et soli iugum libertatis (31) horrentes, in Romani principis, Mundi (32) regis et Dei ministri, gloriam fremuistis; (33) atque iure praescriptionis utentes, debita (34) subiectionis officium denegando, in re-(35)-bellionis vesaniam maluistis insurgere? (36) An ignoratis, amentes et discoli, publica (37) iura cum sola temporis terminatione (38) finire, et nullius praescriptionis calculo (39) fore obnoxia¹? Nempe legum sanctiones (40) almae declarant, et humana ratio (41) percunctando decernit, publica rerum (42) dominia, quantalibet diuturnitate neg-(43)-lecta, nunquam posse vanescere vel (44) abstenuata conquiri². Nam quod ad (45) omnium cedit utilitatem, sine omnium (46) detrimento interire non potest, vel etiam (47) infirmari. Et hoc Deus et natura non (48) vult, et mortalium penitus abhorreret (49) adsensus³. Quid⁴ fatua tali opinione sub-(50)-mota, tamquam alteri Babylonii, pium (51) deserentes imperium nova regna tentatis, (52) ut alia sit Florentina civitas, alia sit (53) Romana? Cur apostolicae⁵ monarchiae (54) similiter invidere non libet; ut si Delia (55) geminatur in coelo, geminetur et Delius? (56) Atqui si male ausa rependere vobis non est⁶ terrori (57), territet saltem⁷ obstinata prae-(58)-cordia, quod non modo sapientia, sed (59) initium eius ad poenam culpae vobis (60) ablatum est. Nulla etenim conditio (61) delinquentis formidolosior, quam impu-(62)-denter et sine Dei timore quidquid libet (63) agentis. Hac nimirum persaepe animad-(64)-versione percutitur impius, ut moriens (65) obliviscatur sui, qui dum viveret oblitus (66) est Dei.

[§ 3.] (67) Sin prorsus arrogantia vestra insolens (68) adeo roris altissimi, ceu cacumina Gelboe, (69) vos fecit exsortes, ut senatus aeterni (70) consulto restituisse timori non fuerit, nec (71) etiam non timuisse timetis; numquid (72) timor ille perniciosus, humanus videlicet (73) atque mundanus, abesse poterit, super-(74)-bissimi vestri sanguinis vestraeque mul-(75)-tum lacrymandae rapinae inevitabili (76) naufragio properante? An septi vallo (77) ridiculo cuiquam defensioni con-

¹ MS. *obnoxias*.

² MS. *conqueri*.

³ MS. *ascensus*.

⁴ MS. *quod*.

⁵ MS. *apostolice*.

⁶ MS. *vobis terrori non est*, which violates the *cursus*. The reading in the text is one of those proposed by Parodi (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. xix, 258).

⁷ MS. *saltin*.

fiditis¹? (78) O male concordēs! O mira cupidine (79) obcaecati²! Quid vallo sepsisse, quid pro-(80)-pugnaculis vos³ et pinnis armasse iuvabit, (81) cum advolaverit aquila in auro terribilis, (82) quae nunc Pirenen, nunc Caucason, nunc (83) Atlanta supervolans, militiae coeli magis (84) confortata sufflamine, vasta maria quon-(85)-dam transvolando despexit? Quid, cum (86) adfore stupescetis, miserrimi hominum, (87) delirantis Hesperiae domitorem? Non (88) equidem spes quam frustra sine more (89) fovetis, reluctantia ista iuvabitur, sed hac (90) obice⁴ iusti regis adventus inflammabitur (91) amplius⁵, ac indignata misericordia semper (92) concomitans eius exercitum avolabit; et (93) quo falsae libertatis trabeam tueri existi-(94)-matis, eo verae servitutis in ergastula (95) concidetis⁶. Miro namque Dei iudicio (96) quandoque agi credendum est, ut unde (97) digna supplicia impius⁷ declinare arbitra-(98)-tur, inde⁸ in ea gravius praecipitetur; et (99) qui divinae voluntati reluctatus est et (100) sciens et volens, eidem militet nesciens (101) atque nolens.

[§ 4.] (102) Videbitis aedificia vestra non neces-(103)-sitati pruderter instructa, sed delitiis (104) inconsulte mutata, quae Pergama rediviva (105) non cingunt, tam ariete ruere, tristes, (106) quam igne cremari. Videbitis plebem (107) circumquaque furem nunc in con-(108)-traria, pro et contra, deinde⁹ in idem (109) adversus vos horrenda clamantem, quo-(110)-niam simul et¹⁰ ieiuna¹¹ et timida nescit (111) esse. Templā quoque spoliata, quotidie (112) matronarum frequentata concursu, par-(113)-vulosque admirantes et inscios peccata (114) patrum luere destinatos videre pigebit. (115) Et si praesaga mens mea non fallitur, sic (116) signis veridicis, sicut inexpugnabilibus (117) argumentis instructa praenuntians, ur-(118)-bem diutino moerore confectam in manus (119) alienorum tradi finaliter, plurima vestri (120) parte seu nece¹² seu captivitate¹³ deperdita, (121) perpessuri¹⁴ exilium pauci cum fletu cerne-(122)-tis. Utque breviter colligam, quas tulit (123) calamitates illa civitas gloriosa in fide (124) pro libertate, Saguntum, ignominiose vos (125) eas in perfidia pro servitute subire ne-(126)-cesse est.

¹ MS. *confidētis*.

² MS. *cupidine caecati*, which violates the cursus; the reading in the text follows a suggestion of Parodi (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. xix, 258), who prefers *occaecati*. The word *obcaecare* occurs several times in the Vulgate (e.g. *Ecclus.* xxv. 24; xliii. 4; *Mark* vi. 52; 1 *John* ii. 11); the phrase 'obcaecati cupiditate' occurs in Cicero's *De Finibus* (i, 10), a work with which Dante was familiar.

³ MS. *omits vos*; the printed editions read *propugnaculis et pinnis vos armasse*; the reading in the text is that proposed by Parodi (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.* N.S. xix, 258).

⁴ MS. *abice*.

⁵ MS. *amplius*.

⁶ MS. *cancidetis*.

⁷ MS. *ipius*.

⁸ MS. *unde*.

⁹ MS. *unde*.

¹⁰ MS. *omits et*.

¹¹ MS. *ienuna*.

¹² MS. *neci*.

¹³ MS. *captivitatis*.

¹⁴ MS. *perpeirsuri*.

[§ 5.] (127) Nec ab inopina Parmensium fortuna (128) sumatis audaciam, qui, malesuada fame (129) urgente, murmurantes in invicem, 'prius (130) moriamur et in media arma ruamus,' in (131) castra Caesaris, absente Caesare, proru-(132)-perunt. Nam et hi, quamquam de Victoria (133) victoriam sint adepti, nihilominus ibi (134) sunt de dolore dolorem memorabiliter (135) consecuti. Sed recensete fulmina Federe-(136)-rici prioris; et Mediolanum consulite (137) pariter et Spoletum: quoniam ipsorum (138) perversione simul et eversione discussa (139) viscera vestra nimium dilatata frigescent, (140) et corda vestra nimium ferventia contra-(141)-hentur. Ha Tuscorum vanissimi, tam (142) natura quam vitio insensati¹! Quam (143) in noctis tenebris malesanae mentis pedes (144) oberrent ante oculos pennatorum, nec (145) perpenditis nec² figuratis ignari. Vident (146) namque vos pennati et immaculati in (147) via, quasi stantes in limine³ carceris, et (148) miserantem quempiam, ne forte vos (149) liberet captivatos et⁴ in compedibus ad-(150)-strictos et manicis, propulsantes. Nec (151) advertitis⁵ dominantem cupidinem, quia (152) caeci estis, venenoso susurrio blandientem, (153) minis frustatoris⁶ cohibentem, nec non (154) captivantem⁷ vos in lege peccati, ac sacra-(155)-tissimis legibus, quae iustitiae naturalis (156) imitantur imaginem, parere vetantem; (157) observantia quarum, si laeta, si libera, (158) non tantum non servitus esse probatur, (159) quin immo, perspicaciter intuenti, liquet (160) ut est ipsa summa libertas. Nam quid (161) aliud haec nisi liber cursus voluntatis in (162) actum, quem suis leges mansuetis expe-(163)-diunt? Itaque solis existentibus liberis (164) qui voluntarie legi obediunt, quos⁸ vos (165) esse censebitis, qui, dum praetenditis (166) libertatis affectum, contra leges universas (167) in legum principem conspiratis?

[§ 6.] (168) O miserrima Fesulanorum propago, (169) et iterum iam punita barbaries! An parum (170) timoris praelibata incutiant? Omnino (171) vos tremere arbitror vigilantes, quam-(172)-quam spem simuletis in facie verboque (173) mendaci, atque in somniis expergisci (174) plerumque, sive pavescentes infusa prae-(175)-sagia, sive diurna consilia recolentes. (176) Verum si merito trepidantes insanisse (177) poenitet non dolentes, ut in amaritudinem (178) poenitentiae metus dolorisque rivuli⁹ con-(179)-fluant, vestris animis infigenda supersunt, (180) quod Romanae rei baiulus hic, divus et (181) triumphator Henricus, non sua privata (182) sed publica mundi commoda sitiens, ardua

¹ MS. *incensati*.

⁴ MS. *etiam*.

⁶ Misprinted *frustratoris* in the transcript.

⁸ MS. *quas*.

² MS. *omits nec*.

⁵ MS. *advertis*.

⁹ MS. *riuoli*.

³ MS. *lumine*.

⁷ MS. *captiuitatem*.

(183) pro¹ nobis aggressus est, sua (184) sponte poenas nostras participans, tam-(185)-quam ad ipsum, post Christum, digitum (186) prophetiae propheta direxerit Isaias, cum, (187) spiritu Dei revelante, praedixit: 'Vere lan-(188)-guores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros (189) ipse portavit.' Igitur tempus amarissime (190) poenitendi vos temere² praesumptorum³, (191) si dissimulare non vultis, adesse conspi-(192)-citis. Et sera poenitentia hoc a modo (193) veniae genitiva non erit; quin potius (194) tempestivae animadversionis exordium. (195) Est enim: quoniam peccator percutitur (196) ut sine retractatione moriatur⁴.

(197) Scriptum⁵ pridie Kalendas Apriles in finibus (198) Tusciae sub fonte Sarni, faustissimi (199) cursus Henrici Caesaris ad Italiam anno (200) primo.

List of passages in which the present text (T.) differs from that of the third edition (1904) of the Oxford Dante (O.³).

	O. ³	T.
Title.	<i>Dantes Aligherius</i>	<i>Dantes Alagherii</i>
§ 1, l. 9.	<i>eloquiis</i>	<i>elogiis</i>
§ 2, ll. 39-40.	<i>sanctiones altissime declarant</i>	<i>sanctiones almae declarant</i> ⁶
ll. 57-8.	<i>vobis terrori non est</i>	<i>vobis non est terrori</i> ⁶
§ 3, ll. 78-9.	<i>cupidine caecati</i>	<i>cupidine obcaecati</i> ⁶
ll. 79-80.	<i>quid propugnaculis et pinnis</i> <i>vos armasse iuvabit</i>	<i>quid propugnaculis vos et pinnis</i> <i>armasse iuvabit</i>
§ 5, l. 129-30.	<i>murmurantes invicem prius</i> <i>'moriatur...</i>	<i>murmurantes in invicem</i> ⁷ , <i>'prius</i> <i>moriatur...</i>
ll. 132-3.	<i>quamquam...sunt adepti</i>	<i>quamquam...sint</i> ⁸ <i>adepti</i>
l. 141.	<i>Ah</i>	<i>Ha</i> ⁹
l. 142.	<i>Quantum</i>	<i>Quam</i>
l. 152.	<i>susurro blandientem</i>	<i>susurrio blandientem</i> ¹⁰
ll. 159-60.	<i>quin immo perspicaciter</i> <i>intuenti liquet, ut</i>	<i>quin immo, perspicaciter intu-</i> <i>enti, liquet ut</i> ¹¹
§ 6, l. 169.	<i>Punica barbaries</i>	<i>punita barbaries</i> ¹⁰
ll. 182-3.	<i>ardua quaeque pro nobis</i> <i>revertatur</i>	<i>ardua pro nobis</i> <i>moriatur</i> ¹⁰
Colophon.	<i>prid. Kal. Aprilis...sub</i> <i>fontem</i>	<i>pridie Kalendas Apriles...sub</i> <i>fonte</i>

¹ MS. *quod*.² MS. *tremere*.³ MS. *presumptorum*.⁴ MS. *riuantur*.⁵ MS. *Scriptis*.⁶ This correction restores the cursus.⁷ The phrase *in invicem* (the reading of the MS.) occurs at least half a dozen times in the Vulgate, viz. *John* vi. 43; *Rom.* i. 27; xiv. 19; 1 *Thess.* iii. 12; v. 15; 2 *Thess.* i. 3. This correction restores the cursus, which also shows that *prius* forms part of the quotation, the required pause coming not at that word but at *invicem*.⁸ So MS.; Dante invariably uses *quamquam* with the subjunctive.⁹ This (the MS. reading) seems preferable to *ah* (cf. *Epist.* viii, 107).¹⁰ This correction restores the cursus.¹¹ The cursus shows that the pause comes not at *liquet* but at *intuenti*.

Translation.

Dante Alighieri, a Florentine undeservedly in exile, to the most iniquitous Florentines within the city.

[§ 1.] The gracious providence of the Eternal King, who in his goodness ever rules the affairs of the world above, yet ceases not to look down upon our concerns here below, committed to the Holy Roman Empire the governance of human affairs, to the end that mankind might repose in the peace of so powerful a protection, and everywhere, as nature demands, might live as citizens of an ordered world. And though the proof of this is to be found in holy writ, and though the ancients relying on reason alone bear witness thereto¹, yet is it no small confirmation of the truth, that when the throne of Augustus is vacant, the whole world goes out of course, the helmsman and rowers slumber in the ship of Peter, and unhappy Italy, forsaken and abandoned to private control, and bereft of all public guidance, is tossed with such buffeting of winds and waves as no words can describe, nay as even the Italians in their woe can scarce measure with their tears. Wherefore let all who in mad presumption have risen up against this most manifest will of God, now grow pale at the thought of the judgment of the stern Judge, which is nigh at hand, if so be the sword of Him who saith, 'Vengeance is mine²,' be not fallen out of heaven.

[§ 2.] But you, who transgress every law of God and man, and whom the insatiable greed of avarice has urged all too willing into every crime, does the dread of the second death not haunt you, seeing that you first and you alone, shrinking from the yoke of liberty, have murmured against the glory of the Roman Emperor, the king of the earth, and minister of God; and under cover of prescriptive right, refusing the duty of submission due to him, have chosen rather to rise up in the madness of rebellion? Have you to learn, senseless and perverse³ as you are, that public right can be subject to no reckoning by prescription, but must endure so long as time itself endures? Verily the sacred precepts of the law declare, and human reason after enquiry has decided, that public control of affairs, however long neglected, can never become of no effect, nor be superseded, however much it be weakened. For nothing which tends to the advantage

¹ That is, it is testified to both by the Scriptures and by pagan writers.

² *Rom.* xii, 19.

³ 'Discoli'—the word occurs in the Vulgate (1 *Peter* ii, 18).

of all can be destroyed, or even impaired, without injury to all—a thing contrary to the intention of God and nature, and which would be utterly abhorrent to the opinion of all mankind. Wherefore, then, being disabused of such an idle conceit, do you abandon the Holy Empire, and, like the men of Babel once more, seek to found new kingdoms, so that there shall be one polity of Florence, and another of Rome? And why should not the Apostolic government be the object of a like envy, so that if the one twin of Delos have her double in the heavens, the other should have his likewise¹? But if reflection upon your evil designs bring you no fears, at least let this strike terror into your hardened hearts, that as the penalty for your crime not only wisdom, but the beginning of wisdom², has been taken from you. For no condition of the sinner is more terrible than that of him who, shamelessly and without the fear of God, does whatsoever he lists. Full often, indeed, the wicked man is smitten with this punishment, that as during life he has been oblivious of God, so when he dies he is rendered oblivious of himself.

[§ 3.] But if your insolent arrogance has so deprived you of the dew from on high, like the mountain-tops of Gilboa, that you have not feared to resist the decree of the eternal senate, and have felt no fear at not having feared, shall that deadly fear, to wit human and worldly fear, not overwhelm you, when the inevitable shipwreck of your proud race, and the speedy end of your deeply to be rued lawlessness, shall be seen to be hard at hand? Do you put your trust in defences, in that you are girt about by a contemptible rampart? O you of one mind only for evil! O you blinded by wondrous greed! What shall it avail you to have girt you with a rampart, and to have fortified yourselves with bulwarks and battlements³, when, terrible in gold, the eagle shall swoop down upon you, which, soaring now over the Pyrenees, now over Caucasus, now over Atlas, ever strengthened by the support⁴ of the

¹ 'Delia' and 'Delius' (Diana and Apollo), that is, the Moon and the Sun, typifying, as 'the lesser and the greater light,' the Empire and the Papacy (cf. *Mon.* III, 4, ll. 10—21).

² 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (*Psalm* cxi, 10).

³ 'On St Andrew's day (Nov. 30), 1310,' says Villani, 'the Florentines, fearing the coming of the Emperor, decided to enclose the city with moats from the Porta San Gallo to the Porta Santo Ambrogio, and thence to the Arno; and then from the Porta San Gallo to the Porta dal Prato d' Ognissanti, where the walls were already begun, they had them raised eight cubits. And this work was done at once and very quickly; and it was without doubt the salvation of the city, for it had been all open, the old walls having been in great part pulled down, and the materials sold' (ix, 10).

⁴ The word in the original is *sufflamen*, which is here used not in its classical sense of a 'drag' or 'check' (as Latham takes it), but in its medieval sense of 'support.' Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon* says: '*Sufflare* idest *appodiare*, *fulcire*, *appodiamentum supponere*; unde hoc *sufflamen*...*appodiamentum*, scilicet cui aliquid innititur ut sustentetur.'

host of heaven, gazed down of old on the vast expanse of ocean in its flight? What shall these avail you, most wretched of men, when you stand confounded in the presence of him who shall subdue the raging of Hesperia? The hopes which you vainly cherish in your unreason will not be furthered by your rebellion; but by this resistance the just wrath of the king at his coming will be but the more inflamed against you, and mercy, which ever accompanies his army, shall fly away indignant; and where you think to defend the threshold¹ of false liberty, there in sooth you shall fall into the dungeon of slavery. For by the wondrous judgment of God, as we must believe, it sometimes comes to pass that by the very means whereby the wicked man thinks to escape the punishment which is his due, he is the more fatally hurried into it; and that he who wittingly and willingly is a rebel against the divine will, is unwittingly and unwillingly a soldier in its service.

[§ 4.] The buildings which you have raised, not in prudence to serve your needs, but have recklessly altered to gratify your wantonness², these, encircled by no walls of a renovated Troy, to your grief you shall see crumble beneath the battering-ram, and devoured by the flames. The populace which now, divided against itself, rages indiscriminately, some for you, some against you, you shall then see united in their imprecations against you, for the starving mob knows nothing of fear³. With remorse, too, you shall behold the spoliation of your temples, thronged daily by a concourse of matrons, and your children doomed in wonder and ignorance to suffer for the sins of their fathers. And if my prophetic soul be not deceived, which announces what it has been taught by infallible signs and incontrovertible arguments, your city, worn out with ceaseless mourning, shall be delivered at the last into the hands of the stranger, after the greatest part of you has been destroyed in death or captivity; and the few that shall be left to endure exile shall witness her downfall with tears and lamentation. Those sufferings, in short, which for liberty's sake the glorious city of Saguntum endured in her loyalty, you in your disloyalty must undergo with shame but to become slaves.

[§ 5.] And beware of gathering confidence from the unlooked-for success of the men of Parma, who under the spur of hunger, that evil counsellor⁴, murmuring to one another, 'Let us rather rush into the midst

¹ *Trabea*, which Fraticelli renders by 'bandiera,' and Latham by 'robe,' is here used in the medieval sense, explained by Giovanni da Genova as 'porticus tecta trabibus,' i.e. literally a 'porch.'

² See p. 188, note 3.

³ Lucan, *Phars.* III, 58, 'Nescit plebes jejuna timere.'

⁴ 'Malesuada fames,' *Aen.* VI, 276.

of battle and meet death¹, broke into the camp of Caesar while Caesar was absent. For even they, though they gained a victory over Victoria², none the less reaped woe from that woe in a way not soon to be forgotten. But bethink you of the thunderbolts of the first Frederick; consider the fate of Milan and of Spoleto³; for at the remembrance of their disobedience and swift overthrow your too proud flesh shall grow chill, and your too hot hearts shall contract⁴. O most foolish of the Tuscans, insensate alike by nature and by corruption, who neither consider nor understand in your ignorance how before the eyes of the full-fledged⁵ the feet of your diseased minds⁶ go astray in the darkness of night! For the full-fledged and the unspotted in the way, seeing you standing as it were on the threshold of the prison, thrust aside any that have pity on you, lest haply they should deliver you from captivity and loose you from the chains that bind your hands and your feet. Nor do you perceive in your blindness how the greed which has mastered you, beguiles you with venomous whispers, and with cheating threats⁷ constrains you, yea has brought you into captivity to the law of sin⁸, and forbidden you to obey the most sacred laws, those laws made in the likeness of natural justice; the observance whereof, if it be joyous, if it be free, is not only no servitude, but to him who observes with understanding is manifestly in itself the most perfect liberty. For what else is this liberty but the free passage from will to act, which the laws make easy for those who obey them? Seeing, then, that they only are free who of their own will submit to the law, what do you call yourselves, who while you make

¹ 'Moriatur et in media arma ruamus,' *Aen.* II, 353.

² The reference is to an incident during the siege of Parma by Frederick II in 1248, which is related by Villani (vi, 34). The Emperor, in order to hasten the reduction of the town, built a fortress to face it which he called Victoria. One day, however, while the Emperor was absent on a hunting expedition, the Parmesans, rendered desperate by famine, made a sortie, and captured and destroyed the fortress, taking at the same time an immense booty including the Imperial crown, and forcing the Emperor to retire to Cremona.

³ Villani records (v, 1) how the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa besieged and destroyed Spoleto in 1152, and Milan in 1157, the site of the latter being ploughed and sown with salt.

⁴ One might be tempted at first sight to suggest that the verbs in these two sentences have accidentally got transposed in the original; but the cursus—(dila)tata frigéscent (*planus*), (fer)véntia cōntrahéntur (*velox*)—proves that no such hypothesis is admissible.

⁵ 'Pennati,' i.e. those who have attained to years of discretion, men of experience. Cf. *Purg.* xxx., 61-3: 'Nuovo augelletto due o tre aspetta; Ma dinanzi dagli occhi dei pennuti Rete si spiega indarno o si saetta.'

⁶ 'Malesanae mentis pedes,' a bold metaphor with which may be compared 'humana ratio propriis pedibus' (*Mon.* II, 8, l. 9); 'spatulas iudicii' (*V.E.* I, 6, l. 22); and 'piedi del coto' (*Par.* III, 26-7).

⁷ 'Minis frustatoris,' presumably for 'frustratoris.' Wicksteed renders 'with scourging threats,' as if the word were connected with Italian *frustare* 'to whip'; but there seems to be no warrant for this.

⁸ *Rom.* vii, 23.

pretence of a love of liberty, in defiance of every law conspire against the Prince who is the giver of the law?

[§ 6.] O most wretched offshoot of Fiesole¹! O barbarians punished now a second time²! Does the foretaste not suffice to terrify you? Of a truth I believe that, for all you simulate hope in your looks and lying lips, yet you tremble in your waking hours, and ever start from your dreams in terror at the portents which have visited you, or rehearsing again the counsels you have debated by day. But if, while alarmed with good reason, you repent you of your madness, yet feel no remorse, then, that the streams of fear and remorse may unite in the bitter waters of repentance, bear this further in mind, that the guardian of the Roman Empire, the triumphant Henry, elect of God, thirsting not for his own but for the public good, has for our sakes undertaken his heavy task, sharing our pains of his own free will, as though to him, after Christ, the prophet Isaiah had pointed the finger of prophecy, when by the revelation of the Spirit of God he declared, 'Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows³.' Wherefore you perceive, if you be not dissemblers, that the hour of bitter repentance for your mad presumption is now at hand. But a late repentance after this wise will not purchase pardon, rather is it but the beginning of seasonable chastisement. For 'the sinner is smitten so that he shall surely die⁴.'

Written from the springs of Arno, on the confines of Tuscany⁵, on the thirty-first day of March in the first year of the most auspicious passage of the Emperor Henry into Italy⁶.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.

¹ Cf. *Inf.* xv, 61-2: 'Quell' ingrato popolo maligno, Che discese di Fiesole ab antico.'

² Dante threatens Florence with destruction a second time, the first having been (as he believed) at the hands of Attila (cf. *Inf.* xiii, 149).

³ *Isaiah* liii, 4.

⁴ 'Ut sine retractatione moriatur'; cf. the Biblical phrase in the Vulgate, 1 *Reg.* xiv, 39 (in A.V., 1 *Sam.*): 'absque retractatione morietur' (the only instance of the word *retractatio* in the Vulgate).

⁵ Dante was probably at this time the guest of Guido Novello of Battifolle, at the castle of Poppi, in the Casentino.

⁶ That is, March 31, 1311.

NOTES ON ROMANIC SPEECH-HISTORY.

DEBEO.

THE traditional rule about the length of Latin vowels before the sound *j* (consonant-*i*) seems to be nothing but a grammarians' fiction. In inscriptions *i* is sometimes doubled between vowels, as *CVIIVS*, *EIIVS*, and Cicero is said to have preferred this spelling¹. The Romanic derivatives of *peius* and *troia* require Latin forms with open *e* and open *o*. Italian has long *a* in *malo*, because the *a* of *mālus* was free; but it has short *a* in *maggio*.

These facts all point one way: the sound *j* was regularly double between vowels, and the spoken words were *kujjus*, *ejjus*, *pejjus*, *trojja*, *majjus*, with checked short vowels, not free long ones. The short vowel of *maius* has remained such in *maggio*; *magis* and *maius* had the same radical *ǣ*. There is no ground for assuming, as Meyer-Lübke does in his Romanic dictionary, that *peior* and *peius* were influenced by *mēlior* or *pēssimus*. *Peior* and *pessimus* had a common stem, with short *e*: French *pire* has a classic basis, and the idea of constructing a special 'vulgar' one is unreasonable.

The shortness of *u* in *cuius* agrees with that of *o* in *bōnus* < *duonos* < *duenos*, *sōmnus* < **swepnos*. The sound-group *kw* was kept longer than initial *dw* and *swo*, so that we find different vowels in *cuius* < *quoius* and *bonus* < *duonos*, *somnus* < **swomnos*: *dwo* and *swo* lost *w*, while *kwo* developed through *kwu* to *ku*. The stressed *u* of *cuius* became close in Hispanic, by reason of contact with the sound *j*, before *gula* changed to *gola*².

Many stressless forms of 'have' lost *b* in spoken Latin, and likewise stressless *dēbeo* developed to **dejjo*, *dēbeat* to **dejjat*, *dēbēs* to **deēs*, *dēbet* to **deet*. Since all vowels were short before *jj*, the *e* of **dejjo* was short, in accord with the general sound-system; and this short *e* was necessarily open, because there was no short close *e* in Latin. The

¹ Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, München, 1910, p. 31.

² *Modern Language Review*, ix, 493; *Modern Philology*, xi, 349.

modifications of quantity that changed free $\check{a}$ to $\bar{a}$, as in Italian *malo*, and produced a short close *e*, as in Italian *cresco* < *crĕsco*, were later developments. Thus open *e* is normal in Italian *deggio* and *deggia*. Early French had analogic *deie* for **die* < **dejjat* (corresponding to *mi* < *mĕdiu*): the change arose from the influence of normal *deit* < *dĕbet*, probably helped by the conflict with *die* < *dīcat*.

The *e* of the stem **de-* (< *dĕb-*) was short and open, like that of *deus* < **dĕos* < **deios* < **deiws* beside analogic *dīuus* < **deiws* and normal *dīua* < **deiwā*. Italian developed *di(e)* < **deet*, parallel with *dio* < **diĕo* < *deus*; also weak-stressed *de(e)*, which kept its open *e* when it was restressed, in accordance with *bĕne* for full-stressed **biene* < *bene*. Under the influence of *deggio*, *deggia*, *deggiano*, *deo*, *dei*, *dee*, *deono*, open *e* has replaced close *e* in Italian *devo*, *deva*, *devano*, *devi*, *deve*, *devono*, and the forms with *bb*. The stressed derivative of *dĕbeo* developed *bb* in Italian, parallel with *trebbio* < *triuiu*; *debbo* is a composite of *devo* and *debbio*.

Early Provencal seems to have had close *e* in the derivatives of **dejjo* and **dejjat*: the normal close *e* of *dĕu* and *dĕvon* forced out historic open *e*. Modern Provencal has normal open *e* in *brĕu* and *lĕu*, and close *e* in *bĕu* < *bibit*, but open *e* in *dĕve*, *dĕves*, *dĕu*, corresponding to Italian *dĕvo*, *dĕvi*, *dĕve*. We may assume that some of the ancient dialects had open *e* in **dĕ* < **deet*: *dĕu* has borrowed the *è* of **dĕ*. But Catalan has normal open *e* in *bĕu* < *bibit*, *dĕu* < *dĕbet*, and *é* < *ie*¹ in *brĕu* and *lĕu*. So too the open *e* of Portuguese *deve*, beside close *e* in *dĕvo* and *dĕva*, is probably not connected with a formation of **deet*. Portuguese has normal close *o* in *cōrro* < *curro*, *cōrra* < *currat*, but analogic open *o* in *corre*, and the *e* of *deve* is likewise analogic. The cause of such changes is to be found in verbs like *ferve* < *fĕruet*, *move* < *mōuet*, beside *fĕrvo*, *fĕrva*, *mōvo*, *mōva*: vowel-harmony produced normal close vowels in **fervio* < *ferueo*, **fervia* < *ferueat*, **movio* < *moueo*, **movia* < *moueat*. We may add **deet* to the list of developments lacking in Hispanic, such as are seen in Italian *lui*, *quaranta*, *volere*.

Es.

In early Provencal the action of vowel-harmony changed close *e* to *i*, as in *il* < **elli* < *illī* beside *el* < *illu*. The corresponding closure of open *e* was fractural, not total: *ier* < *hĕrĭ*. In his discussion of *ie* < *e*, Voretzsch explains *ier* correctly, but says that it has no parallels with

¹ *Modern Language Review*, x, 92.

breaking caused by $\bar{u}^1$. There is however at least one such case: *iest* < *es tū*. In the modern dialects of southern France, *iest* has been changed to *siés*², *siès* and *siès*³, under the influence of 'am' (*siéu*, *sièi*, *sièi*).

FUI.

In his *Einführung* (§100 of the first edition, §109 of the second), and in Gröber's *Grundriss* (*Lat. Sprache*, §17), Meyer-Lübke discusses the Romanic treatment of stressed hiatus-vowels. He is wrong in assuming that *i* became or remained open before *a*. Italian *trea* got its *e* from *tre* or *trēs*, and the apparent derivatives of **sia* prove nothing one way or the other. Classic Latin had forms with $\bar{i}$ and forms with $\bar{u}$, in the subjunctive 'be.' Open *i* changed to close *e*, before a non-palatal consonant, in continental Romanic. It is therefore possible that a general *e*-stem was developed, with analogic *e* in two or three forms: **se(n)*, **ses*, **set*, **semo*s, **setes*, **sent*. We might assume that **semo*s came from *sīmus* (= *sumus*), since Italian uses the subjunctive *siamo* for the indicative too; or that **semo*s and **setes* came from **siēmus*, **siētis*, corresponding to *siem*, *siēs*, *siet*, *sient*: in this case only one form (**ses* = *sīs*) need be called analogic.

When **se* was lengthened to **sea*—which must not be confused with Spanish *sea* < *seya* < *sedeā*—it kept its close *e*. Thus French *seie* was perhaps historically different from Italian *sia*, though the change of *dea* to *dia* (under the influence of normal *i* < *e* in *diamo* < **deamo*?) seems to show that *sia* could have come from **sea*. As French *enveie* and *veie* were analogic variants of normal *envie* < *inviat*, *vie* < *uia*⁴, it is clear that stressed *i* became close before all vowels. It may be well to add that stressless hiatus-*i* was changed to *e* in continental Romanic, though it afterward became *i* again in many regions⁵. Thus French *seie* could be a restressed derivative of stressless **sea* < **sia*, like *ere* beside full-stressed *iere* < *era*; and **ses* could have come from stressless *siēs*.

Latin hiatus-*u* was regularly short, but the stressed Romanic sound became close, for example in Italian *due*, Catalan *dugas*, Spanish *dues*, Portuguese *duas*. Stressless *u* became *o*, parallel with *i* > *e*: *duāru* > **doaro*, *duōru* > *doro*⁶, *fuerāmus* > **foramos* (kept in Hispanic with a

¹ *Forschungen zur romanischen Philologie*, Halle, 1900, p. 616.

² Koschwitz, *Gram. hist. de la langue des félibres*, Greifswald, 1894, p. 123.

³ Lamouche, *Gram. languedocienne*, Montpellier, 1902, p. 112.

⁴ *Modern Language Review*, x, 247.

⁵ *Modern Philology*, xii, 188.

⁶ *Studj di filologia romanza*, vii, 193.

later change of stress). Meyer-Lübke's statements about *u* show that he confuses the stressed and stressless developments. The influence of *doro* and **dobos* accounts for the *o*-forms corresponding to *dua*, *duae*, *duās*, **duī*, *duōs*¹. We might also assume that the *o*-forms of 'two' were normal stressless developments: Spanish *dos meses* could be parallel with *era él* < *erat ille*, while Asturian *dúas* corresponds to *yera*.

Italian *fu(e)* and *fui* have normal *u* < *ũ*; there is no good ground for assuming, as Meyer-Lübke does in § 450 of his Italian grammar, that *fui* alone was normal. The *ue* of *fūērunt* had three developments: to *uo* in *fuoro*, with assimilation of stressless *e* as in Rumanian *nūor* < **nuero* < *nūbilu*; to *u* in *furo(no)*, with a retention of *e* until after *u* became close in *due*; and to close *o* in *foro* (Dante's rime-form), corresponding to *gŭla* > *gola*, with a loss of *e* before hiatus-*u* became close. Western Asturian has developed a general *o*-stem in *foi*, *foſti*, *foi*, *fomus*, *foſtis*, *fonun*, *fora*². The *o* could be normal in the stressed derivatives of *fuimus*, *fuerunt*, *fuera*, with an early loss of *i* and *e*. *Foi* < *fuī* and *foi* < *fuit* may be regular stressless developments, like Castilian *es* and *era*. Mirandese has *u* throughout³, with a levelling of *fui* < *fuī* and *fui* < *fuit*; the latter is perhaps the normal stressed development. Portuguese and Catalan have *fui* < *fuī*, but *o*-forms otherwise, and the *Cid*-assonances indicate a similar inflection in early Spanish.

As early Provencial had *fui*, *fust*, *fo*, *fom*, *fotz*, *foron*, we might assume a general development of *o*-forms, due partially to stresslessness and partially to analogy, in western Romanic. Although this would not exclude the retention of normal *u*-forms, comparable to French *mei* beside *me*, Provencial *fui* < **foi* and *fust* < **foſti* would be parallel with *il* < **elli*. Final close *i* could cause harmonic change even when it was in contact with the stressed vowel, as is shown by the developments *nui* < *nōs* and *tri* < *trēs*, found in northern Italy⁴. Likewise Spanish *fui* < *fūi* and Portuguese *fui* could have come from **foi*. Spanish *fué* represents either stressed *fuit* or stressless **foet*, or both; *fuestes* and *fuese* agree perfectly with the Latin forms, but they may be analogic. If *fueron* does not correspond to Italian *fuoro*, with *ué* < *úo* < *ũě*, it is probably analogic, since the ending *-ērunt* has generally disappeared elsewhere.

¹ *Modern Language Review*, ix, 494.

² Munthe, *Anteckningar om folkmälet i en trakt af vestra Asturien*, Upsala, 1887, p. 51.

³ Leite de Vasconcellos, *Estudos de philologia mirandesa*, i, Lisboa, 1900, § 261.

⁴ I overlooked these developments in my discussion of *dui* (*Modern Language Review*, ix, 494); they seem to prove that western *dui* was derived from *doi*, which was sometimes kept by analogy.

*GROUS.

The word *bove* < *böue* developed a variant **boe* in early Romanic. The *v*-less form may have been due to dissimilation, or perhaps it was analogic; a Latin inflection *bōs*-**bois* would harmonize with *sūs*-*suīs*. As *deu* > **deo* kept its *e* open, there is no ground for assuming that the *o* of **boe* became close in early Romanic. In Gröber's *Grundriss (Ital. Sprache*, § 29), Meyer-Lübke admits that *dio* came from **dieo*, but says that it is not clear why *bue* should be considered a derivative of **buoe* (§ 46). One reason for assuming *bue* < **buoe* is to be found in the plural *buoi*. Another is furnished by the Romanic equivalents. From French *bœuf* < *buef*, Provencial *bjòu* < *buou*, and Catalan *bòu*, it is plain that the *ō* of *bōs* did not affect the *o* of *buoe*. Neither did it affect the *o* of **boe*. Spanish has *buey*, Sicilian has *voi* beside *nova* < *noua*, *ura* < *hōra*, and a corresponding *ba* (with the plural *buoi*) is found beside *aura* < *hōra*, *kašta* < *costa*, *krav* < *coruu*, *kuor* < *cor*, *nuova* < *noua*, in the Lombard dialects of Sicily¹. Likewise the dialects of the continent have forms with open *o* or its equivalent, as *bōvo*², *vōvə*³, *wðe*⁴ in central Italy and *bð*⁵ in the north.

Latin *bōs* (= cow) was a dialectal word, with *b* instead of the sound *w* (as in **gwmjō* > *uenio* = *come*) corresponding to Germanic *k*. Likewise traces of non-Latin speech are to be seen in some of the equivalents of *grūs*, which was derived from **grōus*⁶. Treated as a Latin word, after the development of *ū* from *ou* was ended, **grōus* would have become **grōs* or **grōus*, and both forms would have had *ō* in the accusative. Sicilian *groi* is derived from **grōe*, for Latin *ō* and *ū* regularly make Sicilian *u*. Portuguese *grou* may represent older **groi*, parallel with *couro* < *coiro* < *coriu*; or perhaps it came from an ancient **grōu*. The derivatives of Latin **grūa* and *grūe* developed close *u* in Romanic speech: thus Italian has *u* in *gru(v)a* and *gru(e)*. Spanish *grulla* is probably derived from **grūlla*, rather than from **gruilla* as Meyer-Lübke assumes in his Romanic dictionary. The *u* of *grulla*, which would have been **grolla* without external influence, was borrowed from a derivative of **grūa* or *grūe*; it is not likely that such a form as **groella* or **gruella* could have been changed to *grulla*.

¹ *Archivio glottologico italiano*, VIII, 309.

² *Studj romanzi*, v, 49.

³ *Archivio glottologico italiano*, x, 171.

⁴ *Studj romanzi*, v, 299.

⁵ *Studj di filologia romanza*, VII, 192; *Studj romanzi*, x, 4; *Archivio glottologico italiano*, XVI, 118.

⁶ Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1910, p. xx.

HIC AND IBI.

Early Provençal *intrar* was a common variant of *entrar*, and Mistral uses *intrà* beside *endré*, *entèndre*, *entjé*. In the *Revue des langues romanes*, LVII, 192, Millardet has constructed a 'law' to explain the change of *e* to *i*: initial stressless *ent-* became *int-* before a consonant. This theory is not in accord with the fact that *inter*, which was regularly stressless, makes *entre*, while *intre* generally corresponds to *intrō*. If Millardet's theory were correct, we should find *i* in the derivative of *inter*. Millardet tries to meet this difficulty in a way that is hardly reasonable: he says that *inter* made **entr* with syllabic *r*, which was treated as a vowel-sound, so that in **entr* the conditions were not the same as in *entrar*.

It would be interesting to know whether there is any real evidence of the use of **entr* before a consonant. Millardet says it is 'attestée' (p. 195) by the Gascon spelling *enter*, which goes back to the thirteenth century. This idea is evidently wrong. If **entr lo* had existed, we can perhaps admit that it would have sometimes been written *enter lo*, but we have no right to say that written *enter lo* implies a spoken **entr lo*. The theory of **entr* (before a consonant) is a theory and nothing more; if there are any facts to corroborate it, Millardet has not mentioned them. Syllabic consonants are not commonly used in the Romanic languages. Let us suppose, however, that **entr lo* was formerly widespread in southern France: is it likely that the difference between vowel-*r* and consonant-*r* was great enough for the initial vowels of **entr* and *entrar* to be treated in different ways?

The basis of Millardet's theory is this: the consonant-groups *ntr* and *nts* require more energy for their production than *nt* does, and the energy may have been extended to the preceding vowel, thus changing *e* to *i*. But when Millardet assumes that the *r* of **entr lo* would require less energy than the *r* of *entrar*, he is building up one weak theory from another equally weak. The usual *r* of Italian and Spanish is made with a flapping or trill of the tongue-point, and the same sound must have been commonly used in early Provençal, though nowadays it is sometimes replaced by the northern uvular *r*. Trilled lingual *r* requires much energy for its production. Thus Millardet's theory goes the wrong way: the prolonged *r* in **entr lo* would have required more energy than the *r* of *entrar*, which could be pronounced distinctly without the long trill needed for **entr lo*.

I cannot find any good reason for supposing that **entr lo* was ever

generally used in southern France; nor for assuming that a syllabic *r* would have required much less energy than ordinary *r*; nor for thinking that *ntr* had in Provencial an alterant effect not possessed by *ndr* (*endrech*) and *nt* (*entendre*). It may be well to add that Millardet's article contains various other careless statements. Thus he says that if the stress of *intrō* had been displaced, the initial syllable would have been lost (p. 193); that the closing effect of checked position is indicated by French *cour*, by Italian *lingua*, and by Portuguese *domingo*, *língua*, *zimbrow* (p. 200); and that initial position had a closing effect in Algarvian *ôvêlha* (p. 202, with reference to Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 943).

Provencial *entendre* and *entier* show that a derivative of *intrō* would not have lost the initial syllable, with a normal development following a displacement of stress. The relation of *entro* and *tro* is incorrectly explained by Millardet: *en-* was mistaken for the word *en* < *in*. Free *o* has become the sound *u* in French *nouer*; in the derivative of *cohorte*, checked position had only a negative effect, keeping close *o* from becoming the diphthong found in the derivative of *flōre* (> **flœur* > *flær*, written *fleur*). Where close *o* did not become a diphthong, it changed to the sound *u* in early French, whether it was free or checked. Nasal *u* has however returned to *ō* (*dō* < *dōnu*), parallel with the alteration of nasal *i*; before a nasal sound, nasal *o* and nasal *or* have lost their nasality (*form* < *fōrma*, *kuron* < *corōna*).

In Italian *lingua* the formation of *i* from *e* was due to the nasal sound *η*. We have no right to say that checking caused this change of *e* to *i*. It is possible that free *e* would have become *i* before *η*, if Tuscan had possessed it in that position. Portuguese has nasal *e* in *tença* (= Italian *tinca* < **tenka*) < *tinca*¹, showing that the *i* of *domingo* was of bookish origin. The Portuguese derivative of Latin *lingua* formerly had a free nasal *e*, without a following *η*; vowel-harmony changed nasal *e* to nasal *i*, in accord with *fēcī* > *fiz*. Portuguese *zimbrow* < **jenepro* contains nasal *i* < *ie*: the same development is found in *fuminto*, which was derived from **faminentu* (not from **famulentu* as Meyer-Lübke assumes in his Romanic dictionary) through **famiento* < **famenento*, corresponding to Spanish *hambriento* < **famnento*. From what Millardet says about *ôvêlha*, it appears that he has misunderstood the statements of Cornu in Gröber's *Grundriss*. Portuguese stressless *o* has generally become *u*, but there are regions where initial stressless *o* has been kept or re-developed. In Algarvian, initial position hindered the change of *o* to *u*, or else caused a later formation of *o* from *u*. It is true that the initial vowel of *ôvêlha*

¹ *Modern Philology*, xi, 353.

happens to correspond to a Latin short *o*, but this does not justify Millardet's statement, for stressless free *ō* and *ō* were levelled at a very early time in Hispanic. And if we look into the matter a little further, we find that the close *o* of *ôvêlha* may have come from *u*: the Algarvian *ôvêlha*-dialects have *ôsár* for ordinary *usar*¹.

The *i* of Provencial *intrar* is the adverb *i*, combined with the verb just as *en* < *inde* is in French *enfuir*. *Intrar* is a contraction of *i entrar*, and likewise *istar* is probably equivalent to *i (e)star*. The word *laens* < *illāc intus* is a compound, and so is *ins* = *i ens*. This is why *entre* < *inter* generally kept *e*, while the similar adverb often had initial *i*: an *i* could be added to another adverb more easily than to a preposition. Some of the modern dialects have *jentrà* (Mistral's *ientra*) instead of *intrà* < *i entrar*; that of Nice has *jéntri*, *jéntres*, *jéntra*, *intràn*, *intràs*, *jéntru*. Other variants are *dintrà* and *lintrà*, containing the *d* of *dins* and *li* < *illī(c)*. Early Gascon has *(de)fens* for *(de)dens* < *(dē) dē intus*: *f* (or the sound *h* written *f*) was borrowed from *defors*. Under the influence of *(de)fens*, *entrar* developed the variant *fentrar*, corresponding to modern *hentrà*.

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¹ *Revista lusitana*, VII, 34.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

‘IRALAND’ IN KING ALFRED’S ‘OROSIUS.’

IN reviving this old question, and giving his verdict in favour of the reading *Ireland*, Professor Emerson appears to have given least consideration to the point which is really of the greatest interest and importance, viz. what Ohthere, as an intelligent seafaring Norwegian, is likely to have known, and consequently to have told King Alfred, about the geography of the North Atlantic. This is a matter which is not affected by the ideas of Ptolemy and Strabo as to the situation of Ireland, or by the clearness with which *Ireland* is written in the manuscript. To arrive at a decision, it is necessary to take into account the following facts: (1) Ohthere lived far north in Hálogaland, almost certainly beyond Lofoten. (2) He was something of an explorer, having doubled the North Cape and sailed for nine days along the coast to the east of it. (3) He knew the whole coast of Norway from his own home down to Skíringssal in the Christiania Fjord. (4) In his account of the voyage down the Norwegian coast (in which the disputed reading occurs) he does not speak of points of the compass, about which there might have been some confusion, but of ‘starboard’ and ‘backboard,’ which must have been as familiar to him as his right and left hand. (5) For nearly a century before his time, Norwegian vikings had been sailing to the British Islands, and the course by which Ireland was normally reached must have been a matter of common knowledge.

Taken all together, these facts make it in the last degree incredible that Ohthere, when setting out to sail down the Norwegian coast, should have supposed that Ireland lay to starboard. A glance at the map will show that the land which does lie in that direction is Iceland. With this correction the whole passage becomes intelligible and accurate: ‘And on his starboard is first *Iceland*, and then the islands which are between *Iceland* and this country’ (i.e. the Færöes, Shetland, and the Orkneys). ‘Then is this country’ (i.e. Scotland and England) ‘until he comes to Skíringssal.’

The date at which the existence of Iceland became generally known

in England is of no importance in this connexion; it is Ohthere's knowledge which is in question, not that of his Anglo-Saxon hearers. Now, in the last quarter of the 9th century, the discovery and settlement of Iceland was the great subject of interest throughout the whole length of the west coast of Norway. It is again incredible that Ohthere should have been ignorant of the existence and situation of an island which was drawing to its shores so many of his fellow-countrymen. It is therefore only reasonable to suppose that the error in the text did not originate with him, in whatever way it may have been introduced. It is possible that he was misunderstood, and that *Iraland* was wrongly inserted from the outset. He may incidentally have talked about Ireland; he may even have mentioned the Irish monks who preceded the Norwegian settlers in Iceland. On the other hand, an Anglo-Saxon scribe who had never heard of Iceland might easily, by inadvertence or deliberately, alter *Island* into *Irland* or *Iraland*, a change to which the similarity of the *s* and *r* would readily contribute. It must be remembered that in this part of the work there is a gap in the Lauderdale MS. and we have only the later and inferior Cotton text. Whatever the explanation may be, *Iraland* implies an elementary ignorance in navigation which we have no grounds for attributing to Ohthere, and which is at once removed by Rask's emendation.

There is another passage in Ohthere's narrative which has been noticed as apparently containing a confusion of thought, but which is really consistent with the old Norwegian mode of expression. In giving the extent of the cultivated land in Norway, he is made to use *éaste-weard* in contrast to *norðeweard*, and the reader is naturally tempted to think that *súðeweard* (which is actually employed in the subsequent statements) would have been more appropriate. By *éaste-weard*, however, Ohthere no doubt meant the south coast from Lindesnæs to the inner end of the Christiania Fjord, and in older Norwegian and Icelandic this was regularly designated by the phrase *austr í Vík*. Originally this must have been used in contrast to the west coast, but it became a fixed phrase employed even when other directions were concerned. Thus in *Heimskringla* (ed. Unger, 1868), p. 767, Hákon and his men, coming from the north, *fóru austr hit efra í Víkina*. The evidence for the usage is clearly and concisely summed up by Fritzner s.v. *austr* adv. In this case, therefore, Ohthere's own phrasing was evidently retained in spite of the apparent inconsistency.

W. A. CRAIGIE.

'RICHARD THE REDELESS,' III. 105—6.

These lines are printed by Skeat (E.E.T.S. edition, 1873) as follows:

þe[y] monside þe marchall · ffor his myssedede,
þat euell coude his Craft · whan he cloþed þe stede.

In his notes Skeat gives a curiously far-fetched explanation for 'cloþed,' and the passage is quoted in the Oxford Dictionary as an example of the verb *clothe*. There can however be no doubt that 'cloþed' is a scribal error for *clayed*. The verb *clay*, in the sense 'to lame (a horse) with a nail in shoeing,' is not exemplified in the Dictionary before 1530, but the Trinity and Ilchester MSS. of *Piers Plowman* read *claye* in C xxi. 296, where other MSS. have *acloye*, *encluye*; the sense, however, is not exactly the same. It is curious that Thomas Wright misread the word in the *Richard the Redeless* passage as 'cloped,' which he translated 'clipped.'

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WORDSWORTH'S 'HAPPY WARRIOR': A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
PARALLEL.

In Cartwright's translation of Hugo Grotius's Elegy on Arminius (in *Comedies Tragi-Comedies, With other Poems, by Mr William Cartwright late Student of Christ-Church in Oxford, and Proctor of the University...* London, for Humphrey Moseley, 1651, pp. 250—253) there is a curious likeness in one passage to the movement and thought of Wordsworth's 'Character of the Happy Warrior.' There is no proof of verbal imitation, but the idea and the verse-rhetoric in which it is conveyed strongly suggest to the reader both the manner and subject of the later poem. The passage in question runs:

And happy he, who free from all By-ends,
Gapes not for filthy Lucre, nor intends
The noise of Empty Armour, but rais'd high
To better Cares, minds Heaven; and doth try
To see and know the Deity only there
Where he himself discloseth; and with fear
Takes wary steps in narrow waies, led by
The Clew of that good Book that cannot ly;
Who in the midst of Jars walks equall by
An even freedom mix'd with Charity:
Whose pure refined Moderation
Condemn'd of all, it self condemneth none;

Who keeping Modest Limits now doth please
 To speak for truth, now holds his Tongue for Peace ;
 These things in Publike, these in private too,
 These neer thine end, thou Counsaill'dst still to do.

The resemblance is at least as close as any that can be pointed out between the style of Daniel and that of Wordsworth, although whether the latter was acquainted with Cartwright's poems I cannot say. Perhaps the catalogue of the poet's library might show whether this volume was in his possession or not. Possibly because it suggests one of the most familiar and beloved of Wordsworth's poems, Cartwright's style in this translation seems to me much superior to his ordinary manner.

JOHN PURVES.

PRETORIA.

'THE FAUSE KNIGHT UPON THE ROAD.'

'The Fause Knight upon the Road' is the name of a ballad which was first printed by Motherwell in his *Minstrelsy*¹. It was reprinted later by Child in his *English and Scottish Ballads* (Boston, 1864)², and in his *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882—98)³. Motherwell gave a version in the introduction to his *Minstrelsy*, and a fragment also was given in the appendix to the same work. In printing the ballad in his later collection Child added to these versions a fragment which he received from Mr Macmath, of Edinburgh⁴. The ballad, as we know it, is thus both scarce and incomplete; and it is interesting therefore that an Irish version should be found to exist. This version was probably known to an old woman of Irish birth who lived near Blarney in the County Cork. My immediate informant learnt it as a child some fifty years ago in that locality. The ballad is obviously fragmentary, and I try to offer in this note an explanation for the lack of the climax in the ballad as it is given. That it was otherwise known in Ireland is suggested by the fact that it possibly influenced a poem which was printed in Dublin in 1888, and which is called 'The False Baron of Bray'⁵. The opening lines of this poem are:

'And where are we going?' said the fair young child
 To the false false Baron of Bray.

¹ Motherwell, *Minstrelsy*, Introd. p. lxxiv; Appendix, p. xxiv.

² *English and Scottish Ballads*, Vol. VIII, p. 269 (Boston, 1864), ed. Child.

³ *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol. I, pp. 20—22 (5 Vols. Boston, 1882—98), ed. Child.

⁴ *Ib.*, Vol. I, p. 485.

⁵ *Poems and Ballads*, p. 30 (Dublin, 1888, Gill and Son). Poem signed H. S.

This poem which I quote seems to show the influence on it, of not only 'The Fause Knight upon the Road,' but also of the ballad of 'Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight'¹.

The version of 'The Fause Knight upon the Road' which I record is, like all the known versions of this ballad, incomplete, for the last stanzas were not remembered, as is so very often the case. The traditional account of the climax is that the little child outwitted the false Knight, and forced him to reveal himself in his true character as the fiend. It is therefore possible that the latter was forced, on being known to the little child, to go away in a flame after the manner of his departure in some other cases. I here record the ballad as I heard it², though it would appear probable that the last two lines I quote belong to the fifth stanza, and that it is the last two lines of the latter stanza which should be left isolated.

1. 'Where are you going?' says the old false knight,
To the pretty little child on the road;
'I am going to the school,' says the pretty little child
That was scarcely seven year old.
2. 'What have you on your back?' says the old false knight,
To the pretty little child on the road;
'I have my books on my back,' says the pretty little child
That was scarcely seven year old.
3. 'What have you in your hand?' says the old false knight,
To the pretty little child on the road;
'A cut of bread and butter,' says the pretty little child
That was scarcely seven year old.
4. 'Will you give me a bite³?' says the old false knight,
To the pretty little child on the road;
'No not a crumb,' says the pretty little child
That was scarcely seven year old.
5. 'Are you going down to Hell?' said the old false knight,
To the pretty little child on the road;
'Who'll ring the bell?' said the pretty little child
That was scarcely seven year old.
6.
'You may go there yourself,' said the pretty little child
That was scarcely seven year old.

The absence of the climax in any of the recorded versions of this ballad is due to the fact that possibly the last stanzas refer to the fiend's departure when outwitted. There is precedent for the existence

¹ No. 4, in Child's later collection (Boston, 1882-98).

² In 1912, from my immediate informant, my mother.

³ 'bit' (also given).

of such a climax, because the last lines of one of the versions of the ballad 'Riddles Wisely Expounded'¹ are as follows:

As sune as she the fiend did name,
He flew awa in a blazing flame.

'The Fause Knight upon the Road,' with such a climax, would have contained a 'naming' incident, which is of rare occurrence in English and Scottish ballad-lore².

The ballads 'Riddles Wisely Expounded,' 'The Elfin Knight,' 'The Fause Knight upon the Road,' and 'Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight'³, all throw light on each other, and 'the fause Knight' has affinity with 'the Knight,' 'the Unco Knight,' 'the Elfin Knight,' and 'false Sir John' in these ballads. It would appear that in the ballad I quote 'the fause Knight' is the counterpart to Fin⁴ in 'Harpkin'⁵. This latter would appear to be really a version of 'The Fause Knight upon the Road' which retains the influence of an early cycle of legend in which Fin is not yet displaced by the fiend.

Strands from this early type of ballad are interwoven into ballads of a later type such as 'Captain Wedderburn's Courtship,' and 'Proud Lady Margaret.'

I do not desire to illustrate my version of 'the Fause Knight,' but merely to claim that it throws new light on the subject matter of the original ballad.

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ZU LACHMANN UND HAUPT, *Des Minnesangs Frühling*, 18, 1—16.

In seiner ausgezeichneten Neubearbeitung von Lachmanns und Haupts *Des Minnesangs Frühling* (2. Ausgabe, 1914, S. 13) gibt F. Vogt die erste Strophe (V. 1—8) dieses Wechsels des Burggrafen von Rietenbure in folgender Gestalt:

Nû endarf mir nieman wîzen
ob ich in iemer gerne sæhe.
des wil ich mich gein in vlîzen.
waz drumbe, ob ich von zorne jæhe,

¹ Version C in No. 1 of Child's later collection (Boston, 1882—98).

² For the effects caused by 'naming,' on fiends, trolls, nixes, and on men in fight, see Child *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882—98), Vol. I, pp. 3, 5, 88—92, 95, 96, and his notes and additions to the ballad of 'Earl Brand.'

³ For these ballads see Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882—98), Vol. I, pp. 1—82.

⁴ See Thiele, *Danske Folkesagn*, I, 45; Grimm, *Mythologie*, p. 455; Karl Blind, *The Contemporary Review*, XL (1881), pp. 399—423.

⁵ Chambers, *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, p. 66; Child, Vol. I, p. 21, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* (Boston, 1882—98).

5 daz mir sî iemen also liep.
 ich lâze in durch ir nîden niet.
 sie fliesent alle ir arebeit:
 er kan mir niemer werden leit.

In Vers 3, der nur in C überliefert ist, hat Vogt *gein in* ergänzt und bemerkt hiez zu sowie zu den folgenden Versen in den Anmerkungen S. 284: 'Mein *gein in* ist freilich auch nur ein Notbehelf. Ich verstehe diesen Vers und die folgenden so: "darum (um die Vereinigung mit ihm) werde ich mich ihnen (den Vers 1 und 6 f. gemeinten Merkern) gegenüber bemühen. Es hat also nichts zu bedeuten, wenn ich ihnen im Zorn einmal sagen sollte, dass mir irgend ein anderer ebenso lieb wäre: aufgeben werde ich ihn nicht, trotz ihrer Feindschaft, Sie bemühen sich vergeblich.'" Vogt fasst demnach die Verse 4 f. gewissermassen als vorausgenommene Entschuldigung der Frau dem Geliebten gegenüber auf für eine Äusserung, die sie einmal im Zorn (man würde eher erwarten, aus Furcht!) vor den Merkern tun könnte. Mir scheint die Annahme natürlicher, die vom Dichter fingierte Situation bestehe darin, dass die Dame im Zorn über die hämischen Angriffe der *nîder* sich zu einem unüberlegten Geständnis ihrer Gefühle hinreissen liess und nun den Folgen trotzt. Dem entsprechend schlage ich vor, Vers 3 *gein im* (d. h. dem Geliebten) oder *iemer*¹ zu ergänzen und *iemen* (V. 5) negativ zu fassen, dem ja nach mhd. Sprachgebrauch keine Schwierigkeit entgegensteht (vgl. Paul, *Mhd. Grammatik*, § 375, und z. B. *Minnesangs Frühling*, 12, 21; 53, 10; 78, 2); *jæhe* (V. 4) fasse ich als potentialen Optativ²: sie weiss nicht, was sie alles im Zorn gesagt haben mag, aber es kann schon sein... Dies wäre dann der Sinn von V. 1—6: 'Nun (*sc.* da sie mich ertappt zu haben meinen) braucht mirs niemand zu verweisen, ob ich ihn immer gern sehen möchte. Dessen (*sc.* ihn zu sehen) werde ich mich ihm gegenüber (oder: stets) befehligen. Was verschlägt's also, sollte ich im Ärger (über die *nîder*) zugestanden haben, dass mir niemand ebenso lieb sei? Aufgeben werde ich ihn nicht trotz ihrer Feindschaft.'

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¹ Dagegen spricht wohl, dass das gleiche Wort in dem vorausgehenden Vers (2) steht; anderseits würde gerade dies seinen Ausfall in C erklärlicher machen; vielleicht ist es auch nicht Zufall, dass dann der letzte Vers (16) des Wechsels fast wie eine Antwort erscheint: *des wil ich iemer fröwen mich*.

² Vgl. Wolframs *Titul*, Str. 3; Wilmanns *Deutsche Grammatik*, 3, S. 289; Paul, § 281 Anm., § 354, 2.

REVIEWS.

A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050—1400. By JOHN EDWIN WELLS. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1916. 8vo. xv + 941 pp.

The appearance of this work is very opportune. During the last ten or fifteen years a great deal of work has been done in Middle English, much of it spade-work, it is true, but not a little of it breaking fresh ground and subverting accepted views. What strikes one in turning over the pages of Professor Wells's *Manual* is the increasing number of valuable investigations conducted by *English* as well as by German and American men and women in this field of English studies. It is a good omen.

The best way to give an idea of the book is to quote from its preface. 'This manual,' we read, 'makes the first attempt to treat all the extant writings in print, from single lines to the most extensive pieces, composed in English between 1050 and 1400. At times, as with the Romances, the Legends, and the Drama, a desire for greater completeness has led to the inclusion of pieces later than 1400. The work is not a history, but a handbook. It seeks to record the generally accepted views of scholars on pertinent matters, and does not pretend to offer new theories or investigations.... Besides attempting to deal with all the extant writings of the period in print, it groups each piece with the others of its kind; indicates its probable date, or the limitations as to its date, its MS. or MSS., the probable date of its MS. or MSS., its form and extent, commonly the dialect in which it was first composed, and its source or sources when known; presents comments on each longer production, with an abstract of its contents; and supplies a bibliography for each composition.' 'All the pieces dealt with have been read especially for this book... all the editions and studies mentioned in the Bibliographical Notes have been examined.'

The chapters treat of the following heads: I. Romances. II. Tales. III. Chronicles. IV. Works dealing with contemporary conditions. V. Homilies and Legends. VI. Religious information and instruction and aids to church services. VII. Proverbs and precepts, and monitory pieces. VIII. Translations and paraphrases of the Bible, and commentaries. IX. Dialogues, Debates, Catechisms. X. Science, information, documents. XI. Rolle and his followers. XII. Wycliffe and his followers. XIII. Pieces lyrical in impulse or in form. XIV. Dramatic pieces. XV. The *Pearl* poet; Gower. XVI. Chaucer.

This arrangement is comprehensive and enables us to fit every M.E. writing into its pigeon-hole. Professor Wells justifies his inclusion of the *Pearl* poet with Gower by his desire to avoid unnecessary chapter divisions.

Particularly full and good are the chapters on Romances (163 pp.), on Works on contemporary conditions (62 pp.), and on Chaucer (148 pp.).

For the sake of completeness Professor Wells discusses all the romances in English (except the tales of Chaucer and Gower) composed before the practice of printing in England. Two lists of romances are given: (1) Grouped according to theme and origin; (2) grouped according to probable chronology and dialect of original composition. It is one of the valuable features of this *Manual* that the needs of the student of language are not lost sight of.

Professor Wells by no means limits himself to recording the views of others. His characterisations of the more important writers and writings are often models of terseness. Thus of the *Ancren Riwele* he remarks that 'it is broad, free, liberal, spontaneous, sincere, fresh, familiar, kindly, tender, devout, simple, dignified.' A veritable word-bovril, this! High praise is given to Layamon's *Brut*: 'his noble work,' 'splendid story,' 'vigor, vividness, realness, intenseness, dramatic effectiveness.' The *Morte Arthure* has 'astonishingly veracious situations.' We enter a mild protest against the following appreciation of the *Owl and the Nightingale*: 'It is characterised by appreciation of the lighter graces and pleasures of life; sympathy with æsthetic appeal; sureness and precision of presentation; sustained unity of plan and execution; artistic finish; aptness, deftness, spontaneity, spirited dramatic conception and effortless execution; arch humour; independence of attitude; freedom in theory and practice; naturalness in plan and in effect; sane common-sense; sound ethics and right morals; a dominant seriousness, and steadfastness and devotion to higher purpose.' Poor Chaucer comes off far worse than this at the hands of the editor of the *Owl and the Nightingale*. Of *Sir Gawayne and the Grene Knight* we are told that it is 'possibly by the author of the *Pearl*, *Purity*, and *Patience*' (p. 54). But when treating of these three poems (p. 578) we read 'the evidence for authorship by one writer is very questionable.' The treatment of *The Vision of Piers Plowman* is a really valuable summary, being full, clear, and up to date. 'The statements as to the relationships of the MSS., especially of the A-text MSS., are on the authority of Skeat, corrected and augmented by that of Chambers and Grattan.' Knott's general conclusions regarding the A-text MSS. are given, and his 'adverse criticism' of the work of Chambers and Grattan. There is a clear account of the MSS. of the A-, B-, and C-texts, and of the discussion of their relationships. But no synopsis of the whole poem is given owing to the 'multiplicity of its incidents and the many variations between the three general versions.' The excellent chapter on Chaucer is swollen to a great bulk by the fact that every single work of the poet is noticed. Professor Wells's characterisation of the poet is refreshingly detached and just, if rather severe. The *Biblio-*

graphical Notes, covering nearly 130 pages, are perhaps the most valuable part of the book and should supersede all other bibliographies of Middle English, with some of which we have compared them in part.

Here and there throughout the volume we have met with some oddities and even obscurities of diction: *e.g.* 'The story antedated long the now better-known tale' (p. 75); 'she feeds her dog pepper and mustard' (p. 178); 'the Midland traits often spoken of having been shown to be not such' (p. 191); 'though no version is located back of 400 A.D.' (p. 326); 'the poem is beneath all didactic; but it is literature' (p. 420); 'contributes largely to the obscurity of the language that has influenced the publication recently of a number of modernizations' (p. 580); 'notions that are of interest to him or that will exploit him in the eyes of his reader' (p. 602). But these are slight blemishes on a fair and goodly face. Professor Wells has done an arduous and most necessary piece of work and has done it extremely well.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

Froissart and the English Chronicle Play. By RUPERT METCALF SMITH. New York: The Columbia University Press. 1915. 8vo. xiii + 165 pp.

Froissart is the prince of chroniclers, and makes noble and gallant reading. Living long before research could choke the literary instinct or freeze romance, he yet spared no pains to collect matter; and narrated what he gleaned from heralds' diaries or from the actors in events with a vivid directness, a conciseness and a disregard of verification which the hampered modern might envy. If our master of the Middle Age found possible rivals for him in Jocelyn, in Villehardouin, in Joinville, he made a good defence of him on the score of fidelity to the life portrayed: and, whether reliable or not, Froissart paints the pictures that make us glow and wonder if the twentieth century is half so much alive as was the fourteenth. Romance, if not truth of facts, is at least the truth of men, of those for whom it cares, their spirit and ideals, their passion and desire. How fortunate for Morris as artist that his sympathy with the cause represented by John Ball, whom Froissart treats with such scant respect, did not disable him for sympathy with the chivalric life and temper opposed to it; but allowed him to qualify his rather morbid Arthurian pieces with something of hard knocks and treachery, of honest love and fine forthright impulses, caught from the canon of Chimaï!

It was a good notion to apply Froissart to Elizabethan dramatic literature. He blusters through that bibliographical and critical cloister like a rough March wind: he wakes in us a Pan not dead; and he a little tests the stability of some of our saints in their niches ere he leaves our desert to its peace. If the author of this Columbia study sounds to boot and saddle with too much of the old rough-readiness, he

does not return from foray without booty swung across his saddlebow. The ride is limited, for Froissart practically confines himself to the reigns of Edward III and Richard II. There are several plays about the latter: there is only one about the former.

Briefly—for the book is original only on this matter—the author summarises, from Mme Darmesteter, de Lettenhove and others, Froissart's life and the production of his *Chronicles*, which appeared 1383–1400; summarises, too, the life of Lord Berners, his English translator of 1523–5, and comments on the comparative neglect of that work by Elizabethans; then, in a chapter which must have cost no little labour, shows how far Froissart or Berners is used by Fabyan, Polydore Vergil, Hall, Grafton, Holinshed, Stow, Speed and Daniel. He finds that the original French is slightly used by the first two; that, for the two reigns, Berners' *Froissart* is the main source of Grafton's *Chronicle* (1568), and, with more abbreviation, of Holinshed's (1577), while it is three times referred to by Stow; and that Speed and Daniel base upon Froissart among others. So, at p. 59, closes Part I; and the remaining hundred pages are occupied with the real thesis or theses—that Berners, not Holinshed, is the true source for *Edward III* (printed 1596), though features in the Countess-episode (Acts 1, 2 and 11) are from Painter; that in *Jack Straw* (pr. 1594) the author followed Grafton, who took his account of Wat Tyler's rebellion verbatim from Berners, though a few details of the play come from Stow; that the tragedy on Gloucester's murder at Calais, printed by Halliwell-Phillipps in 1870, used Berners as well as either Grafton or Holinshed, adding details from Stow; lastly, that, while Shakespeare cannot be shown to have used Froissart or Berners directly in any play (pp. 85, 147), yet he did use Daniel's *Civil Wars* for his treatment of Isabella and for the entry of Bolingbroke and Richard into London, while Daniel for this part of his poem 'relied mainly upon Berners' *Froissart*' (p. 133).

Some attempt to check his statements, in regard to the two most interesting cases, shows his argument fairly well confirmed.

With regard to *Edward III*:

'Holinshed,' he says (p. 69), 'contains nothing with reference to the play that is not set forth more fully in Froissart; and there are scenes in the play for which Holinshed has no account, that Froissart describes in detail.'

The first statement is made too absolutely; the second is well borne out. Holinshed has nothing about the Countess beyond a bare allusion, in recounting the founding of the order of the Garter at the Windsor jousts of 1344–5, to the 'tale' which connects her with that event (p. 366 b, ed. 1587). His *Scotch Chronicle*, however, has two instances of castles defended by women: namely Lochindoris, defended against the Scots by the Countess of Atholl until Edward III arrives with 40,000 men, at whose approach the Scots retire; and Dunbar, defended against the English Earl of Salisbury by Agnes, Countess of Dunbar, who 'vsed manie pleasant words in iesting and tawnting at the enimes dooings,' till the Scots raise the siege. This 'tawnting' attributed to

the Countess of Salisbury in the play, is omitted in Berners' account of the defence (i, 76). Grafton incorporates the story of the king's amour with her at the castle from Berners, i, 76—77; but he lacks, like Holinshed, the play's other episode of Salisbury's safe-conduct from Normandy to Calais, procured by his captive Villiers from the Duke of Normandy, but temporarily violated by the French king. The incident occupies Act iv, sc. 1. 19—43, 3. 1—53, 5. 55—126; but a change of names concealed its source until Dr Smith found it, related of Sir Walter de Manny and 'a knight of Normandy,' in Berners, i, ch. 135. The passport in both chronicle and play is to Calais. In Berners, de Manny travels by 'Auvergne' and 'Orleunce,' where he is arrested, taken to Paris, and confined in the Châtelet. The Duke of Normandy complains to the king, and on his refusal to release de Manny, declines to bear arms further against the English. Presently the king relents; de Manny is handsomely entertained, and dismissed to Calais with rich presents. In the play, which compresses, and disregards geography, Salisbury on his way to Calais tries to force his way to Prince Edward surrounded by foes on the eve of Poitiers; but the attitude of duke and king leaves no doubt that the de Manny incident is the source followed. No such incident is recorded by Holinshed between Creçy and Poitiers (pp 372—90); and Grafton's failure to embody this ch. 135 from Berners, justifies Dr Smith in selecting Berners as the play's main source. The points in the Countess-episode taken from Painter (i.e. from Bandello, through Boisteau) are Edward's letter to her, his interview with her and then with her father Warwick, Warwick's talk with her, and her production of the dagger in II, 1, though Dr Smith sees signs of a use of Berners as well. Further, from the fact that the Countess-episode occupies the same position in the order of events as in Berners, he argues that that episode is by the same author as the rest of the play (p. 82); but on this matter he succeeds better in refuting the special arguments of Fleay and others for Shakespeare's share, than in establishing the negative for Shakespeare, or the unity. To the present writer the sudden gulf of poetic quality and invention between the first part of Act II and all that precedes (save the last 40 ll. of I, 2, though inferior) is not easily bridged; and the specific Shakespearean likeness in places is hardly credible as imitation at a date c. 1592—4. The resemblance of conduct to *Henry V* in Acts I, 1, III—V, may perhaps be set down to history; but the language in IV, 4 again suggests Shakespeare. Admitting that Marlowe is more visible in the general run of the verse and style of Acts III—V, would Marlowe have been so apt to reproduce the ominous storm and flight of crows, IV, 5, or to transfer them from Creçy (Berners, ch. 130) to Poitiers, even if he might anticipate them by the ambiguous 'prophecy' about 'fethered foul' and 'flint-stones,' IV, 3? This use of flint-stones in the battle of Poitiers and the suggestion of an unconscious prophecy of it by the cardinal of Périgord—a prophecy developed in the play into six lines of verse (IV, 3) and made to suggest two or more short scenes thereafter—seems original in Thomas of Walsingham (*Chron. and Memorials* xxviii, Vol. I, 282) and is closely

Daniel's printed poem, than that Daniel should in 1594 be able to recall the treatment of a play not printed till 1597. Shakespeare's debt, if accepted, means a date for *Richard II* not earlier than towards the end of 1595, or else means insertions made about then. Opinion has inclined to c. 1593-4: in favour of 1595-6 would be the diminution of the interval between the first and second (*1 Hen. IV*) of a series evidently designed from the first as one whole. Such original design is implied by the marked changes from Holinshed made in *Richard II*, particularly in the position assigned Northumberland and in the age of Hotspur; and implied, perhaps, by the mere fact that *The Famous Victories*, his model in part for the three later plays, and probably the *fons et origo* of the whole series, extended down to Agincourt.

But while we welcome Dr Smith's parallels and accept his inference, we must observe that they are brought into an essay on Froissart by something of a *tour de force*. It is true that Daniel refers once to Froissart in a note on *C.W.* i, 60; and Dr Smith quotes another mention of him as a source from the Preface to Daniel's prose *History*: but Berners affords only meagre support to the assertion that 'Daniel relied mainly upon him' (p. 133). It is so, perhaps, for the first sixty stanzas of Bk I, wherein Mowbray, as in Froissart, is made the appellant (p. 134, Berners, iv, ch. 224), but suggestion in Berners for the points Shakespeare borrows from Daniel seems almost wholly wanting. All that the author cites for Isabel is the precocious bearing of the child of eight to the English ambassadors in 1395-6 (Berners, iv, chh. 199, 206). For the entry, Berners (chh. 238-9) only reports it as made with some privacy at Richard's request, but as disappointing the Londoners who wished 'nat to have done hym honor, but shame, they hated hym so sore.' To this logical defect must be added a great carelessness in proof-correcting, and even in phrasing. We have counted some thirty misprints: e.g. '1835' for ?'1385,' p. 41; *Histories* for *Histoires*, p. 64; 'to' for 'do' and 'for' for 'fro,' p. 72, ll. 8, 17; 'ye' for 'y' and 'king' omitted, p. 73, ll. 10, 26; 'etc.' for 'ete,' p. 75, l. 2; 'studying' for 'studding,' p. 80; 'Edward II' for 'Edward III,' p. 85; 'skillful,' p. 94; 'agit' for 'agi,' p. 99, l. 23; 'euen' for ?'eyen,' p. 111, l. 6; 'had' for 'made,' p. 128, l. 26; 'styne' for 'styrre' and 'belued' for 'beleued,' p. 135, ll. 22-3; 'in gloire of his fortune date' for 'in glorie of his fortune sate,' p. 148; three ('With,' 'walled,' and omission of 'much') in York's speech quoted p. 149; besides some names of modern scholars misspelt. We suppose 'repetitious,' p. 53 and 'disgruntled,' p. 97 may pass: the *N.E.D.* recognizes the former as a rare adjective, and the latter as surviving in the United States.

Exclusively the author's seem the following errors, ambiguities or odd locutions: 'into Scotland that he might journey for three months... and see the castle at Berkeley' (scene of Edward II's death), p. 7; 'presbyteries,' p. 9, l. 12; 'forty year' (? twenty-five), p. 11 (cf. pp. 7, 42 top); 'joined the royal family by marrying,' etc., p. 14; 'also,' p. 34, l. 1 (Berners' *Froissart* is not expressly mentioned in Bale's *Index*); 'supplemented short extracts' for 'added' such, p. 51; 'to facilitate the reader'

for 'assist' him, p. 70; 'notice may be made...of,' p. 98 note; while 'the only available histories,' p. 18 and 'plus the necessary additions,' etc., p. 117, are in their context but loose expressions of his meaning, and Prof. Moore Smith's view of the authorship of *Edward III* is, we think, misrepresented on p. 77 (cf. Tucker-Brooke's *Shaksp. Apocrypha*, p. xxi). Among scholars these things, occurring frequently, are liable to be held significant. The idea of the book is good; the book itself is far from useless, and deals with matters intrinsically interesting: we can give but faint praise to its execution.

R. WARWICK BOND.

NOTTINGHAM.

The Supernatural in Tragedy. By CHARLES EDWARD WHITMORE. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1915. 8vo. viii + 370 pp.

Mr Whitmore has chosen an interesting but vast subject for his thesis for the Harvard doctorate in Comparative Literature. His reading is wide, his judgments are often good: some parts of the book are naturally more interesting than others. The chapter on the Medieval Sacred Drama makes us feel how much we lose by not being familiar with such a striking play as the *Sponsus*. We admire the patient thoroughness with which he must have read through thousands of 'juiceless' verses, to use his own picturesque epithet, in order to write this chapter. The sketch of the Elizabethan period, though far from complete, is most readable; and the chapter which deals with the mysterious atmosphere which takes the place of the supernatural in the modern Irish dramatists, in Ibsen, D'Annunzio, and especially Maeterlinck, is a real contribution to literary criticism. Mr Whitmore's treatment of Seneca and his great influence is sensible: his appreciation of Webster and Tourneur is excellent. Perhaps he is at his best in dealing with *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*; but we do not agree with his view of *Julius Caesar*. It is not the ghost but the death of the great man which gives unity to the play. Caesar dies in the third act, and we are not satisfied until he is avenged in the fifth.

It is only natural that a book which covers so wide a field should be open to criticism: the subject, as we have said, is vast, indeed it might almost be said to be sprawling. Thus the classification on p. 10 enumerates, under the head of the supernatural, fate, devils, angels, allegorical figures, wizards and witches, ghosts, and finally incalculable forces of Nature. It is not easy to say how the form of the book could have been improved, but we feel that it covers too much ground. It would have gained if the author had confined his attention to the English drama, and the preparatory stages in the middle ages, for which he has so great an admiration.

Certain it is that his estimate of the supernatural in the Greek drama can hardly be called satisfactory. His analysis of the Orestean

trilogy, though careful and scholarly, is not convincing. 'The Furies are really the protagonists of the trilogy' (p. 49) is a statement to which few will assent. He seems to condemn Sophocles for 'regarding the supernatural as' only 'one more thread to be woven harmoniously into his design.' Here and elsewhere it would appear as though Mr Whitmore thinks that a great tragedy requires the supernatural. However he praises the *Oedipus Coloneus*, and allows that the much-praised ghost of Achilles in the lost *Polyxena* 'might have enlarged our estimate of the range of Sophocles' genius.'

Still more faulty is his old-fashioned attack on Euripides, though he rightly perceives that while Dr Verrall's theories profess to magnify the subtlety of the author, they deprive him of all claim to be a great artist. He rightly says (p. 87) that 'the rationalistic view, though intended to rehabilitate Euripides as a great dramatic poet, loses in one direction what it gains in another.' He makes out a good case against the *Orestes*, but to call the *Electra* 'a pseudo-realistic travesty of a great legend' reverts to the coarse vulgarities of Schlegel. It is true that he exempts from his severe criticism the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the *Hippolytus* and above all the *Bacchae*. And from time to time he puts the case about Euripides very fairly, as for instance on p. 89: 'What we seem to have in Euripides is a writer unable to find a satisfactory form for the expression of his ideas, especially in connection with the supernatural.' What Mr Whitmore does not see is the sublime and chastening artistic effect of a god in the prologue and a god in the exodos: they are the assertion of the hidden omnipotences that rule the world, whether we like it or not. Euripides did not love the traditional gods, but he had a message, and the message is, in the words of Plautus: 'di nos quasi pilas homines habent' (*Captivi*, prol. i. 22). He was no optimist and he had to use the familiar stories. Hence the lack of 'callida iunctura' in his thought and work.

In the Elizabethan section, while we are introduced to several interesting plays which are not generally known, there are some omissions. Beaumont and Fletcher are not even mentioned; the supernatural in *The Prophetess* certainly deserved discussion. There is no reference to *Cymbeline*, *Henry VIII* or *The Tempest*. The references to Massinger are incomplete, as no account is taken of *The Picture* or, stranger still, of *The Virgin Martyr*. The ghosts in *The Unnatural Combat* and *The Roman Actor*, which Mr Whitmore depreciates, are clearly modelled on the famous scene in *Richard III*, and what our author would call their 'decorative' character is not inconsiderable.

We are grateful to Mr Whitmore for propounding several problems which set us thinking. Thus in pp. 4-8 he discusses 'the nature of the supernatural terror,' while much of the concluding part of his book leads us to consider whether the art of tragedy in modern times has a future.

A. H. CRUICKSHANK.

Shakespeare's England. An Account of the Life and Manners of his Age. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. 8vo. xxiv + 546, xi + 610 pp.

The Tercentenary year has produced one book which combines the unusual merits of cheapness, interest, sound scholarship and lavish illustration. Eleven years ago, we are told, Sir Walter Raleigh sketched its plan, and his introductory chapter on the Age of Elizabeth is followed by more than forty special articles, dealing with the life of the period in some detail. Such a method is liable to produce an overlapping and disconnected encyclopædia, but in this case the result is a readable book with a loose but sufficient unity of subject.

Where each department is dealt with by an expert, mistakes are naturally few, and these volumes are likely to remain a standard work of reference for many years. A number of errors have already been dealt with by the present writer and another correspondent in the *Times Literary Supplement* of August 24th and 31st, 1916. It is possible to find further trifling inaccuracies; Mr Arthur Underhill, in a valuable but carelessly written chapter on Elizabethan Law, defends a dubious legal reference by Hamlet on the ground that it is spoken by a grave-digger; a mere slip (I, 406). Again when Mr Nichol Smith states (II, 186) that Sir John Harington received on many occasions a personal gift from the Queen, he has evidently read the lists of New Year's Gifts in Nichols' *Progresses* without regard to their dates, and confused the knight with his father. And Mr Forbes Sieveking, to judge from the inverted commas in which he speaks of the 'murder,' takes an unusually lenient view of the crime for which Lord Sanquhar was hanged¹.

But from petty criticism of this kind it is far easier to turn to solid merits, and a number of passages deserve special mention for the light thrown on main questions or particular points. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, in an excellent chapter on Handwriting, claims 'that there is still room for emendation of not a few of the doubtful passages in the printed text of Shakespeare by bringing to bear upon them, more systematically than has been done, exact and practical knowledge of the construction of the English handwriting of his time.' The suggestion carries such evident practical wisdom that no future commentator on Shakespeare can afford to neglect it; one of the weaknesses of too many editors of Elizabethan texts is a lack of acquaintance with the contractions, and even the main features, of contemporary MSS. The

¹ I am indebted to Mr H. B. Charlton for the discovery of an error in the chapter on Voyages by the late J. D. Rogers, who mentions (I, 182) Giles Fletcher's account *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (1591), and quotes some travellers' tales of dog-headed men and the like for which he gives parallel passages from Shakespeare. It appears however that Mr Rogers used, not Fletcher's original edition, but the reprint of it in Vol. I of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* of 1598, and failed to notice that Hakluyt had interpolated among the material taken from Fletcher a description of the regions, peoples and rivers lying North and East from Moscovia...taken out of Sigismundus ab Herberstein; whose marvels have accordingly been wrongly attributed to Fletcher in this chapter.

chapters on the Navy (Mr Carr Laughton) and the Army are both very good, and Lord Dillon's section of the latter, on Armour and Weapons, contains a conclusive interpretation of the crux in *Othello*, 'The Ise brokkes temper' (I, 132). The Hon. J. W. Fortescue is good on the Soldier, and even better on Hunting, where experience with the Devon and Somerset stands him in good stead in an analysis of Ben Jonson's careful blunders in the *Sad Shepherd* (II, 335). Mr Percy Simpson, in Actors and Acting, is particularly suggestive in his pages (II, 273-4) on stage directions and the danger of editorial tinkering with them. The chapter on Authors and Patrons might easily have been made dull, but Mr Nichol Smith has kept it from any such danger, and his summary of Southampton's position as a literary patron (II, 199-202) is a valuable contrast to the view expressed in Sir Sidney Lee's Fourth Appendix to *A Life of Shakespeare* (1915). The sections on the Fine Arts are all good, and the second volume ends with two notable expert contributions, Professor Firth on Ballads and Broad-sides, and Dr Henry Bradley on Shakespeare's English. We could wish that the latter had dealt also with Shakespeare's Irish (in *Henry V*), for an authoritative pronouncement on early literary renderings of the Irish dialect would have been valuable; but the chapter is already long and full of interest.

In other sections Mr Underhill should have explained in what respect 'Mortgages were on a very different footing from what they are now' (I, 407), and from Mr Macquoid some fuller information would have been welcome on the brief and unexpected statement (II, 141) that 'There were public baths.' Also, in view of the obvious possibilities of the subject, one wishes that Sir John Sandys had lightened his chapter on Education with a few of the 'graphic touches of school-life' to be found in Vives' *Exercitatio*. As things are, the pedantically human law-report quoted at I, 400 provides the best comic relief in the two volumes.

The illustrations are many, well chosen, and well reproduced, though not, it may be feared, on durable paper. Misprints are rare, and the only one which is likely to escape attention in a second edition is on p. 548 of vol. II, line 31, where 'daylie' and 'daylie' must be intended to represent different spellings. Every quotation from Shakespeare is systematically referenced throughout, and most of the writers are careful of that first principle of good scholarship, particularly needful in such a work, the giving of exact references for quotations or statements of which the source is not obvious. To Sir Walter Raleigh the gratitude of every reader is due for the project here carried out, and for a brilliant summary of the age; and the amount of work done by Sir Sidney Lee and the later editors is not the less praiseworthy because it cannot easily be measured.

H. F. B. BRETT-SMITH.

Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia. Collected and edited by G. C. MOORE SMITH. Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press. 1913. 8vo. pp. xvi + 327.

This is a beautiful volume, and the highest credit is due to the Press that has given such form to a work so purely scholarly in character and appeal. It is worthy of the scholar who has himself done so much for our knowledge of sixteenth and seventeenth century literature of every kind by his industry and by an unerring instinct for the right things to unearth and make available. It is some reward for much toil to have one's book printed by the Shakespeare Head Press.

But Professor Moore Smith's work deserves the care with which it has been printed and issued. Labour spread over ten years has produced a work of a kind that one would gladly have many more of, if they were obtainable. The *Corrigenda* which he has added will not surprise anyone who has experience of the difficulty of securing exactness in dealing with a mass of manuscript material. Here and there one would be glad of an additional explanatory note; and once or twice a little change in the punctuation would make the Latin somewhat clearer. But throughout the editing is admirable, and the works to which Harvey refers, often in a very cursory way, have been identified with great success and completeness.

The value of such a document is threefold. There is first that which Professor Moore Smith has emphasised—the light thrown on Harvey's character, and not on Harvey's only, but on the character and ideals of the Renaissance. What Harvey was on a small scale, and with the entirety which is the mark of his smallness, Marlowe, Raleigh, Bacon, Donne were on a grander scale and with the qualifications which come of their larger and more complex natures — self-centred, ambitious, learned, but disposed to regard learning not mainly, at least not entirely, as an end in itself, but as an instrument with which to carve out a fortunate career. But Raleigh's unscrupulous egotism merged in ambitions which were national as well as personal. Behind Bacon's meanness and self-seeking loomed always a vision of the widened knowledge and power which the new scientific method he sought was to bring not to himself but to the whole human race. Donne's ambition was wrecked at the outset by the impulses of a passionate but generous temperament, and controlled in later life, if never completely mastered, by the sincerity of his religious devotion. Poor Gabriel Harvey can never, whatever he is reading, keep his eye off himself, and there is something pathetic in the strenuousness with which he exhorts and spurs himself, while he dreams of becoming more eloquent than Cicero, more a man of action than Cæsar, as subtle as Machiavelli, as influential as Aretino. His soul is a quaint little microcosm of the larger spirit of the time.

The second service which is rendered to the student of Elizabethan literature by Professor Moore Smith's careful edition of Harvey's notes

is the light which it throws upon the reading of an Elizabethan scholar. There is nothing more essential to the right understanding and adequate editing of an old author than as full a knowledge as can be obtained of what were his own studies, the books in his own library. The editing of Drummond's works has been enormously assisted by the preservation of a large portion of his library and of lists of books which he purchased. We could spare a good deal of the detailed political history in Masson's *Life of Milton* for a fuller account, were it obtainable, of the books which Milton sent home from Venice and the library which he left behind him. Gabriel Harvey is not a great author whose works need elaborate editing, but one man's reading is that of others of his age. Harvey's studies, like his character, are typical. In lists which are being prepared by a former student of mine, for a thesis presented to the University of Paris, of the books cited and referred to by Donne in his prose-works and sermons, I find many of the same works as Harvey notes—especially modern works in Latin by scholars of every country of western Europe on Rhetoric, Philosophy, Law, History, Medicine, etc. Of course in Donne's lists there is a large proportion of theology, which does not seem to have had much attraction for Harvey. So many of these works sleep now in our libraries untouched and mouldering that a student needs to be put on the track of them by such a work as Professor Moore Smith's before he can get a clue to much that seems strange now and barely intelligible in the doctrines and allusions which are commonplaces of our older writers.

The part of Harvey's notes, however, which has attracted most attention is that which concerns contemporary English authors, especially Shakespeare. Harvey does not strike one as a very discriminating critic. His survey of Latin writers (p. 117) is a list of epithets, 'Cæsar mighty in acts or stile; weighty and speedie Salust; pithie and pregnant Livie;...deep Tacitus; sharp Seneca,' which are either traditional or somewhat vague. And when he comes to English authors the picture he presents is rather wanting in relief. Lydgate and Chaucer, the early Tudor translators of Latin and Italian poetry, the *Faerie Queene* and *Albion's England*, Daniel and Shakespeare all seem to stand on much the same level. On one who may surpass them all he touches at the close of the famous note on Speght's *Chaucer* (Appendix II, p. 233) and that is Axiophilus. There can I think be no shadow of doubt that Professor Moore Smith is right in identifying Axiophilus with Harvey himself. 'And amongst so manie gentle, noble and royall spirits meethinkes I see sum heroical thing in the clowdes: mie souveraine hope. Axiophilus shall forgett himself, or will remember to leave sum memorials behinde him: and to make an use of so manie rhapsodies, cantos, hymnes, odes, epigrams, sonets, and discourses, as at idle howers, or at flowing fitts he hath compiled. God knows what is good for the world, and fitting for this age.' What 'souveraine hope' could Harvey have entertained that did not concern himself? Whose poems but his own would he have described as the fruit of 'idle howers' or 'flowing fitts'? What are these precious

'cantos,' hymns, etc. 'and discourses' but those referred to in the letter written in 1598 to Sir Robert Cecil? See pp. 72—4. What he says of Axiophilus (see p. 161) is just in other words what he says of himself—that he loves 'metaphysical' poetry, full of Astronomy and Philosophy. At p. 226 he is quoting from one of his own lectures or discourses, delivered or prepared; and at p. 228 he tells us that in another, on 'cunning without effect,' he has used as rhetorical examples Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* and the *Chanon's Yeoman's Tale*.

Harvey's most interesting note on Spenser is that (p. 161) which concerns their common love of astronomy in poetry and Spenser's admiration of Du Bartas on the heavenly bodies. This is quite what one should have expected of the poet whose times are so picturesquely indicated:

By this the Northern waggoner had set
His sevenfold teme behind the steadfast starre,
That was in Ocean's waves yet never wet,
But firme is fixt, and sendeth light from farre
To all that in the wide deep wandering arre.

One wonders if Shakespeare too was familiar with Du Bartas. Some lines in the canto referred to seem to be echoed in *The Merchant of Venice*:

C'est ainsi que ce jour les mains du Tout-puissant,
Du huitieme rideau les toiles retissant,
D'un art sans art brocha ses pantes azurées
De mille millions de *platines dorées*.

Quatrieme Jour.

Is not the last phrase perhaps the source of

Look how the floor of heaven
Is thick inlaid with *patines of bright gold*?

Cotgrave explains 'platine' as 'a flat or thin piece of wood, or metal' and adds at the end 'also as "Patine," meaning, I suppose, that the word has also that form, though 'patine' is more generally confined to the meaning 'the patine, or cover of a chalice.' Both poets compare the stars to thin plates gilded or of gold. Sylvester translates

fixed many a million
Of golden Scutcheons in that rich Pavilion.

Spenser brings one to Shakespeare and the reference to his poems and *Hamlet* (pp. 232—3). Sir Sidney Lee has pronounced a little magisterially on the reference in the new edition of his *Life*, and he seems inclined to date the note after 1606 owing to the reference to 'Owen's new Epigrams.' But poems and epigrams circulated freely in manuscript. There is a more complete transcript of Davies' epigrams in the Bodleian than has ever been printed. In Thomas Freeman's *Runne and a great Cast | The | Second Book* 1614, Donne, on the strength of the *Storm*, the *Calm* and his *Satyres*, is adjured to 'write

a bigger booke.' None of these was published till 1633. It is unnecessary to accumulate instances. One must decide the date of the note not by this, nor by the accidental inclusion of Watson's name in a hastily set down list of 'our flourishing metricians.' One must judge by the converging evidence of several items. First, there is the reference to the Earl of Essex in the present tense, 'much commendes.' It is not clear from the context 'that Harvey uses the present tense in the historic fashion' (Lee: *A Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 360 note). There is no parallel to such a use of a man dead within a few years and that in so dramatic a manner. Secondly, there is the reference to Lord Mountjoy, who in 1603 became Earl of Devonshire. The Elizabethan writers are particular about titles. The tone of this note—the linking of the reference to other poets with the work and slowness to publish of Axiophilus, i.e. Harvey himself—connects it so closely with the preceding long note (Moore Smith, p. 231) that one feels they must have been written about the same time. In that note we hear of 'the Earl of Essex, the King of Scotland the soveraine of the divine art.' That was certainly written before 1603. Lastly, there is the long reference to Axiophilus and his dreams which I have quoted above. This must be read in close connection with the letter to Sir Robert Cecil (1598) printed by the editor in the introduction (pp. 72—3). Such a juxtaposition makes it perfectly clear that Axiophilus is Harvey. Here we have referred to as his own the 'cantos' (pp. 73 and 233) and 'discourses' mentioned in the references to Axiophilus. Moreover, it suggests that the year in which this note was written was that in which he was meditating their publication. All these things taken together—and one might add the date which accompanies the inscription after the *Finis*—make it very difficult to ascribe the note to a later date. This may not suit our theories of the right date for *Hamlet*, but it is our theories which must be adjusted to the evidence whatever the effects on our *Lives* and text-books.

Professor Moore Smith has rendered a great service to the history and criticism of Elizabethan literature by his careful editing of this invaluable document.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

EDINBURGH.

Milton's 'Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England.'

Edited with Introduction Notes and Glossary by W. T. HALE.
(Yale Studies in English, LIV). Newhaven, Conn.; London:
H. Milford. 1916. 8vo. lxxxix + 224 pp.

A well-printed edition of one of Milton's tracts is a welcome thing, and the study of Milton's mind in its successive phases a worthy employment. But it is a serious undertaking to furnish a tract which deals with history and theology with adequate annotation, and quite as serious to acquire the knowledge of Milton's period that shall enable

an editor to recognise allusions to the events of his day; and the language itself and the literary problems involved are no slight object of study. The case of Dr Hale, who has done honest work, collected a great deal of interesting information and formed an intelligent opinion, excites the question whether the authorities of his University were wise in proposing, or allowing him to propose, so wide a subject. He would have done better work had he confined himself to one or two of the sides of his enquiry. Had he mastered the early Church history with which Milton deals so strangely he would not have told us that Ignatius was a bishop of Rome, nor would he have included Lampridius and Eutropius in a list of 'Fathers.' Dr Hale's medieval history also is quite inadequate. When we come to Milton's own day, we find very disputable assertions; the great mass of the English people were certainly not Presbyterians, nor can it be truly said that 'the English clergy' favoured Charles. A greater proportion of them than of the laity was Presbyterian, and favoured that Calvinist discipline of which Milton was enamoured when he wrote *Of Reformation*. Dr Hale would have done a service to history had he made himself and us familiar with that phase of the Puritan mind, loyalist, conservative, dreading democracy and rigorously disciplinarian, which is exemplified in such a book as Oliver Bowles' *De Pastore Evangelico* and in the policy of Bowles' patron, Manchester. A knowledge of the range of such men's religious ideas is necessary in the editor of this tract; and it would be well for him to be acquainted with such political philosophy as they possessed. Here Dr Hale has missed more than one allusion, as he has also in regard to the events of the day. Writing in the summer of 1641, Milton says that the 'innumerable and grievous complaints of every shire cry out.' Dr Hale does not remind us of the frequency of such incidents as the riding of two thousand Bedfordshire men, with their protestation in their hats, through the streets of London in the January of that year. And American readers might have been glad to know that 'Regent House' is a Cambridge expression, and that Milton is wrong when he attributes the exaction of Easter 'tuppences' to bishops instead of parish clergy. The literary side of our author's work suffers equally. His vocabulary is incomplete; 'chanonies' is omitted, for example. It also contains a good deal that is quite superfluous. So interesting a phrase as 'lettice for their lips' deserved annotation; it must have been a current expression and was worth some research. The printing of the book cannot be praised. There are too many misprints, such as 'Vestrian controversy,' 'Traver,' 'Wandworth,' and the Latin is sadly mangled. And how can such an anachronism as 'the communion-table, which had degenerated into a receptacle for hats and umbrellas,' have escaped the censure of a learned body? In fact Dr Hale would have accomplished more had he attempted less, and doubtless in future works he will fulfil the promise that is manifest in this first attempt.

E. W. WATSON.

Pepys on the Restoration Stage. By HELEN MCAFEE. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1916. 8vo. viii + 353 pp.

Unless it were accompanied by an exhaustive and scrupulously accurate excursus, by full and scholarly annotation, it is difficult to see what purpose can be served by such a book as the present, consisting as it does of excerpts from Pepys' Diary, these being the scattered references to the stage and things theatrical. The Diary itself is not so inaccessible a volume, not so entirely un-indexed, that even the most desultory reader could not in a few moments inform himself on any one of these points in a far more satisfactory way than by consulting Miss McAfee's compilation. Anyone who is working with a purpose, however slight, will of course be bound to turn to Pepys himself.

There are sixty-one pages of prolix introduction which contain endless repetitions, but nothing new. On one occasion Miss McAfee tediously labours to defend Pepys' moral attitude towards the theatre. 'He looked,' she writes of the diarist, 'with disapproval upon the gross immorality of Thomas Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding*.' October 11, 1664, Luellin gossiping with Pepys tells him 'what a bawdy loose play this "*Parson's Wedding*" is, that is acted by nothing but women at the King's house, and I am glad of it.' Similar banalities abound. On p. 29 we have a muddled and obscure paragraph with reference to heroic plays. To regard Shadwell's offhand verbal criticism of Orrery as presaging 'the coming of Buckingham's *Rehearsal* and the beginning of the end of heroic drama' is incomprehensible nonsense.

For the notes to the passages from the Diary Genest's *History* has been copiously and indeed recklessly used. The industry and value of Genest must not be underestimated, but it is necessary to realize that for the first forty years of his chronicle (1660—1700) his pages are literally honeycombed with the gravest inaccuracies. It is hardly too drastic to say with one of the greatest living authorities: 'Genest for the first forty years must not be quoted save to be contradicted.' Certainly for this period he must never be quoted unless his statements are amply substantiated from other sources. The result of a blind and implicit reliance on Genest is woefully apparent in the present volume. Downes, another of those edged tools safe only in the hands of so consummate a scholar as Mr W. J. Lawrence, has also been employed by Miss McAfee with disastrous results.

To point out all the blundering mistakes and mischievous misstatements in the present work would be an unhappy and impossible task, but it may be worth while to draw attention to some few of the many errors which have been casually noted. On p. 82, *The Chances*, seen by Pepys April 27, 1661, was certainly not Buckingham's alteration but Fletcher's original. On p. 138 Miss McAfee, ignoring or haply ignorant of the well-known crux, boldly declares that *The Adventures of Five Hours* is 'an adaptation (1663) by Sir Samuel Tuke from a play ascribed to Antonio Coello,' a statement repeated on p. 192. A refer-

ence to Mr Martin Hume's *Spanish Influence on English Literature*, pp. 291-5, must be recommended. On p. 156 the verbose note on *The Indian Queen* is entirely superfluous. The point in question has been discussed and elucidated elsewhere. On p. 171 the story of the assault on Kynaston is passed over with an allusion to Doran! The several and differing accounts of the young actor having been thrashed by hired bullies as told by Pepys, by Oldys and Malone, and in Bell-chambers' Cibber, most certainly ought to have been mentioned if not discussed in detail. On pp. 175-6 there are some very confused and confusing notes with reference to *The General*, a play which Miss McAfee thinks may possibly be a tragi-comedy 'by James Shirley, printed from a MS. in 1853.' Mr Gosse in that most delightful introduction which prefaces Shirley in the 'Mermaid Series' long since made it quite clear that Shirley had nothing whatsoever to do with *The General*. He deservedly terms it 'a very poor play,' and writes: 'the conjecture by which this performance has been fastened on Shirley is certainly incorrect. *The General* has no trace of his style.' This judgment might well have been thought to be final, and by scholars it has been so accepted. But Miss McAfee is at pains to resuscitate exploded errors. *The General* however is none other than that tragedy by Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, which, originally produced in Dublin, was, when revised and altered by Charles Boyle, printed in 1702 as *Altemira*. We owe this interesting discovery to Mr W. J. Lawrence, at whose suggestion I examined the play as printed by Halliwell-Phillipps at the end of the catalogue of the Plymouth Public Library, and established its identity. I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing the Worcester College MS. of the same play found by Mr Bullen. Neither Nason nor Forsythe was aware of Orrery's authorship.

On p. 239 we find that 'according to Downes' Mrs Corey remained in the King's company 'as late as 1682.' A more misleading statement it would be difficult to make. Mrs Corey left the stage towards the end of 1692, her last rôle being the Abbess in a November revival of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. On p. 304 we have 'the location of the various Nurseries is one of the still vexed questions of Restoration stage history.' If Miss McAfee did not so entirely ignore the most valuable researches of recent scholarship she would not need to be told that there is no 'still vexed question.' The whole history of the Nursery and its successive locations has been completely cleared up in an admirable pamphlet *Restoration Stage Nurseries* (Dec. 1914) by Mr W. J. Lawrence, whose conclusions I briefly summarized in my recent edition of Mrs Behn's *Works*, II, pp. 430-1. It is the persistence of errors such as these, the wilful perpetuation of endless inaccuracies, that causes scholars well nigh to despair.

In the foreword, p. viii, we are promised 'the reproduction of a quaint print of a Restoration actor.' This must subsequently have been omitted, for it is hardly to be supposed that either Kneller's well-known portrait of Betterton, p. 45, or the Lely Nell Gwyn, p. 243, is intended by that amateurish adjective 'quaint.' At p. 217 we have an

engraving 'Joe Haines Speaking a Prologue.' Miss McAfee wisely refrains from attempting to indicate the occasion. In a recent reproduction the same illustration was described as 'Joseph Harris speaking the Prologue to Unhappy'! The engraving of course represents Joe Haines 'in the Habit of a *Horse Officer*, mounted on an *Ass*,' speaking the Epilogue to Thomas Scot's *The Unhappy Kindness; or, A Fruitless Revenge*, a tragedy produced at Drury Lane in 1697, nearly thirty years after the Pepys decade. Scot's drama is a wholesale plagiarism from *A Wife for a Month*. In the quarto (1697) this interesting epilogue is ascribed to Haines himself, who was no doubt the author, but it has also been inserted in Tom Brown's *Works*, 1730 (Vol. iv, p. 313). At p. 89 we have an engraving, *The Island Princess*, representing the famous scene in Act II of that drama, the capital of Ternata in flames. Very ingeniously we are not given the source of this engraving, and as it faces the description of Pepys' visit to *The Island Princess*, January 7, 1668-9, when he so admired the 'good scene of a town on fire,' the reader is left to conclude that the illustration represents the stage set as Pepys saw it. As a matter of fact it is taken from the Beaumont and Fletcher in seven volumes printed for Jacob Tonson, 1711, and may be found in Vol. VI at p. 3005. A careful study of the plates in this edition long ago led me to the conclusion that all or nearly all are drawn from the actual stage sets of the day. To the stage historian, the artist and producer, they are immensely valuable. But the theatre of Charles II in 1668-9 was very different from the theatre of Anne more than forty years later. There had been many and essential changes of every kind. To give an engraving of a stage scene circa 1711 as an illustration of Pepys, and that without a word of comment or explanation, is inexcusable.

On glancing through the Bibliography the first thing noticed is the omission of the name of Mr W. J. Lawrence. As no book on the Restoration stage which does not take ample account of the work of this distinguished scholar can be of any possible value, the one conclusion at which we are compelled to arrive is unfortunate. To deal with those all-important years, the decade 1660-70, the genesis of the picture-stage, not only requires wide scholarship, but moreover demands a very practical and intimate knowledge of stagecraft and producing. Even from the point of scholarship alone Miss McAfee is ill-equipped to attempt so difficult a period. Not merely do we find no original research, no discriminating criticism in her pages, but she cannot even make use of existing material.

A word of praise must be given to the format and general get-up of the book which are excellent.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

TWICKENHAM.

The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton (1734—1771) including more than one hundred letters now first published, chronologically arranged and edited with Introduction, Notes, and Index. By PAGET TOYNBEE. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. lx + 354 and 422 pp.

It is a cause of immense satisfaction that a sheaf of unknown letters by Gray and his Etonian friends should have come to light: and that they should have been found and edited by Mr Paget Toynbee is indeed a rare piece of further good fortune. But for the War which in these years monopolizes attention, the publication of this book would have counted as a great event.

Eighty-nine new letters of Gray, eight of Walpole and nine of West were put in Mr Toynbee's hands by Sir Francis Ernest Waller, Bart., of Woodcote, Warwick, to whose memory—he was killed in the service of his country near Neuve-Chapelle on 25th October, 1914—these volumes are dedicated. Sir Francis had inherited them from Mrs Damer, only child of Walpole's cousin and friend, Field-Marshal Conway. The new letters of Ashton were transcribed from Mitford's transcriptions of the originals (now Add. MS. 32,562)—the originals, in all cases but one, having apparently vanished.

Besides these new letters, we have fifteen letters of Gray, one of Walpole, one of West and four of Ashton given in a completer form than that in which they have previously appeared. Mason, Gray's biographer, treated Gray's letters in the most unscrupulous fashion. 'He altered dates, transferred passages from one letter to another, combined together letters of widely different dates, "improved" the grammar and diction, and even went so far as to insert matter of his own.' Miss Berry, who brought out Walpole's letters, 'frequently suppressed passages, sometimes of considerable length and importance, without any indication of the fact.' The discovery of the originals has in these cases put matters right.

The collection is completed by sixty-nine letters of Gray, twenty-nine of Walpole, twenty-nine of West, and nine of Ashton which have been printed before with tolerable completeness and accuracy. Two new poems by Gray—one a school-boy translation of a passage of Statius, the other a sparkling verse-epistle to Walpole of 8th Dec. 1734,—and ten more poems by West, also form part of Mr Toynbee's gift to us.

In editing the letters, Mr Toynbee has followed the originals with meticulous exactness. After minute examination of internal evidence, postmarks, etc., he has been able to assign to the undated letters (a very large proportion) dates which leave little room for doubt.

In his Introduction Mr Toynbee throws a good deal of new light on the biographies of the members of the 'Quadruple Alliance.' He shows that the names under which Gray, Walpole, West and Ashton passed in their mutual correspondence were probably Orosmales (or Orozmales), Celadon, Favonius (or Zephyrus) and Almanzor respectively. Mr Toynbee calls Orosmales 'an alteration apparently, either accidental or deliberate,

of Oromasdes, the name of the principal Zoroastrian divinity.' The alteration goes back however beyond the time of Gray and his friends. Mr Summers points out that the form 'Orosmales' occurs in Orrery's *Zoroastres* and in *The Rival Queens* (*M.L.R.*, pp. 29, 30 *sup.*). Mr Tovey had considered that Ashton's name was 'Plato.' A strong case is however made for 'Almanzor'—though from the pushing character of Ashton as shown in his letters, it is rather surprising if he was Almanzor to find Walpole saying that Almanzor knew nobody at Cambridge but himself and Gray. (After reading Ashton's unctuous letters one wonders what were the amiable qualities which brought him into the band of friends.)

It has frequently been said that Gray was at Pembroke Hall before being admitted to Peterhouse. Mr Toynbee makes it clear that this is an error due to a slip of the pen on the part of Mitford.

Mr Toynbee further disposes of the story that the quarrel between Gray and Walpole was due to Gray's discovery that Walpole had opened and resealed one of his letters. Walpole's account—generous in its self-accusations—is no doubt, as our editor holds, the right explanation.

The new letters of Gray of the years 1734—1738 throw fresh light on that capacity for passionate friendship hitherto only revealed by the letters which at the very end of his life the poet wrote to the brilliant young Swiss, Karl von Bonstetten. Bonstetten, who himself had the intuition into character which comes of an ardent and sympathetic heart, perhaps understood Gray better than anyone who ever met him, though his intercourse with him extended only over two or three months. In his own old age he wrote of Gray words which even to us are surprising, and which would have raised astonishment in those of his contemporaries who knew him only slightly: 'Jede Empfindung war bey ihm leidenschaftlich: so auch die Freundschaft¹'. We now find that in his youth he had for Horace Walpole—six months his junior—the same passionate affection which he showed afterwards for Bonstetten.

It seems clear that for some years Walpole and not West had the first place in his heart. Gray's friendship for West was perhaps deepened by West's letter of Dec. 2, 1737 (No. 69), and after his experience of Walpole's waywardness and want of consideration on their travels, he perhaps turned to West as his best friend and on his death felt that he had lost everything. The old tenderness of intimacy with Walpole was never renewed on Gray's part even after the reconciliation, though he cannot but have recognised the true regard and admiration which Walpole entertained for him throughout life. The whole of this book—apart from the circumstances which led to the quarrel, which we have from Walpole himself, and which may be imputed to the thoughtlessness of youth in a not very deep nature—raises one's idea of Walpole. His attitude towards Gray in later life was always modest and undeviatingly loyal. Even his powers as a letter-writer are seen to special advantage when his letters come here and there among letters by Gray and others, instead of being read *en masse*. Gray's letters

¹ 'Erinnerungen aus Bonstetten's Jugendleben von ihm selbst geschrieben,' in *Briefe von Bonstetten an Matthiisson* (1827), p. 217.

abound in humour and odd fancies and no doubt bespeak a more original and sensitive mind, but Walpole's shine out with a charming vivacity and polish. What can be more brilliant than that written from Paris on Nov. 19, 1765 (No. 233)?

Mr Toynbee has added brief explanatory notes to the letters, and is only occasionally baffled by a specially obscure allusion. Here, as in his treatment of the text, he has done his work in such an ideal manner that one is almost forced to say with Gray (letter 207): 'I have looked with all my eyes, & can not discover one error, w^{ch} is the greatest misfortune, that can befall a Critick.' A Cambridge man may however hint that the position of Foulmoor, or Foulmire, which is south of Cambridge, is rather oddly described as 'nine miles from Cambridge (not 'on the road to London,' but) on the road from London to Ely' (I, 30), and it may be further suggested that Malepert (I, 31) is more likely an Etonian schoolfellow of noble blood than a college tutor, who would hardly be likely to promise to return a freshman's call, that the phrase 'your serene Haughtinesses' (I, 32) contains an allusion to Houghton, and 'the ingenuity of the spider to spin fine lines out of dirt' (I, 49) one to *The Battle of the Books*.

It was a happy idea to print together the letters that passed between the four Eton friends. But Mr Toynbee has done his work so perfectly, that one would wish he would go further and give us a complete edition of Gray's letters. The late Mr Tovey deserved well of the author to whom he devoted so great a part of his life. But he was far from being an ideal editor. The notes to his edition of the letters abound in mistakes, and even the long list of corrigenda given in his last volume leaves many untouched. Mr Toynbee has further discovered that his predecessor was not to be relied on in giving an accurate text.

The discovery of all these new letters of Gray's at once deprives Mr Tovey's collection of its professed completeness, and students would gain much by having all the letters in a single work. It may be possible even to find fresh letters. At least my appetite was whetted some years ago when I found in the *Briefe von Bonstetten an Matthiesson* (Zurich, 1827, p. 31) that Bonstetten sent Matthiesson on 23 October, 1816, his letters from various interesting correspondents, including Gray. It is hardly likely that the only letters Bonstetten received from Gray were the three published by Tovey and Gosse. What has then become of the collection sent to Matthiesson? Dr Hans Dübi of Bern promised me in 1912 to make some search for them in the public library of Geneva and elsewhere, adding 'I have no great hopes as the latest Swiss publication upon v. Bonstetten (Rudolf Willy's *Karl Viktor von Bonstetten*, Bern, K. J. Wyss, 1898) mentions no unpublished letters to or from v. Bonstetten.' I have heard no more from Dr Dübi, so gather that his search, if he pursued it, was unsuccessful. Still Mr Toynbee's experience shows that one need never give up hope; and nothing could be more interesting than fresh letters from Gray to the most brilliant and best loved correspondent of his last years.

I have only to add that the present volumes are beautifully illus-

trated. We have three portraits of Gray, three of Walpole, one of Ashton, four facsimiles of Gray's manuscript, one of Walpole's and one of West's.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

The Covent-Garden Journal. By Sir Alexander Drawcansir, Knt. Censor of Great Britain (Henry Fielding). Edited by GERARD EDWARD JENSEN. New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 2 vols. 1915. 8vo. cxxix + 368 and 293 pp.

Original and complete files of *The Covent-Garden Journal* are exceedingly scarce, and hitherto a selection only of its seventy-two serial essays have been reprinted in Fielding's *Works*. Murphy's edition (1762) reproduced twenty-six of these essays, and Leslie Stephen's (1882) thirty-seven; consequently readers of many lands will owe no little to Mr Jensen for collecting the entire series within a convenient compass. The print, paper, binding and illustrations, and the richness of annotation, call for further congratulation.

During 1751, despite onerous duties as chief magistrate at Bow Street, Fielding had been indefatigable with his pen, producing two editions of *An Enquiry into Robberies* and writing *Amelia*. As the latter yielded him £800 a suspension of literary activity might well have followed, but the calls of a second family, the necessity of a country-house as an escape from the risks of jail-fever, an inflexible determination not to 'trade' in justice, and a foreboding of increasing infirmities, sufficiently account for the launching of *The Covent-Garden Journal*, preluded in the *London Daily Advertiser* of 1 November 1751, and advertised in those volumes of *Amelia* so eagerly taken up by the book-trade, while yet damp from the press, on 18 December 1751.

The Covent-Garden Journal ran, first as a bi-weekly and later as a weekly, from 4 January to 25 November 1752. Fielding's was no raw hand at periodical literature. In 1739-40 he had conducted *The Champion*, in 1745-6 *The True Patriot*, and in 1747 *The Jacobite's Journal*. Framed on lines similar to the two latter, the outstanding feature of the new venture was its essays; essays devoid, however, of that political complexion so characteristic of the earlier journals. The supplementary matter consisted of news and information distributed under various headings; as, 'Modern History Abridged,' a record of fashionable gatherings and of social tittle-tattle culled from current newspapers; 'Proceedings at the Court of Censorial Enquiry,' largely devoted to the review of books and matters theatrical; 'Foreign Affairs'; and 'Covent Garden,' a summary of what is now termed Police Court news. Much space was devoted to this last subject, and Fielding seems to have felt that as all other Courts had their reporters there was no reason why the proceedings of the magistrate's court—the only court to which the vast majority of people had recourse—should not have publicity. In these two volumes we are concerned

only with the reprints of the Essays and the Proceedings at the Court of Censorial Enquiry.

The editor devotes more than half his Introduction of 129 pages to 'The Newspaper War.' This section contains the results of much research, and so well are its main points developed that Fielding's future biographers, when dealing with this regrettable incident, will of necessity cite Jensen's dissertation. It discloses an undignified squabble which, so far as it concerns the *Covent-Garden Journal*, directly affected the first five numbers only, yet without some such extraneous explanation the points at issue would be difficult to unravel. But biographically the warfare looms larger, for Fielding, on declining to wage it further, was pursued by a fusillade of abusive pamphlets and papers, the onslaughts coming from Dr John Hill (1716-1775), Bonnell Thornton (1724-1768), William Kenrick (1725-1779) and Smollett. Hill, at this time, was contributing daily articles, *sub nomine* 'Inspector,' to the *London Daily Advertiser*, and appears to have agreed with Fielding that they should exchange shot, amicably, in their respective journals under the guise of a Paper-War. The affair, however, took an unexpected turn when Hill committed a gross breach of confidence in telling his readers he had too good a sense of his obligation to the Public to be a party to such 'insolent deceit.' Christopher Smart's account of the transaction runs thus:

Upon the commencement of the *Covent-Garden Journal* Mr. Fielding declared an humorous war against this writer...in order to contribute to the entertainment of the town. It is recent in every bodies memory how the Inspector behaved on that occasion. Conscious that there was not an atom of humour in his composition, he had recourse to his usual shifts, and instantly disclosed a private conversation; by which he reduced himself to the alternative mentioned by Mr. Pope: 'and if he lies not, must at least betray.'

Bonnell Thornton, acting probably at the instigation of one Dullwin, a discharged employé of Fielding, opened his attack in the *Drury Lane Journal*, and his especial pleasure was deriding *Amelia*. Kenrick, the editor of *Old England*, who had come into conflict with Fielding in *Jacobite's Journal* days, seized an exceptional opportunity to renew his attack. Smollett, vindictive from the refusal of that patronage which Lyttelton granted to Fielding, delivered himself of *Habbakkuk Hilding*, a pamphlet which will ever remain a blot upon his reputation. Fielding, on his part, was wanting in tact in his head-line, 'A Journal of the present Paper War between the Forces under Sir Alexander Drawcansir and the Army of Grub Street,' for most writers would resent being grouped in that fraternity, compendious though the term might be; but this nowise justified their methods of retaliation. Put in possession of the surrounding circumstances the reader will appreciate how good-humouredly and how restrainedly Fielding met the attacks of his unscrupulous antagonists.

In the Essays or 'Leaders' which run through the *Journal*, Fielding discourses wisely, often humorously, on a number of ethical and social topics.

No. 24 is an enlargement on a sentiment of Phædrus: *Gratis anhélans multa agendo nihil agens*, 'Puffing and sweating to no purpose; employed about many things, and doing nothing.' Here we see Fielding at his best and at his weakest. At his best when he observes:

There is implanted in our nature a great love of business, and an equal abhorrence of idleness. This discovers itself very early in children; most of whom are never better pleased than when they are employed by their elders. The same disposition we may perceive in men; in those particularly to whom Fortune hath made business unnecessary, and whom Nature very plainly appears never to have designed for any. And yet how common is it to see these men playing at business, if I may use the expression, and pleasing themselves all their lives with the imagination that they are not idle.

At his weakest, when he writes:

What but the utmost impatience of idleness could prompt men to employ great pains and trouble, and expense too, in making large collections of butterflies, pebbles, and such other wonderful productions: while others from the same impatience have been no less busy in hunting after monsters of every kind, as if they were at enmity with Nature, and desirous of exposing all her errors.

Fielding was doubtless nurtured on the doctrine that matter is essentially vile. But if he was unresponsive to the claims of those sciences that promised no technical application, he was a warm advocate of those that, in Bacon's words, were likely 'to bear fruit':

I make no doubt but that the same Industry would often make a man of a moderate capacity a very competent master of some notable science which hath made him a proficient in some contemptible art or rather knack. The dextrous juggler might have made a complete mechanic. The same labour, and perhaps the same genius, which brings a man to a perfection at the game of chess would make a great proficiency in the mathematics. Many a beau might have been a scholar, if he had consulted books with the same attention with which he hath consulted a looking-glass; and many a foxhunter might to his great honour have pursued the enemies of his country with less labour and with less danger than he hath encountered in the pursuit of foxes.

No. 26 is of universal application. Fielding discourses on the lack of proper attention evinced by listeners in general, and on the inability of many to give their undivided heed to the matter they have in hand. His illustrations are not lacking in humour:

Whoever hath attended our theatres, and seen our best plays acted, must have heard many an exquisite speech, delivered most exactly by an accomplished actor, pass off unregarded in a kind of cold silence; while the empty vociferation of some wretched performer, hath been soon after rewarded with a thundering clap of approbation. One would imagine that the audience looked on the latter as a kind of rival to themselves, and that they were desirous to shew him that they could be louder than he was; or (to give the thing a more benevolent explanation) that they were ambitious to pay him in his own way, and generously to reward him with what he seemed so to delight in.

Again:

I remember I was once present at a theatrical entertainment of the graver kind, which was very excellent. The audience were giving it much the same attention as

is given to the reading of depositions and affidavits, when lo! an unfortunate cat made her appearance and ran across the stage. Pit, box and gallery in an instant sympathized; their attention became fixed to the same admirable point; a louder laugh never rose among Homer's gods; nor did I ever remember the best scenes in the *Rehearsal* to produce half so much delight.

It was of course from the blusterer in Buckingham's *Rehearsal* that Fielding took his pseudonym 'Drawcansir.'

The reader who wishes to be diverted, and at the same time imbibe no little philosophy, should peruse 'The humble complaint of Why and Wherefore' (no. 7), and the criticism it evoked from a Georgian 'buck' (no. 32). We will not risk shocking anyone by giving quotations.

Students of Georgian topography will read no. 37 with interest.

Within the memory of many now living the circle of People of Fashion included the whole parish of Covent Garden, and great part of St. Giles's in the Fields; but here the enemy broke in, and the circle was presently contracted to Leicester Fields and Golden Square. Hence the People of Fashion again retreated before the foe to Hanover Square; whence they were once more driven to Grosvenor Square, and even beyond it, and that with such precipitation, that had they not been stopped by the walls of Hyde Park, it is more than probable they would by this time have arrived at Kensington.

No. 42 contains some very plain speaking anent the fashionable functions of the day which loses nothing from the pungent sarcasm with which they are delineated. 'How many indeed of my own acquaintance have I known to die of old age at twenty-five,' exclaims Fielding. A short sentence, but what a tale it tells!

In no. 50 the sex-problem is dealt with by one who subscribes himself 'Henry Meanwell,' and addresses from Bond Street. It is well worth reading, although it was probably by another hand than Fielding's.

Essay no. 44 is a remarkable one. It shows Fielding in the light of an enemy to charitable legacies:

First if a man was possessed of real benevolence, and had, (as he must then have) a delight in doing good, he would no more defer the enjoyment of this satisfaction to his death-bed, than the ambitious, the luxurious, or the vain, would wait till that period, for the gratification of their several passions.

2dly. If the legacy be, as it often is, the first charitable donation of any consequence, I can never allow it possible to arise from benevolence: for he who hath no compassion for the distresses of his neighbours, *whom he hath seen*, how should he have any pity for the wants of posterity which he will never see?

3dly. If the legacy be, as is likewise very common, to the injury of his family, or to the disappointment of his own friends in want, this is a certain proof, that his motive is not benevolence: for he who loves not his own friends and relations, most certainly loves no other person.

From no. 48 we cull the following:

It would seem that Nature had agreed with Fortune in setting a high value on Impudence, and had accordingly decreed that those of her children who had received this rich gift at her hands were amply provided for without any further portion....The more a man knows, the more inclined is he to be modest, it is indeed within the province only of the highest human knowledge to survey its own narrow compass.

If these two pregnant sentences will not tempt the reader to peruse the whole essay we know not what will, unless it be the impudences narrated of one Peter Mage, which exhibit a striking resemblance to the frauds of the Tichborne claimant.

Fielding refers to his essays as 'lucubrations' and aptly so, for they were undoubtedly composed during breaks in those long hours devoted to the State, whose exigencies he answered by night and by day. Sometimes he personally directed midnight raids on gambling houses, and at other times he was engaged in taking down depositions for sixteen hours at a stretch. His activities teach us that the strenuous life is no latter day peculiarity.

If Fielding appears at times didactic in tone, it is yet borne in upon us that he was in truth but holding out a helping hand to those, less strong and clear-sighted than himself, who groped their tragicomic ways in an age that bristled with social problems, and presented physical ills at every turn. Well versed in the life of ancient Greece and Rome he declines to regard the Georgian English as the greatest people the sun had ever seen, but love of his native land being deep-rooted, he strives 'by blending the agreeable with the useful' to effect such improvements in his own generation as shall ensure social amelioration to after times.

A few passages are undeniably coarse. Fielding belonged, like other men, to his age, and with wings that might have taken him to any height appears at times to have refused to soar.

As we close these volumes two reflections arise. First, how marvellous was the brain of this man who at only 44 years of age had made such penetrating observations on the world around him, and could convert his rich material into literature! Secondly, how pertinent was the dictum of Huxley: 'It has been the fashion to decry the eighteenth century, as young fops laugh at their fathers. But we were there in germ: and a "Professor of Eighteenth Century History and Literature" who knew his business might tell young Englishmen more of that which it is profoundly important they should know, than any other instructor.'

The adverse criticisms we have to make on this edition are few indeed. It is matter for regret that reference should be made to Fielding (vol. II, p. 176) as having kept a booth at Bartholomew Fair, 'a place of debauchery and vulgarity.' So far back as 25 June 1875, Mr Frederick La Treille proved the booth-keeper of 1738 to be one Timothy Fielding, an actor, and this troublesome tradition having been laid to rest we are sorry to see it exhumed.

Again it is inaccurate to say (vol. I, p. 16) that 'Fielding's Court-Room, where he acted as Justice of the Peace, was on the site of the present Police Court.' Fielding's house was on the west side of Bow Street, and stood two doors north of the present *Grapes* Public House, whereas the Court-house of to-day is at the north-east corner. As the writer has examined the rate-books he may add that Fielding was rated at £63.

In the first essay Fielding writes: 'A late ingenious predecessor of mine, in the wantonness of his heart, declared, if at any time he appeared dull, there was a design in it; on the contrary, I solemnly protest, that if I ever commit a trespass of this kind, it will be because I cannot help it.' The editor suggests (vol. II, p. 147) that this is a reference to Colley Cibber, but if he will turn to the last sentence in no. 38 and to the first sentence in no. 234 of Isaac Bickerstaff's *Tatler*, he will at once see that Fielding is quoting Sir Richard Steele.

Mr Jensen attempts at times to indicate Fielding's real sentiments by quoting views expressed by characters in his works of fiction. Fielding's reputation has suffered so heavily from this highly debatable practice that, despite undoubted temptation, it is one to be deprecated, and Mr Jensen can scarcely be said to be happy in his few instances. A fuller index would have been welcome.

LONDON.

J. PAUL DE CASTRO.

Thomas Warton: A Biographical and Critical Study. By CLARISSA RINAKER. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. II, No 1.) Published by the University of Illinois. 1916. 8vo. 242 pp.

Though Macaulay's *History of England* may have arisen from Mr Greaves's annual Essay on 'The Conduct and Character of William III,' many people would object to dignifying by the name of research the incessant reconsideration of the merits or demerits of minor personages or questions. The foundation of a 'Warton Lecture on English Poetry' in the British Academy has already in six years produced two skilful, but superfluous, discourses on the eponymous hero; and now, though a quite adequate 'biographical and critical' account of his career is to be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, we have here an elaborate encomium of 170 pages, containing apparently everything ascertainable, but really adding nothing new, since the 62 'hitherto unnoticed' letters are of no importance, except perhaps one or two to Bishop Percy. Possibly the subject has been a suggested one, like 'The political satirists of the Restoration period' or other hackneyed themes; but we may say at once in appreciation of Miss Rinaker's industry, that, if it was to be treated at such length, it has been handled by her so exhaustively that future 'researchers' will run great risks, whether they neglect or use her work. Of her twelve chapters, four are mainly biographical, two deal with Warton's own verses, and five with his critical and historical work on Spenser and English Poetry, the 'conclusion' being laudatory in character. Her descriptive chapters are not unduly swollen by quotations and are on the whole well written and suitably annotated; her reflections, which are more ambitious, are often obscure. For instance, what is the meaning of this?

Occasionally, as in the case of Shenstone, a study of Spenser followed imitation of him, and led to a new attitude, changes in the imitation, and finally, apparently, to an admiration that he neither understood nor cared to admit (p. 40).

Nevertheless the chapter from which this is taken is the most satisfactory in the book. In discussing Warton's *Observations on the Faerie Queene* Miss Rinaker is content to point out Warton's admitted merits as the pioneer of a new kind of criticism, and her analysis of his principles (p. 43) is clear and just. But unfortunately her enthusiasm *vires acquirit eundo*; and the later chapters are overloaded with repetitions and exaggerations (e.g. pp. 118 and 121), until finally after every critic who has not thought so highly of Warton has been reprimanded, he is set up on a pinnacle high above his brother, above Gray, Percy, Walpole and Johnson, to illuminate the path of Scott, Lisle Bowles, Hazlitt and Wordsworth. The plain fact is that Warton had the faults as well as the merits of a pioneer in literary criticism and to a certain extent in poetry and in the appreciation of Gothic architecture. His chief work is, as Scott said, an immense commonplace book, clumsily and inaccurately constructed though on sound foundations; and his poetry will probably be remembered only by the Loddon sonnet, which figures in anthologies, the slight but amusing *Progress of Discontent*, and *The Triumph of Isis*, which is a good specimen of the Prize Poem class of compositions. But the *Observations* on Spenser, though they do not constitute him 'easily one of the most important figures of the eighteenth century' or endow him with all the virtues of that or of the succeeding age (p. 120), is a real contribution to study; and Miss Rinaker is justified in emphasising its importance.

But the merits of this book are counterbalanced by serious defects, due partly perhaps to the system under which it is produced. We must not blame the authoress too much for lapses in topography, etc. She need not indeed have seen that 'Tewkesbury Abbey, Worcester Cathedral, Westham Church' (? Worcester and Evesham) were unlikely readings; but she might have guessed that 'Rocky Hole' in the Mendips was 'Wooky.' She can be forgiven for writing both Elmham and Elvetham as Elmtham, but not for the deliberate identification of Warton's Rectory of Kiddingtong with the Vicarage of Kidlington which is much nearer Oxford. On the other hand there are numerous errors which are quite gratuitous. Miss Rinaker has filled out 64 pages with a pretentious bibliography of Warton's works and of the printed sources of his *History of English Poetry*. The latter does not seem to be of any use anyhow, and it is not exhaustive: but if the titles as abbreviated in Warton's notes were to be 'completed,' the expansion should have been done carefully and correctly. As it is, besides extraordinary derangements of commas and other stops (such as 'E. Codice, MS.' or 'Flaherty, Mauritius, O':) we have (e.g.) 'St. Johannis Stephanus,' 'Jannes Seldenus,' and 'Johannus Fischerus,' with other forms which indicate a wide ignorance of several languages, such as 'allis scriptoribus,' 'Clementis Stromatae liber,' 'Annales Tacita,' 'in orbo Hyperboreo,' 'ΟΔΝΓΟΣ,' 'ed. bettia,' 'Roterolamus,' 'verbatim,' 'Conuocacyo Hours,' 'Rerum Liturgicam,' 'Uyrgryle,' 'prodromi historiae,' 'monumentorium,' 'rudimentia,' 'praetera,' 'signeur,' 'Descriptis Cambriae,' 'Theocritis,' 'Ecclessiae,' 'Poesi Bassi,' 'cum notas,'

'de vires,' 'notri aevi,' 'Les clarcissement,' 'Ebraecorum,' 'De Origine,' and 'Histoire.'

These slips are pardonable misfortunes; but it is more unfortunate that Miss Rinaker's hero-worship should have led her first to attribute to Warton a character for literary accuracy and integrity which he did not bear without question among his contemporaries, and then to use it to discredit *à priori* the serious charges of fabrication brought against him in the *English Historical Review* twenty years ago. Without giving intelligible details either of these allegations or of the arguments by which they were supported, she dismisses them, as she does all Ritson's animadversions, partly by giving 'great weight to the character of the accused' (that is, to her assertions about it), and partly by the absurd supposition that, as to the alleged extracts from Machyn's Diary, there is 'the possibility of a third person being involved,' while, as to the crucial case of the spurious letter about 'the Princess' Elizabeth and the study of Greek, Warton may have used transcripts made by some one else of papers of which he shared the custody in his own college. But as Warton clearly takes the responsibility for all these statements and for many others that are also open to question, Miss Rinaker can only save her hero's 'general honesty' by impugning his veracity or his sagacity or both. It is however really 'darkening counsel' to dispose in this airy way of reasoned criticism which, though it deals with mystifications of no particular importance or culpability, has some bearing on the value of Warton's *bona fides* as the historian of our early literature. After all, as he says himself, 'there is a solid satisfaction resulting from the detection of artifice and imposture.' Miss Rinaker may be advised to pursue her bibliographical research a little further, and to examine carefully the whole of Warton's citations of the tracts and manuscripts which she has not found either in the Bodleian (or 'Bodlein') or the British Museum. She can then explain any defects she discovers, as she explains Warton's 'slight impediment of speech' (p. 10), by his father's obliquity of vision.

H. E. D. BLAKISTON.

OXFORD.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by Sir A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vol. XII. The Nineteenth Century, I. Cambridge: University Press. 1915. 8vo. xi + 565 pp.

Our debt to the editors and authors of this great syndicate-history is rolling up. Two more volumes finish the actual history, and two more yet, I believe, will contain prose and verse extracts and illustrative matter. This, the twelfth, though published in advance of the thirteenth and fourteenth, 'is not to be regarded as in any other respect separated from them.' The three together 'deal with the literature of the nineteenth century as a whole,' excluding living authors; and must therefore be thought of, in fairness, as one big book.

This is all in order, and under the plan of the *History* is hardly avoidable. The difficulties inherent in that plan are well known, and some of them were well set out a year ago in this journal by the late Mr G. C. Macaulay. The task of selection and allotment, and of so steering the contributors as to prevent both gaps and iterations in the story, is a truly heavy one, though the editors have the example (also in part a warning) of Petit de Julleville before them. The method of assigning the chapters to separate hands (in this volume there are fifteen chapters and twelve authors) has the great merit of enlisting special knowledge, and presumably also of speeding the production. The authors' names appear in the table of contents, but not at the heads of the chapters; a detail which lessens our sense that we are reading a series of monographs. Still, the problem must ever be at once to secure some uniformity of handling and to give the individual critic free play. It is partly lightened by the well-known tendency of contributors to any joint venture unconsciously to write more or less alike. In the *Cambridge History*, however, it would be quite unjust to say that 'a common greyness silvers everything,' though at moments we do murmur to that effect. The stronger writers avert the reproach. The other method is that of the *Storia letteraria d'Italia*, in which an imposing tome, covering a great period, is apportioned to each author. This, I have always felt, is on the whole the best way,—granted the right authors. But let us be thankful for the gift of Cambridge to English scholarship. The writers come from far and wide, but it is Cambridge that has got them together. No one man could pretend to review a volume like this properly, as anyone will feel who has himself tried to work over the ground. You want another, though a smaller, syndicate of reviewers. I therefore take some stray points from certain chapters, making two reserves: first, that for any sins of omission suggested I have no idea whether editor or contributor has to answer; and secondly, that some are made good, as noted below, in whole or part, in volumes XIII and XIV, which have now come to hand and will be noticed hereafter. The broad limiting dates appear to be 1790—1840; but it is duly explained (and no justification is needed) that certain studies, such as those on the divines and the scholars, are here thrown into single chapters without heed of those limitations.

Mr T. F. Henderson's valued work on the *Border Minstrelsy* and on Scottish letters is well known. His chapter on Sir Walter Scott gives the fruits (though he does not advertise the fact) of his own researches on the ballad. On p. 6 he describes the composition of the *Minstrelsy*; the passage is concise, but too long to quote. He does well in saying nothing about the charges made by some writers against Scott's sportsmanship in this matter. They have been met, and there is no case; all that is left is a regret that Scott did not furnish a critical apparatus to the *Minstrelsy* like Mr Henderson's. The literature of the dispute is duly cited in the bibliography. I miss a reference to Scott's own distinction between his express imitations of folk-ballad and his ballad romances—between things like the third part of *Thomas the Rhymer*

and quite different things like *Cadyow Castle*. Mr Henderson's account of the lays is close and admirable, but he rather hurries over the lyrics. Their different levels might have been further discriminated, and the tribute to the rarity of the very best among them is too general. More, too, might have been said of Scott as a critic. Mr Henderson's judgments on the novels seem not to be perfectly harmonious. He speaks well of Scott's 'fecundity, resembling that of nature herself,' in the creation of character; and he says, still better, that 'with him, romance was not primarily the romance of love, but the general romance of human life, of the world and its activities' (p. 23). He duly honours the Lowland Scots, the eccentrics, and some other types of character found in the novels; but is over-cautious in remarking that Sir Walter, 'as a delineator of character, has his strong points.' He has, indeed; and they are seen, often enough, in his kings, and his queens, and his nobles, and his fanatics, and his outlaws, and his Highlanders—the list is a long one. Has Carlyle's notion that 'your Scott fashions them from the skin inwards' impressed Mr Henderson too much? Anyhow, what does it matter where Scott begins, so long as he does *get* 'inwards'? And then some people are all skin, and are all the harder to delineate for that. But Mr Henderson is a true believer; he vindicates, in passing, Scott's descriptive style and landscape, and he enumerates, in no pedantic spirit, those departures in them from the truth of history which Scott cheerfully permitted himself (he did not even observe Lessing's liberal canon for the writer of 'history plays,' that 'only the characters are sacred to him').

The chapters in this volume vary much in respect of the attention that they bestow on biography; sometimes it is taken for granted, sometimes it is given pretty fully. Dr Moorman's sketch of Byron's life is welcome, though the tale is an old one. He does not discuss the scandals, which in a work of this kind is right. They have, however, some bearing on Byron's poetry. Dr Moorman, speaking of *Manfred*, holds that 'all attempts to elucidate the mystery remain frustrate' (p. 48), and his description (p. 31) of Byron's love for Miss Chaworth as 'unrequited' seems to imply the same judgment upon recent theories, as 'not proven'; and there we may well pause, until fresh evidence is put on the table. Dr Moorman's critical remarks, though unobtrusive, should not escape notice. 'He never wholly broke away from the Augustan poetic diction' (p. 40). Childe Harold, in the first two cantos, 'is thrust into the picture as fitfully as the Spenserian archaisms are thrust into the text' (p. 43). I should compare the note of those cantos to a gong rather than to a 'trumpet-call' (p. 45), but that is no matter. The 'alternation between the romantic and the classic mode' (p. 47) in Byron's plays is also freshly elaborated; and Dr Moorman, using a monograph by C. M. Fuess (1912) (of which I plead ignorance), much enhances Byron's debt to that jaunty entertaining poet Casti; whose work, *Il Poema Tartaro*, turns out to have furnished 'the whole *mise-en-scène*, together with many of the incidents, of Juan's adventures at the court of Catherine II of Russia' (p. 55). In this context,

allusion might have been made to William Stewart Rose, Byron's friend and correspondent in verse; his version of Casti's *Gli Animali Parlanti* (which Lord Rochester would have called an 'Allusion') is not named in Mr A. T. Bartholomew's excellent bibliography (p. 422) amongst Rose's works: a list, by the way, which provides material for a theme alien to the purpose of the *History*, namely the foreign influence of Byron. No one has really yet faced this enterprise, but it must be faced some day.

Dr Herford's chapters on Shelley and Keats are bound together by the opening paragraphs (pp. 57—8), in which the likeness and difference of the two poets, and their common contrast with the generation of Coleridge, are drawn out in a luminous way. Room must be found for a few lines; for this kind of comparison and historical perspective is rather markedly absent from the volume. It seems to be nobody's business in particular to note, as from an aeroplane, the big lines of the panorama; perhaps the next volumes will supply the want. But we get suggestive *aperçus* like this:

Both the Shelleyan and the Keatsian vision of beauty are mirrored, finally, in the poetic instrument of expression itself, in their speech and verse. Image and personification, condemned by Wordsworth, reappear in unsurpassed subtlety and splendour. But both are masters, too, of a noble and passionate simplicity. And, in both, the inner rhythm of thought is accompanied and borne out by new and exquisite rhythms of musical verse. The songs of Shelley and the odes of Keats reach the summit of lyric achievement in English (p. 58).

For 'condemned by Wordsworth,' read 'condemned and practised.' The coloured romantic things in Wordsworth (and the good work of Coleridge) lie close behind Shelley and Keats, in varying degree; and this point is made clear both in the remarks on *Alastor* and on the sources (p. 84) of Keats's inspiration. Dr Herford's close-packed, eloquent way of writing is seen to advantage in these chapters, and he manages, while perhaps primarily interested in the thoughts and feelings of the poets, to do justice to their expression. (If the phrase quoted on p. 58 is from Sidney, should it not be 'to make the too much loved earth more lovely'? And if that on p. 89 is from Keats, should it not be 'to load every rift with ore'?) John Hamilton Reynolds, considered as an original poet, has fallen out, whether by chance or otherwise, from the record; he appears in the bibliography to chap. v (again Mr Bartholomew's), p. 422, but in the text is named only as a poetic comrade of Keats. I wish that room could have been found for him (at the cost, if need were, of some of the Pyes and Pollocks) in Mr Saintsbury's chapter on 'Lesser Poets, 1790—1837.' A good plea might also be made for Henry Luttrell, author of *Advice to Julia* and other pleasant things.

But the bibliography, a chronicle not only of lesser stars but of star-dust long extinct and black, shows the difficulty of selection, and here no two students would quite agree. Mr Saintsbury, opening with the group of Rogers, Campbell, and Moore, surveys the uncomfortable time of transition, with Hartley Coleridge and Hood and Praed and Beddoes, and also Clare, to cheer the way. In general, it is just as hard to give

a right valuation of a little poet as of a great one; and the very conscience and skill put into such work leave all the larger openings for difference. Mr Saintsbury leans, as is just, rather to the generous side; it is just, for the shades of Darley and Sir Henry Taylor, and even of Barham, find it hard to bear up against the habitual, or call it the professional, injustice of Time, who takes his revenge, above all, on injudicious puffings and 'revivals.' The 'vaguely diffused, most unboisterous, faintly coloured and perfumed manner' of Thomas Wade (p. 119) is just what merits record. In the same writer's chapter (IX) on 'The Landors, Leigh Hunt, and De Quincey' the same spirit is at work. Many people, one may wager, will ask how many Landors there were. Two only, as generally necessary; but two. Mr Saintsbury is good enough to honour with a note a printed reference by the present writer to Robert Eyres Landor; and indeed it seemed something of a re-discovery. But one is never surprised to find that Swinburne has been beforehand; and it is amusing to find that Jowett, under his auspices, was 'impressed by the noble and pathetic tragedy of the *Earl of Brecon*' (*Studies in Prose and Poetry*, 1897 ed., p. 37). Mr Saintsbury's balanced pages on Walter Savage Landor are a good antidote to Swinburne's ebullience; yet again, were there room, there would be a case to make for paying honours rather less guarded and qualified to the writer of *Enallios and Cymodameia* and of *Æsop and Rhodope*. However, it is granted that there 'is always the chance of coming across that flash and glow of the opal which Landor has in a special manner and measure'; and this is much. As for the pages on De Quincey, they, again, are nicely considered; but they avowedly do not give the full mind of the critic, who has here to avoid the 'technical expatiation' required. Along with them, then, should be read that expatiation, which is ample and enthusiastic, in the *History of English Prose Rhythm*, pp. 306—21.

Chap. VI, on the 'Reviews and Magazines' of the earlier period, by the Hon. A. R. D. Elliot, is a particular and instructive account on the editorial, bibliographical, and social side. But it does not exactly picture the results to literature. That may be part of the plan; but neither does any other hand delineate at length and in one place the figures of Jeffrey, Lockhart, and Maginn, considered as men of *letters* (though there are many scattered allusions). The gap is partly, we find, made good in the concluding volumes, in the case of Maginn, but not in that of Lockhart. While on the subject of omissions, let me complain—always with the same reserves—of the scanty space allowed (8 pp.) to chap. XI on the 'Lesser Novelists.' Within these limits, Mr Harold Child gives a judicious survey of Miss Ferrier, Mrs Shelley, Marryat, and others. But where are Lockhart's novels and Morier's Eastern fiction? They are in the bibliography, but there only. Carleton, the Banims, Lady Morgan, and Gerald Griffin are reserved for vol. XIV. Mr Child also speaks more briefly of John Galt than he merits. He says that Galt's tales 'occupy an important place in fiction,' but finds only ten lines in which to enlarge. In his chapter (X)

on 'Jane Austen' he is much more at ease, and avoids that effusion of praise in which some eminent writers have indulged and which is so quaintly alien to its subject. Mr Child speaks (p. 236) of her 'sound and lively sense, her Greek feeling for balance and proportion'; nothing could be better; and he gives clearly and fully, what is indispensable for a study of her novels, the chronological data.

Chap. VII, by Prof. W. D. Howe of the University of Indiana, describes Hazlitt and is full of careful detail, but is not strong in Hazlitt's own quality of 'gusto.' Of this there is much more in Mr A. Hamilton Thompson's pages upon Lamb (chap. VIII), which show close acquaintance and lively sympathy with a story that cannot become too familiar. They are prevailingly biographical, but the critical passages are in the same spirit. Regard for space leads me to speak too scantily of these chapters, as something must now be said of the latter sections of the volumes, which are not concerned with inventive art—poetry or fiction or essay or fantasia. With the twelfth chapter, on 'The Oxford Movement,' we pass over the frontiers of pure literature; and every critic knows the embarrassment involved. You must either bring in what does not matter to literature, or leave out what matters to thought and its history. Only compromise is possible. I think that Archdeacon Hutton has earned his pilot's certificate here. His sympathies are plain, but they do not tempt him to over-estimate the direct artistic fruits of the 'movement'; though its indirect effect upon letters is made clear enough. As to origins, he sees it as part of the European reaction, signalled by Chateaubriand, 'in the world of letters, in favour of Christianity' (Christianity thus understood, let us say); and he traces the influence of Germany, of Scott, and of Coleridge, on the 'first movers.' Newman, as a personal influence and a writer, is of course in the centre of the picture; Archdeacon Hutton is not blind to the rhetorical cast and the 'obvious aiming at effect' of the later sermons. Some of us find more barren waste spaces in Newman at all times than one could reasonably expect Archdeacon Hutton to admit; it is a question of the substance as well as of the form. Less familiar to most readers of to-day will be the figures of Isaac Williams, John Mason Neale, John Hungerford Pollen, and even R. C. Trench; but all merit, and here receive, a word in the chronicle of letters. A remark is given (p. 254) to J. A. Froude, which in Mark Pattison's *Memoirs*, 1885, p. 210, is assigned to A. P. Stanley, who 'once said to me, "How different the fortunes of the Church of England might have been if Newman had been able to read German!"'

Chap. XIII, by the Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, on 'The Growth of Liberal Theology,' is still more a history of ideas, and it includes writers like Thomas Arnold and Seeley (but without mention of *Natural Religion*). It is a lucid sketch of the evangelicals, of the 'noetics,' and of some of the later liberals. It also contains a welcome tribute to the much-reviled Renn Dickson Hampden, who had a true though not a clear prescience of scientific method in theological study (p. 286). Then come Jowett and Stanley; and Jowett reappears on

p. 333 as a translator. Another sub-divided worthy is Mark Pattison, who is named now as a divine and now as a Renaissance scholar; but we have to turn to vol. XIV for justice to his *Memoirs* and criticisms.

Chap. XIV, by the Master of Peterhouse, is devoted to 'Writers on Ancient and Early Ecclesiastical History.' A note of rightful generosity is struck at once in the pages on Thomas Arnold: the phrase, 'that inborn modesty which was part of his constant homage to truth,' just expresses Arnold's temper as a historian, though it would hardly fit him as a disputant. There is a full and attractive account of Thirlwall and Grote, of Milman and Freeman (who as a modern historian reappears in a later volume). I could wish that Dr Ward had spared yet more room for the unique Finlay. Dr Ward gives him an appreciative page (314—5), and well terms him 'this single-minded and noble-hearted student'; but he does not mention, what I hope he will approve our admiring, Finlay's surprising, almost Thucydidean power of political observation and *pensée*. The strong-souled, never cheap liberalism that could weather the study of modern Greek history and also the experience of an Athenian revolution was proof against anything.

I am still less qualified to notice the last chapter, on 'Scholars, Antiquarians, and Bibliographers,' by Sir John Sandys. It fills fifty pages, and its bibliography forty-four pages. It is a great magazine of information, set in order for the first time; and the historian of classical scholarship has made it as attractive as his densely-packed material will allow. But one suggestion may be tendered, which applies to the whole book. Why not present at length, for the modern period at any rate, the literature of English translation, whenever that translation is English literature? Taking Greek alone, Jowett's *Plato* (not to name Shelley's versions), and Frere's *Aristophanes*, and Worsley's *Odyssey*, and Walter Headlam's poems from Meleager, are much better English than scores of the original works which have to be chronicled. Let us see them all together; they form a noble series. (A number of them, however, I find appreciatively named in vol. XIII by Mr Saintsbury.)

The bibliographies, as usual, are invaluable; they will save untold labour to students; such a digest is nowhere else to be found. Those that are not signed are, I take it, by the authors of the corresponding chapters; others are by Mr A. T. Bartholomew and Mr G. A. Brown; Prof. J. G. Robertson contributes an important one (supplementary) on the relations of English with European letters; Canon Ollard a very full one on the Oxford movement. These lists constitute not the least of the services rendered by the *History*.

Some small extra *corrigenda* may be added. P. 148 note, for *Half Hours* read *Hours*; p. 240, for 'Eliot' read 'Elliot'; p. 295, for 'symbolised' read 'sympathised'; on p. 559, read *Ecce Homo*. A Russian 'P' is misprinted for 'L' on p. 397, and a Russian 'z' for 'e' on p. 385.

OLIVER ELTON.

This useful anthology is about half the size of the author's *Oxford Book of German Verse*. It contains sufficient material to form a very acceptable text-book for University classes. The omission of names like Neander, Brockes, Feuchtersleben, Dreves, Allmers, Leuthold, etc. is not a matter for much regret. New numbers, notably Meyer's *Der gleitende Purpur* and Simrock's *Der Rattenfänger von Hameln*, are very welcome. We regret the retention of comparatively immature work like Schiller's *Die Schlacht* and *An die Freude*, especially when *Das Lied von der Glocke* and *Die Erwartung* had to be cut out. The intention is obvious, but one really cannot, in a book of this compass, give any idea of the development even of the greater poets. The Volkslied is somewhat sparsely represented, and Mörike has been reduced from twenty-eight to twelve numbers. The compression, of course, had to be accomplished somehow, and on the whole it is ably done. We would suggest, for a second edition, a few examples from Liliencron's successors, notably Nietzsche, Dehmel and Hofmannsthal. The notes are the work of a skilled hand. Some few are superfluous: 'guld'nen = goldenen'; 'die Strasse ziehen = auf der Strasse gehen'; 'erbleichen = sterben'; 'Sünden erlassen = Sünden vergeben'; 'den Schöpfer dein = deinen Schöpfer'; but on the whole the editor gives just what is needed, accurately and without wasting words. The introductory sketch of the growth of the German lyric forms interesting reading. That on German metre, which differs, as the author says, in many points from the traditional view, will probably be received with some reserve. The stumbling-block to many will be the extent to which Fiedler carries the use of Auftakt. German blank verse is to him, without exception, 'ein fünftaktiger Vers mit Auftakt.' He scans Lessing's line

thus: $\times / ' \times / ' \times / ' \times / ' \times / '$

Mein Vater, mein Vater, und hörst du nicht

$\times /' \times \quad \times /' \times \quad \times /' \times \quad \times /'$

16—2

considered. First, there is an inherent, perhaps subtle, but very important difference between the iambic and the trochaic measures of the great poets. We see them passing, in the same poem, from the one to the other consciously and with telling effect. We hold that so-called iambic movement, even in its simplest form, as in the beat of a hammer on an anvil, is different, both in itself and in its effect upon the ear, from so-called trochaic movement. And this difference is not adequately or correctly represented by saying that the one measure has *Auftakt*, while the other is without it. In the second place a system of German metre cannot disregard historical practice. When, for example, Schiller frankly speaks of the blank verse of his *Don Carlos* and *Wallenstein* as 'Die Iamben,' is it scientific or helpful to say, 'Oh, no, these are not iambics, but *fünftaktige Verse mit Auftakt*'? We cannot always find out how a poet scanned his lines, but when we do know, then that settles the question for most lovers of poetry.

JOHN LEES.

ABERDEEN.

Goethe's Poems. Selected and annotated, with a Study of the Development of Goethe's Art and View of Life in his Lyrical Poetry. By MARTIN SCHÜTZE. Boston: Ginn and Co. 1916. 8vo. lxxxi + 277 pp.

This selection of Goethe's poems is arranged in a capricious order under such groupings as 'The Twelve Greatest Songs,' 'Songs of Individual Import,' 'Gesellige Lieder,' 'Folksongs,' 'Narrative Poems' (beginning with ballads and ending with *Alexis und Dora*), 'Odes' (which include the *Elegie*), 'Man and the Universe' (including poems of all kinds and periods), 'Sprüche,' etc. To say nothing of the mixture of English and German titles, this scheme leads to chaos in the study of Goethe's development. The reason given by the editor is that 'the imaginative and spontaneous reader who is forced to travel by the chronological road is fatigued before he completes the first stage of his journey.' In that case he had better leave the serious study of Goethe alone. Most readers, we should fancy, will be more fatigued by the eighty pages of Schütze's Introduction. All through the book the author's language is frequently non-English, frequently unintelligible. Speaking of Goethe in the social milieu of Lili Schönemann, he says, 'He was often imposed upon and silenced.' Is the writer thinking of *imponieren*? He calls Mignon an 'exquisite waif' and the 'guiltless result of an offence against nature.' *Hermann und Dorothea* is a 'burgher idyl.' He speaks of 'Goethe's gift of assimilating and transforming into beauty the intimations and failures of others.' Does 'intimations' stand for *Eingebungen*? Contrasting the songs of the Strassburg and the Weimar periods he says of the latter, 'Less momentous in substance, though not in subjects, they push further the subjective pressure of their modes of statement.' Or again, 'Goethe has not

succeeded in informing with the spirit of the remainder of the poem the petty and annoying actuality of his relations,' etc.

The whole tendency of Schütze's edition is to heap up criticism, old and new, rather than to be explanatory or helpful. And the criticism, when new, is often pedantic and purblind. The remarks on Anacreontic Poetry (pp. xix—xx) are very misleading. The comments on *An den Mond*, both in the Introduction and the Notes, are simply exasperating. 'The last two stanzas, in spite of their verbal beauty, represent Goethe's farthest lyrical descent towards spiritual barrenness.' In the latter part of the poem there is 'a sudden, shocking change of focus.' Why 'shocking'? And really there is no change of focus at all; already in the second verse we find mention of the bliss of friendship:

Wie des Freundes Auge mild
Über mein Geschick.

We think it a mistake to try to build up Goethe's 'view of life' from the few poems given under the heading 'Man and the Universe.' It is bound to be incomplete and frequently strains the general sense of the poems. The page and a half devoted to Goethe's 'metres' is ridiculously inadequate. On the other hand the notes are generally far too long, as on p. 226, where the editor tells the whole story of Paris and the golden apple to explain a stanza (p. 61) which needs no explanation.

Teachers and students in this country would be grateful for an edition of Goethe's Poems. But it might, we think, contain all the lyrics. Use should be made of Goethe's own hints and statements about his lyrics and lyrical method. The Introduction should give a clear view of the development of the poet. Several very important elements in Goethe's lyrical growth, e.g., the Hans Sachs studies, the dithyrambic tendency, the influence of the Italian Journey, his attitude to the Folksong and to nature at different periods, the influence of his critical friends, his humour, etc. are hardly touched upon by Schütze at all.

JOHN LEES.

ABERDEEN.

Friedrich Hölderlin, Gesammelte Werke. Herausgegeben von WILHELM BÖHM. Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Drei Bände. Jena: E. Diederichs. 1909—1911. 8vo. cxix + 331 pp.; 402 pp.; and 436 pp.

Hölderlin, Sämtliche Werke. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe unter Mitarbeit von FRIEDRICH SEEBASS, besorgt durch NORBERT VON HELLINGRATH. v. Bd. *Übersetzungen und Briefe*, 1800—1806. Munich: Georg Müller. 1913. 8vo. xii + 368 pp.

Friedrich Hölderlins Sämtliche Werke und Briefe. Kritisch-historische

Ausgabe von FRANZ ZINKERNAGEL. II. Bd. *Hyperion. Aufsatz-Entwürfe*. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag. 1914. 8vo. 434 pp.

Hölderlins Werke. Herausgegeben von MARIE JOACHIMI-DEGE. (*Goldene Klassiker-Bibliothek*.) Berlin: Bong and Co. [1908]. 8vo. lxxxiii + 840 pp.

Side by side with rampant militarism and naked materialism are to be found to-day in Germany many signs of a strong revival of interest in the literature of idealism that flourished at the close of the eighteenth century and drew its inspiration, in part from the writings of Kant and Schiller, in part from the French Revolution, in part from ancient Greece. This interest is inevitably drawn to Hölderlin who, despite his aloofness, emerges more and more, in the light of historical research, both as a typical representative of this unpractical but inspiring spiritual movement and as a poet who attained new heights of classicism in literary form mingled with romanticism in feeling. A wide popular interest should be met by the *Goldene Klassiker-Ausgabe*; though less scholarly than the still indispensable Cotta edition by B. Litzmann it contains much of the new matter brought to light by Böhm and Zinkernagel. The latter's critical edition reserves all notes and apparatus for the final volume, but on *Hyperion* we have his valuable *Entwicklungsgeschichte* (*Quellen und Forschungen*, xcix, 1907). W. Böhm's Introduction (*Gesammelte Werke*, Bd. I) is full of suggestion; his good work on the essays and translations has paved the way for the more ambitious editors. A joint edition by von Hellingsrath, Zinkernagel and Böhm might have proved definitive. As it is, our knowledge of Hölderlin has to be derived from four or five editions. In the same way there are now numerous special inquiries, chiefly dissertations, but no comprehensive 'Life and Works.' We are, however, grateful for the admirable essay by Wilhelm Dilthey which rounds off *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung* (3rd ed., 1910); and the same writer's *Jugendgeschichte Hegels* (1905) is invaluable for the general influences of the period.

Hölderlin's juvenile poems are imitative and of no intrinsic value. In the Tübingen theological 'Stift' (1788—1793) he developed rapidly. His *Hymnen an die Ideale der Menschheit* represent 'die höchste künstlerische Leistung dieser früheren Jahre' (Dilthey); they are the direct outcome of his contact with the works of Kant, Rousseau, Heinse and Schiller. They have enough unity of feeling and imagination to absorb many other elements drawn from Greek and modern sources and fuse them into the single concept of a 'weltumfassende Liebe.' The formula *ἐν καὶ πάν*, from Jacobi's *Letters on Spinoza*, is Hölderlin's motto in Hegel's album. Even before the regular *Hymnen*, we find this philosophy as the essential content of the *Lied der Liebe* (1789 or 1790), one of the few poems that foreshadow his later power and individuality. But in the rest we feel the construction and mode of expression, fervid as the latter is, over-rhetorical, artificial, imitative of Schiller, and at bottom alien to the true lyrical genius of the writer. One point Dilthey rightly emphasizes: the young Hölderlin has more faith than Schiller

in the future of mankind. Pantheism and neo-Hellenism merge with the great hopes raised by the French Revolution and the renaissance of idealism due to Kant: 'die Schöpfungsstunde der Freiheit schien ihm gekommen und das griechische Heldentum wiederkehrt in den französischen Revolutionshelden.' Like Dilthey, Emil Lehmann in a valuable 'Programm' on these *Hymnen* (Landskron, 1909) supposes, without convincing proof, that they form a cycle which was 'als ein Ganzes gedacht.' He also lays stress on the poet's debt to Leibniz.

The 'griechische Roman,' *Hyperion*, seems to have been begun in 1792, the year of the last three *Hymnen*. The various stages of its growth are laid bare for us in Zinkernagel's masterly, though sometimes rather hypothetical, *Entwicklungsgeschichte*. The results of this inquiry form the foundation of his new *Hyperion*-text. For his possible reply to criticisms of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte* we must wait for the final volume of his edition. However, his main results are not to be seriously disputed. It may be accepted that of *Hyperion* in its first form we have nothing left. The metrical version, a mere fragment, belongs to the Jena period and is later than the *Thalia* version. The theories of the 'Rahmenerzählung' and the *Lovell* (now *Lowell*) version are retained in the face of some strong adverse criticism. I agree with Marie Joachimi-Dege that the former is extremely hard to accept. Böhm and Dilthey both appear to have been won over to it, but they do not give their reasons.

In his *Hyperion*, as Zinkernagel shows us, Hölderlin 'erscheint in ganz besonderem Masse als Kind seiner Zeit.' Kant, Herder, Jacobi, Goethe, all have some influence on this 'Bildungsgeschichte.' To these should be added Rousseau, Ossian, Matthisson, Heinse, Winckelmann and W. von Humboldt.

Far more vital are the influences, clearly discernible at every stage, of Schiller's philosophical essays and Plato's dialogues. Besides these must also be set the influence of Fichte, first apparent in the metrical version, and probably that of Schelling on the final revision. As to Schelling, opinions are still divided. Dilthey, who planned, but did not live to carry out, a much needed study of Hölderlin's philosophical development, seems to have become reconciled to Zinkernagel's account of the matter. But he sees Hölderlin's pantheism or 'All-Einheitslehre' in every stage of the novel from the *Thalia*-fragment on and roundly declares: "Der Pantheismus Hölderlins war sonach dem Schellings ganz heterogen. Seine äusseren Bedingungen lagen in der allgemeinen literarischen und dichterischen Bewegung der Zeit... In ihr entwickelte sich die pantheistische Weltanschauung. Und dieser kam nun die dichterische Eigenart Hölderlins entgegen." (*Das Erlebnis*, etc., p. 409.)

What, then, are Hölderlin's characteristics as a poet? Even within the last few years the attempt has again been made to deny his essential romanticism of temper. R. M. Meyer admits points of contact, but declares: 'er gehört der Romantik nicht an, und nicht ihrer Weltanschauung.' Recent studies, however, show his very close kinship with the Romantic philosophers, especially with Schelling and Hegel; and

nearly the whole weight of these investigations goes to prove that, while Hölderlin attained to formal classicism in his later lyrics, he remained in temperament a romanticist, though 'with a difference.' Leo Cholevius in his *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen* (Part II, 1856, p. 423) seized the essential point when he stated that Hölderlin was 'Romantiker als Hellenist,' and Robert Petsch in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (Bd. XLII, pp. 501 f.) clinches the matter when he says regarding the 'Auseinandersetzung der Romantiker mit Goethe': 'Alle gegensätze gehen schliesslich auf den ersten grund-gegensatz zwischen Kants dualismus und Fichte-Schellings monismus zurück. Für die romantik gibt es keine kluft zwischen ideal und wirklichkeit....'

It is true that Hölderlin, like his Hyperion, discovered this 'Kluft' by painful experience. But the discovery led him to no 'unity of the ideal with the real.' On the contrary, it killed his faith in humanity, at least in modern German humanity, and led him to that terrible denunciation of his fellow-countrymen as 'Barbaren von alters her, durch Fleiss und Wissenschaft und selbst durch Religion barbarischer geworden' (*Werke*, ed. B. Litzmann, II, 98) which now seems prophetic, but is, in part, a condemnation of all modern civilisation. So in the final paean of *Hyperion* 'Kulturmüdigkeit' mingles with the austere optimism of the true mystic in the apostrophe beginning:

O Seele! Seele! Schönheit der Welt! du unzerstörbare! du entzückende! mit deiner ewigen Jugend! du bist; was ist denn der Tod und alles Wehe der Menschen?—Ach! viel der leeren Worte haben die Wunderlichen gemacht. Geschiehet doch alles aus Lust, und endet doch alles mit Frieden.

More obvious perhaps than his connection with the Romantic poets is Hölderlin's kinship with the Romantic philosophers. On the former the dissertations by Lothar Böhme (*Die Landschaft in den Werken Hölderlins und Jean Pauls*, Leipzig, 1908) and Oskar Baumgarten (*Nietzsche-Hölderlin*, Berne, 1910) are very useful. The latter is well illustrated by the fragmentary *Philosophische Versuche*, mainly rediscovered by W. Böhm. Of these there was only a hint in C. T. Schwaß's second volume (1846), which contained a short version of *Der Homerische Achill*. Zinkernagel has arranged these *Aufsätze* under two heads, *Zur Philosophie* (26 pp.) and *Zur Aesthetik* (73 pp.). A few belong to the Frankfort years, the rest were apparently written in Homburg. Such lengthy fragments as *Der Gesichtspunkt, aus dem wir das Altertum anzusehen haben* and *Über religiöse Vorstellungen*, though resembling laboratory experiments, are extremely suggestive. Classified by Zinkernagel under *Aphoristisches* is the following characteristic confession:

In guten Zeiten giebt es selten Schwärmer. Aber wenns dem Menschen an grossen reinen Gegenständen fehlt, dann schafft er irgend ein Phantom aus dem und jenem, und drückt die Augen zu, dass er dafür sich interessieren kann, und dafür leben.

This surely is the quintessence of German Romanticism. (Cf. R. M. Meyer, *Die deutsche Literatur des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, 3rd ed., 1906, p. 11.)

To the subtle and closely woven arguments in the longer fragments 'zur Aesthetik,' I can here merely call attention. They will repay most careful reading.

N. von Hellingrath's study of Hölderlin's Pindar versions (*Sämtliche Werke*, vol. v. *Vorwort and Pindarübertragungen von Hölderlin*, Prolegomena zu einer Erstausgabe, Münchener Diss., 1910) is in my view by far the best effort yet made to appreciate Hölderlin's latest style, which is very marked in his translations from Sophocles (*Antigone*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, fragment from the *Ajax*) and Pindar (six Olympian and ten Pythian odes). Dilthey called attention to the unusual economy of this style. Hellingrath finds in both Pindar and his translator very striking examples of ἀρμονία αὐστηρά or 'harte Fügung,' as he translates this term borrowed from the Hellenistic rhetoricians. This style is not easy: the poet 'tut alles das Wort selbst zu betonen... So von schwerem Wort zu schwerem Wort reisst diese Dichtart den Hörer.' But the result is magnificent. Hölderlin's knowledge of Greek is, at times, curiously inaccurate, but the spirit and form of the original are wonderfully preserved. Worthy of a place beside Hyperion's 'Schicksalslied' are the lines from the second Olympian (ll. 109—122 of Heyne's edition):

Gleich aber in Nächten allezeit,
Und gleich in den Tagen, eine Sonne
Geniessend, müheloser
Trefliche wandeln ein Leben,
Nicht das Erdreich verwüstend
Mit Gewalt der Hände
Noch das Meeresgewässer,
Über jene Vorschrift hinaus. Aber
Bei den Geehrten
Der Götter, welche sich erfreuen
An Eidestreue
Thränenlos wandeln sie
Eine Zeit. Die aber unabsehbar
Ertragen Arbeit.

The translations from Sophocles show the same pregnancy and beauty. Some passages are obscure, but there are few if any signs of the poet's insanity which the pathologists tell us began in 1801. He was spared to introduce a new standard of translation to a new century. As M. Challemeil-Lacour wrote fifty years ago in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (15 juin, 1867): 'Il est de la famille des Pindare et des Alcée, gardiens des traditions, interprètes des pensées divines, chantres des puissances d'en haut.' Hellingrath's edition is especially worthy of its contents, a joy to handle and behold.

MARSHALL MONTGOMERY.

OXFORD.

D. José de Espronceda; su *Época, su Vida y sus Obras*. Por JOSÉ CASCALES MUÑOZ. Biblioteca Hispania. Madrid, 1914. 350 pp.

The greatest of modern Spanish poets has in the past been but poorly served by the biographers who have attempted to sing his praises and to tell his story,—in both cases with more enthusiasm than discrimination. In many ways Sr. Cascales, whose recent studies in the *Revue hispanique* have now been expanded into a book of serious proportions, differs from his predecessors.

While the new biographer seems at times to accept uncritically unproved statements made by his predecessors (for instance the material based upon Ferrer del Río and Rodríguez Solís, pp. 96—98), he brings them to book very severely and properly when occasion arises, for example in correcting Ferrer on page 106, and in giving the finishing touch to Cortón's delusion (already disproved¹) concerning a *Sancho Saldaña* in one volume. For his own original contributions Cascales has searched every nook and corner,—parish churches, manuscripts in the National Library, official archives in Spain and Portugal. In the appendix we find an interesting and important collection of documents,—reports of work at school (signed by Lista), unpublished letters, Escosura's *Reminiscences*, and many others. The list of periodicals for which Espronceda wrote (p. 110) should have included the all-important *Artista*: and some statement should have been made to indicate that the manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional have already been published².

The result of all this investigation is the most complete and best documented biography of Espronceda that we have yet had. But completeness sometimes leads to prolixity. We could have dispensed with the story of the beginnings of constitutional and journalistic liberty in Hungary, with details of Napoleon's activities before Espronceda was even born, and with the several sentences imposed upon ten different individuals (full names given) when the poet was but seven years old (p. 30; cf. also p. 31). Similar padding occurs on pages 164 and following, where we get full details about the removal of the poet's body in 1902. Likewise on pages 218 and following; where we find a veritable album of more or less irrelevant *juicios críticos*.

An unfortunate misapprehension of the facts is displayed on page 242, where Sr. Cascales has understood another to speak thus of Byron: 'En la lucha de los clásicos y de los románticos, Byron se declaró desde un principio partidario de los *segundos*.' Misprints are numerous, especially in the case of foreign words³.

We may now undertake to point out the more important contribu-

¹ *Revue hispanique*, xvii, p. 773.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 704—740.

³ For instance: Pamploma (p. 32); Talleyrad-Fouché, Decases (p. 90); Villele (p. 91); hotel, Comislón (p. 93); Hellerman (p. 96); noseguir (p. 99); 814 (for 1814, p. 105); Casemiro de la Vigné (p. 108); fines (p. 146: this is repeated); financieros (p. 147); Espronceda (p. 151); cuauco (p. 173); excepticismo (p. 186); Pepita Giménez (p. 212); Gulbeyar (p. 246); Foulche Delbosc (p. 251); ou (p. 255); Modern Language Notes, Jamary (p. 260); Britich Museum (p. 263); Woscester (p. 270). Note 3 on p. 110 is faulty.

tions of this biographer to our knowledge of Espronceda's career. The correct date and place of the poet's birth are convincingly discussed (pp. 36 and 38), but the critical reader may feel that he could have spared the remarks about Muñoz Rodríguez, who seems to have had the good fortune to be born under 'similar conditions' and to have been dragged in for no other reason (p. 44). Supposedly an only child, José de Espronceda is shown to have had two brothers and one sister (pp. 45, 46); his father and mother had both been married before (p. 46); a good course of study is testified to by Alberto Lista (p. 58); important additions to the story of his boyhood are gleaned from the records of the Academia del Mirto, published by the Marquis of Jerez de los Caballeros (pp. 130 sq.); the supposed poverty of the Espronceda family is rendered dubious (pp. 69, 118); the poet is shown to have been in Brussels as well as in Paris and London (p. 87).

The physical Espronceda is revealed to us by the reproduction of a pastel that once belonged to his daughter Blanca and is now owned by the grand-daughter, Doña Luz de la Escosura y Espronceda de Núñez de Arenas; from which source we also have a portrait in oil (likewise reproduced) of Teresa Mancha y Arrayal, the poet's mistress. Sr. Cascales delivers several body blows at the traditional portrait of the moral (or rather the immoral) Espronceda (pp. 173 sq.). 'The legend of his vices,' the author thinks, is due to the stupidity of his early biographers, who endeavoured to paint him as the typical romantic, and also to his own desire to pose. Thus the harmless dandy, good Catholic and victim of women, becomes the revolutionary, the deist, the heartless seducer. As against the tradition may be set the testimony of contemporaries such as Escosura and Valera. Apparently we must distinguish poetic moods from the emotions of the real man,—just as we must in Byron's case. Possibly this argument is overdone; the facts of Espronceda's life may fairly weaken the assertion that he was but an 'apparent revolutionary' (p. 188), and the plea that his ardour for the militia was mild because he railed at military glory in a very Byronic bit of mockery (quite possibly Byronic self-mockery) is not convincing.

So with the question of religion. Too much weight should not be given to the piety of his parents nor to the Christian words spoken over his tomb; his would not be the first case of the doubter who is formally correct in birth, marriage and death. Evidence of Espronceda's piety drawn from his writings is more convincing; but what of conflicting evidence from the same source? Probably Espronceda was, like Byron, uncertain himself.

No mention is made of the poet's presence in England in 1832, as evidenced by the date of the poem *A Matilde*¹. Possibly he went there with Teresa when he so mysteriously disappeared from his hotel in Paris in 1831 (p. 80). At any rate we are indebted to Sr. Cascales for new and interesting light upon the affair with Teresa (pp. 76 sq.).

The supposed Byronic influence upon Espronceda is dismissed with some disdain. In the first place it is assumed that compatriots of

¹ Cf. *Revue hispanique*, xx, p. 10, note 1.

Byron have exaggerated this influence through a silly literary chauvinism. Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly, we are told, 'se complace en exagerar la supuesta influencia que este ejerció sobre el vate extremeño' (p. 214); the error has been persisted in by other critics, 'sobre todo los de raza o lengua inglesa' (p. 239); deductions made from the myth are especially important when 'confessed by an Anglo-American whose tongue is Byron's.' The last mentioned (the author of *Byron and Espronceda*¹) 'loyally confesses' the differences between the poets, which, we learn, he has discovered 'without searching,'—though we are not informed how Sr. Cascales made sure that this critic was not searching for all the relevant facts. Apparently, however, only those facts that emphasize Espronceda's independence are welcome.

Now patriotism may make excellent soldiers, but it is apt to embarrass the critic. It is not absolutely safe to assume that the prejudice of race or tongue will make a twentieth-century American the blind partisan of Lord Byron; nor is criticism which seems a shade over-anxious to prove that its hero dealt in subjects 'netamente españoles' (p. 224) and to 'defend him against slanderers and ignoramuses' (p. 258) likely to inspire confidence. The very word 'plagios' is an absurdity; nobody has suggested more than great influence and frequent imitation (which may have been unconscious for the most part); nothing half so damaging has been said by critics 'de lengua inglesa' as they have said about their own great dramatist 'who never invented a plot.' The caricature of critical methods on page 257, and the odd statement that Espronceda has been accused of imitating those who really imitated him and of borrowing from poems that were written after the supposed imitations (p. 256) do not help the case much.

It is asserted that Espronceda could not have 'plagiarized' from anyone because his inborn lawlessness would have prevented him from subjecting himself to any model (p. 258). This and other such remarks (cf. p. 234) testify to some confusion of mind concerning the whole matter of imitation and originality. Creative imitation, sometimes perhaps the unconscious overflowing from a memory saturated,—this is the sort of Byronism that critics have found in Espronceda; slavish imitation, line upon line, is so rare as to be insignificant. 'Plagiarism' was assuredly not in the mind of the critic who first showed that the *Himno al Sol* is a splendid elaboration in verse of a passage from Ossian².

Of this Ossianic borrowing Cascales remarks that it is the only 'plagio' that can be found in Espronceda's work, and this is not really such because the Spaniard outdoes the 'bardo británico' in poetic merit. 'That Espronceda knew Byron and that he admired him,' our biographer admits, 'is obvious, since two lines from the fourth canto of *Don Juan* are placed at the head of the second part of *El Estudiante de Salamanca*. But here the imitations end' (p. 233). Escosura's contrary conviction is rather too summarily dismissed, and far too much is made

¹ *Revue hispanique*, xx, pp. 5-210.

² *Modern Language Notes*, xxiii, 1.

of Espronceda's isolated assertion of his supreme admiration for Tasso, which need in no way have excluded closer spiritual kinship with other poets.

In dealing with the study called *Byron and Espronceda* Cascales has relied too much upon a mere synopsis communicated to him. A careful reading of this essay would have made clear to him that its author treated the apparent similarities between *Sardanapalus* and *Pelayo* as creating little more than a tempting possibility; but it is puerile to go so far in the denial of possible relationship as to say that the likeness is limited to the kingly rank of the two heroes. In short, though Sr. Cascales shows a passion for detail elsewhere, he brushes aside the evidence upon this matter of Byronism with a few generalities. Instead of proclaiming, 'No he de entrar a discutir el valor de estas coincidencias,' he should examine the facts and produce his evidence, or else not attempt to confute those who have done so.

Inasmuch as such stalwart scepticism will probably yield to nothing short of mathematical demonstration, there will be little profit in referring it to the general Byronic spirit of such passages as those about 'the end of fame' and the bust that is to perpetuate it¹, nor to the lines on the 'sweets of life²,' which, however, others may find interesting. A few more concrete cases may hold our attention for a moment.

First in regard to *Jarifa*. Cascales is satisfied with the dogmatic assertion that this poem cannot have undergone external literary influence because the episode was a real experience (p. 247), without so much as raising the question whether Shakespeare and Byron could have helped a poet to express his personal emotions. When originally discussed this case was stated with extreme caution, but it may at least interest us to know that the hint regarding the use of one of the Shakespearian sonnets came from Menéndez y Pelayo and that the decision as to which sonnet the great scholar had in mind was reached by an objective study of the poems themselves: something of a coincidence for a mere illusion.

The *Canción del Pirata*, we are told, is like *The Corsair* in the initial idea alone (p. 247), 'which could have occurred to each poet independently.' Let the sceptical reader compare the two poems for himself, remembering that Byron practically calls his opening stanza 'the song of the Corsair,' and that even Valera admits imitation here (see Cascales, p. 210).

The investigator has had to wrest the evidence, thinks Cascales, in order to show that Espronceda's *A una Estrella* was influenced by Byron. In the *Hebrew Melodies* one finds these lines:

Sun of the sleepless! melancholy star!
Whose tearful beam glows tremulously far,
That show'st the darkness thou canst not dispel,
How like art thou to Joy remembered well!
So gleams the past, the light of other days, etc.

¹ Cf. *Revue hispanique*, xx, pp. 184-6.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 187 sq.

Is it mere fancy to find an echo of this in the following?

¿Quién eres tú, lucero misterioso,
tímido y triste entre luceros mil,
que cuando miro tu esplendor dudoso
turbado siento el corazon latir?

Y ahora melancólico me miras
y tu rayo es un dardo del pesar...

¡Ay, lucero! yo te ví
resplandecer en mi frente,
cuando palpar sentí
mi corazon dulcemente
con amante frenesí.

Tu faz entonces lucía
con mas brillante fulgor, etc.

Even the striking similarity between Doña Julia's letter of farewell (*Don Juan*, I, 192 sq.) and Elvira's letter in *El Estudiante de Salamanca* seems to be minimized by Cascales. He would appear to imply that there is not much likeness beyond their having the same number of stanzas. To any sharing this view one might quote the following four lines:

And so farewell—forgive me, love me—No,
That word is idle now—but let it go.

Ámame: no, perdona: ¡inútil ruego!
á Dios, á Dios, ¡tu corazon perdí!

And that is only part of the story; for, passing over other similarities throughout these two letters, we find a suspicious likeness to another sentiment of Julia's in quite another part of Espronceda's verse. Julia writes:

Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,
'Tis a Woman's whole existence.

In the *Diablo Mundo* are these lines:

Tú el espíritu, amor, tú eres la vida
de la muger que en tu ilusion se ceba: ...
el viento en remolinos sacudida
acá y allá inconstante el alma lleva
del hombre, y pasajero devaneo
eres no mas de su primer deseo.

More could be quoted to the same effect, much more than may be included in a review. For those interested the evidence is readily accessible. The gist of the matter is this: That Espronceda can be proved, even to Sr. Cascales, to have known, admired and occasionally utilized Byron; that to the rest of us he can be pretty plausibly shown to have used Byron often and to have been under his general influence in many a passage. Beyond this there is no question of 'plagios.' Profound influence does not impair originality. Espronceda was no less himself, no less a Spaniard, because the most famous English poet of his day more than once stimulated his genius.

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MINOR NOTICES.

Dr R. E. Zachrisson long since laid all students of English place-names under a deep obligation by his *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-Names*. Professional duties have prevented the completion of that work, but in the meantime he has brought out a little pamphlet *Two Instances of French Influence on English Place-Names* (Uppsala, 1914), which is well worthy of attention. In his preface he distinguishes between those place-names which owe their French peculiarities to oral use and those which owe their form to the fact that they were assimilated to French forms in writing, were in fact 'English loan-words in the French language.' The former constitute by far the larger class. They established themselves because they were considered the most correct and the most fashionable. With them Dr Zachrisson concerned himself in his larger book. In the present pamphlet he deals with two cases which he believes to be due largely to peculiarities of French spelling. They are (i) loss of medial *t*, *d* in such names as Taynton, Glouc., earlier *Tatintun*, *Teynton*, Sneinton, Notts., earlier *Notintone*, *Snointon*, *Snodigton*, or before *l* and *r* in such forms as *Belington*, *Wallinghe Stret* for *Bidlington*, *Watling Street*; (ii) omission and addition of *r*, (*a*) before a consonant as in *Omesbi* for Ormsby, (*b*) finally as in *Raculvre* (i.e. Reculver) for earlier *Raculf*. (In further illustration of loss of *d* before *l* we may quote *Bedlington*, *Nthb.*, *Bellingtona* 1135—54, *Bellingeton* 1203, *Bellington* 1228, 1335.) It is impossible within the limits of this notice to discuss Dr Zachrisson's view of the origin of these changes. Stated briefly they are that the scribe found such forms as *Todintun*, *Tetindun* in a document which he had to copy, took these symbols to represent [ð] as in French, and since medial [ð] ceased to be pronounced very soon after the Conquest, he often omitted *t*, *d* in the spelling and perhaps never pronounced them. These forms without dental soon came to be used by other Frenchmen and eventually carried the day by being adopted also by the English. Loss of *t* and *d* before *r*, *l* is due to the absence of such sound-combinations in French, while the fluctuating use of *r* is due to the very weak character of O. Fr. *r* before a consonant and finally.

A. M.

Dr E. N. S. Thompson tells us that most of the material of his *John Milton: Topical Bibliography* (New Haven, U.S.A. and London: H. Milford, 1916) was collected by him for his own use when engaged on his *Essays on Milton*, recently reviewed in these pages. The list is 'selective,' he says, rather than 'complete,' but it aims at including all books and articles of importance bearing on different phases of Milton's life and thought and on his different works. Under each head the works are arranged chronologically. The author modestly says that the compilation proved of assistance to him and 'may be serviceable to others.' We have no doubt that this expectation will be justified. It is a little strange to us to see the place of publication of the *Cambridge*

Modern History given *tout court* as 'New York,' that of Mr Wheatley's edition of Pepys as 'Boston,' etc., but the book was no doubt primarily designed for American use.

G. C. M. S.

A pathetic interest attaches to the last work of the well-known Chaucerian scholar, Professor T. R. Lounsbury, *The Life and Times of Tennyson from 1809 to 1850* (New Haven, U.S.A., Humphrey Milford, London, 1915), which has been prepared for publication after the author's death, by Dr Wilbur L. Cross. The title would apparently in any case have been a misnomer. The work was always to be regarded as supplementary to the *Memoir* by the present Lord Tennyson, and not as an attempt to give a new and complete picture of the poet and his surroundings. It cannot even be said to give any new criticism of the poet's works. Professor Lounsbury seems to assume that by general agreement some works are of superlative merit, some good and some very bad, and he does not attempt to justify or change public opinion. What he does give us is a very interesting history which might be called 'The growth of appreciation of the poetry of Tennyson.' His book is a storehouse of information about the different critical organs of the 19th century, the Annuals, such as *The Keepsake*, the quarterly reviews, the weekly literary papers, and the part played in regard to Tennyson by the criticisms of Arthur Hallam, 'Christopher North,' Lockhart, Leigh Hunt, Spedding, F. W. Robertson, Lowell, etc. American criticism is treated as fully as British. It is interesting to find that the best and most thoughtful criticism came from J. S. Mill. The book has a value therefore for the historian of criticism no less than for the student of Tennyson.

Some interesting results come out by the way. Macaulay's Edinburgh onslaught on Robert Montgomery, so far from annihilating him, hardly affected his popularity. The appreciation of Tennyson—so ardent among his Cambridge friends of 1830–2—spread only slowly to a wider circle of highly cultivated people, and his unfortunate refusal to publish between 1832 and 1842 left the field to his enemies and caused him to be almost forgotten by the general public; even after 1842 his reputation grew at first only slowly,—but it grew, especially after *In Memoriam*, with overmastering force and rather in spite of the critics than through their help.

Professor Lounsbury holds that poets as a rule make no advance in the quality of their work after the age of 30, and produce little that is satisfactory after 40 or 50. The view is disputable, and we cannot at any rate find in it any consolation, as we are asked to 'do, for the death of Keats at 25. On p. 523 we are told that Bulwer-Lytton's attack on Tennyson was removed from the fourth edition of *The New Timon*. It is already absent in the third edition. On p. 529 'Knebsworth' should be 'Knebworth.' Though it does not fulfil the expectations raised by the title, Professor Lounsbury's book is valuable for what it does give us, and it is written in a clear and correct, if somewhat monotonous and undistinguished style.

G. C. M. S.

NOTES ON SKELTON¹.

C. NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

B. 22. 'he so.' Read 'who so.' 'Who' has been written 'ho,' and 'ho' mistaken for 'he.' Cf. B. 191: 'whom' = 'hum'; B. 417: 'whome' (Marshe), 'home' (other edns.); B. 464: 'te' (Wynkyn de Worde's ed., A. L. E.) for 'to.'

B. 390. 'A brydelynge caste.' Originally 'a cast at dice while the horses were being saddled and *bridled*'; hence a final cast.

P. 668. 'wake.' Read 'wrake.' See Halliwell's *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, where the noun *wrake* is given, meaning 'destruction, mischief' and rhyming with 'sake.' For omission of *r*, cf. II, p. 73, l. 173: 'Faunce' for 'Fraunce,' and II, p. 75, l. 245: 'stonge' for 'stronge.'

P. 1124-5. Professor Williams suggests that these lines should be transposed to follow 1117. But this would break the set of rhymes and would not remove the obscurity. More probably 1125 and 1126 should be placed before 1124. Then 1125-6 continue the construction of 1123, and 1124 and 1127 go together; 'I me refrayned enbrasyng' = 'I refrained from embracing.' [Should 'How,' l. 1125, be 'Now' ?]

P. 1155. This line is meaningless as it stands. Probably a line containing a subject and predicate has been lost before it, *e.g.* 'She might go through the boscase' (see also Dyce, II, 488). Lines were frequently lost in Skelton through homoeoteleuton, *e.g.* C. 183, 187, 244-6 are omitted in the MS., and C. 219 is found only in the MS. On *ER.* 532, 537, *M.* 558, 1129, 2278, 2312, 2463, 2493, Dyce notes that the lines which should rhyme with these are missing. See also the note in the E. E. T. S. edition on *Magnyfycence*, 552. [May not 'A louers' pylgrimage' stand in apposition to 'image,' the image being the object of pilgrimage ?]

¹ Continued from p. 139.

² The few notes in square brackets are mine, and are inserted on Mr Dunbabin's suggestion.—G. C. M. S.

P. 1240. 'Shall sayle' = 'She shall sayle.' 'With' in 1239 and 1241 means 'saying' as usual, and 1239 ff. mean 'She shall go on pilgrimage to St James, repeating *Domine, probasti me* and *Tibi, Domine, commendamus.*' Skelton does not mean to speak contemptuously of pilgrimages. Line 1243 is humorous but not contemptuous. Line 1241 is probably added for the sake of the rhyme, though cranes were considered a delicacy.

C. 67. 'agayng.' Misprint for 'agayn.' Conversely in *ER.* 224 'nittine' (Marsh), 'mittine' (Rand) for 'mytyng.'

C. 101. 'And leue theyr owne causes.' This seems to mean 'and contradict their own previous decisions.' But there appears to be no authority for this use of 'causes.' [Read: 'And leue theyr owne causes In theyr prouyncials cure.' Cp. *SP.* 55. In reply to this Mr Dunbabin writes: 'I am not convinced that your suggestion is right, for with that explanation the transition from 95-100 to 100-2 seems too abrupt and 103 is "left in the air." For 'prouynciall' as an adj., cf. C. 223: "In your prouinciall borders."']

C. 299. 'hermoniake.' Perhaps = 'harmonic,' inasmuch as he harmonizes conflicting interests.

C. 310. 'To ryde vpon a mule.' Dyce and Professor Williams see an allusion to Wolsey (cf. *SP.* 510, Dyce, II, pp. 66, 67). But the plurals in 313-322 show that the reference is to bishops in general. Wolsey was not the only prelate who rode a mule. Cf. Lindesay, *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*, 2864: 'and keip ane Bischops mule'; Rabelais, *Livre ii*, Chapitre 7: 'la mule du pape ne mange qu'à ses heures.'

C. 365 sqq. Brie (p. 85) dates 'Colyn Cloute' 1518-1521 (cf. Koelbing, p. 74, 'written about 1519'). If so, the reference cannot be to the suppression of monasteries for the foundation of Cardinal College in 1526. It must be remembered that monasteries had been suppressed before Wolsey's time, e.g. William of Waynflete suppressed two priories to endow Magdalen College (Rashdall, II, Part ii, p. 513), and in 1497 the Bishop of Ely dissolved a nunnery to found Jesus College in Cambridge (*ibid.*, p. 578).

'collage' (367) means, not a college in a University, but such an institution as the collegiate church of All Hallows, Maidstone, of which William Grocyn was master, or the College of Ottery St Mary in Devon, the college of secular priests of which Alexander Barclay was a member. This is the point of 'the charter of *dottage*,' and 'tenure par seruyce de *sottage*.'

'couerynge' (366) may come from 'cover' = 'roof' or from 'cover' =

'get.' Either it was the duty of the monks to keep the cottage in repair and they have neglected their duty, or they have obtained possession of a cottage which legally belonged to a 'college.'

Thus the meaning may be 'You make monks suffer *either* (1) because they have neglected to repair the roof of an old cottage which has been conveyed by deed to the foolish priests of a collegiate church or (2) because they have obtained possession of an old cottage....'

C. 381. 'And take a fyne *meritorum*.' Apparently they increase the fines payable when leases fall in, divide the money among themselves, and leave the monastery.

C. 386. 'crucifixorum.' Read 'cruciferorum,' *i.e.* Crutched Friars, see Skeat's *Piers Plowman*, II, p. 114.

C. 629. 'that ouer the whele.' Either adopt the MS. reading 'that be on the whele' or read 'that be ouer the whele.' For the metaphor cf. *Digby Mysteries*, p. 66, l. 312: 'for þe whele of fortune with me hath sett his sentur,' and *M.* 2048: 'remembre the tourne of Fortunes whele.'

C. 798. 'doctour Bullatus.' One whose doctor's degree was conferred, not by a university, but by a papal bull. See Rashdall, I, p. 17, *n.*, II, Part I, pp. 29-30, II, Part II, pp. 750-1. ll. 791-7 show that the degree was that of Doctor of Divinity, cf. 810: 'Was made a dyuyne.'

l. 809 refers to the notary's seal attesting the authenticity of the bull.

The point of 809-810 is that the *doctor bullatus* was made a doctor, not by the book, ring, cap, and kiss as at Oxford and Cambridge (Rashdall, I, p. 232, *n.* 3, and Bentley's speech in his edition of Terence), but by a mere notary's seal.

C. 800. 'At the brode gatus.' The reference is probably not to Broadgates Hall (now Pembroke College) in Oxford, for this was 'a noted nursery for Civilians and Canonists' (Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, 1691, I, col. 124), and most of its members appear to have been students, bachelors, or doctors either of civil or of canon law, whereas the 'doctour Bullatus' was a doctor of divinity. It might be one of the other halls called Broadgates, *viz.* Broadgates Hall in All Saints parish (Hurst, *Oxford Topography*. Clarendon Press, 1899, p. 176) and Broadgates Hall in St Mary's (*ibid.*, 186). But a comparison of 692-4 ('Ye bysshops of estates Shulde open *the brode gates* Of your spirituall charges') suggests that the reference is rather to the broad gates of some bishop's palace; possibly a chaplain of the Bishop of Norwich is meant.

C. 820-1. 'his elenkes...his predicamens.' These are Aristotle's

treatises on *Fallacies* (Σοφιστικοὶ Ἐλεγκοί) and on the *Categories* (Κατηγορίαι). Cp. the statute of the English Nation at Paris quoted by Rashdall, I, p. 435 n.: 'Insuper quod audiuerit libros Aristotelis de *Veteri logica*, uidelicet librum *predicamentorum*...libros *topicorum* Aristotilis et *elencorum*.' Cf. *Epp. Obsc. Vir.*, Ep. 2: 'quia ut dicit Aristoteles in praedicamentis, de singulis dubitare non est inutile' = Aristotle, *Cat.* c. 5 (7) *ad fin.*

C. 884. 'Exivit de Paradiso.' The garden of the Grey Friars at Oxford was called 'Paradise,' see Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, Clarendon Press, 1892, pp. 122-3. Some reference to this or to some other convent's 'Paradise' may be intended, in the same way that in 909 'syngyng *Placebo*' means 'seeking to please the powerful' (cf. 911, 'they had leuer to please'). But the passage 882-8 is probably a topical hit, and we can only guess at its meaning. It may be that Friar Fabian and others had left their convent—either the Grey Friars at Oxford or some other which possessed a 'Paradise.' Or it may be that the Friars had been in the habit of quoting the Clementine 'Exiui de Paradiso' and interpreting it to mean 'We friars have come from Heaven.' In that case Skelton's meaning would be 'Yes, you friars say you have come from Heaven; but the question is, will you ever get back?'

C. 932. 'theyr predyall landes.' A tautology since 'predial' means 'landed'; 'predial estate' means 'real estate.' 'Theyr predyall landes' are the episcopal estates. There is no reference to predial tithes.

W. 139. 'With, gup, leuell suse!' Everywhere else in Skelton 'gup' is followed by a nominative of address¹, e.g. W. 238: 'Gup, Guilliam Trauillian.' 'Leuell suse' is said to be another name for the game of 'level coil' (Williams, 220 and the *Oxford Dict.*, s.v.). But it is not explained how the name of a game can make sense here. We do not say 'Come on, bridge' for 'Come on, you bridge-player.' Neither did Skelton say 'gup, leuell suse' for 'gup, you player of level coil.' Read 'gup, ieuell, suse!' where 'ieuell' = 'iauel' and 'suse!' = French 'sus!' = 'gup!' For confusion of *i* and *l* cf. I, p. 115: 'iocis,' 'Eds. "locis"' (Dyce); 'javel' was spelt 'ieuel' in Scots (see *Oxford Dictionary*, s.v.), and *e* and *a* are exchanged in the texts of Skelton, cf. P. 1094, 'heue' (Kele), 'haue' (other edns.). For 'javel' see M. 2218, C. 602, W. 93, 605.

¹ There are ten instances, viz. W. 237, 238, ER. 390, Dyce, I, p. 24 l. 17, pp. 28-9, p. 119 l. 36, p. 120 l. 13, p. 128 l. 56, p. 185 l. 109, p. 193 l. 1.

W. 380. Delete 'of'; otherwise there is no subject to 'take' in 381. [A confused construction possibly.]

W. 418. 'abstract.' Read 'abstract,' cf *ER*. 'fanny' (Day, Marshe, Rand) for 'fonny' (other edns.), unless the confusion is to be attributed to the author. [Cf. 'absolute,' l. 709.]

W. 538. 'Take.' Read 'Toke' (= Took) or 'To take.'

W. 608. 'decked.' Read 'gecked.'

W. 705. 'mathematical' should have been cited in the *Oxford Dict.* under 3 (astrological) instead of under 1, c.

W. 710. 'practyue.' Read 'practique' ('other edns.' Dyce) or 'practyse.'

W. 798. 'Dymingis Dale.' This seems to be a synonym for 'darkness' in the passages cited from *Thersytes* by Dyce, *ad loc.*, and here for 'hell.' Cf. I, p. 19, ll. 44-6: 'That we be not exyld To *the dyne* (read *dyme*) dale Of boteles bale.'

W. 871-896. The general sense is that bishops spend their time and money in worldly amusements (cf. Latimer, *The Ploughers*, Arber's reprint, p. 25), and beggars, who in consequence receive no alms, curse the bishops.

875. 'With trey duse ase,' *i.e.* they call 'Trey, deuce, ace' (at dice).

877 = some sing alto and some sing bass, cf. Halliwell, *s.v.* base (1).

880. Read 'With marke me....'

ll. 884 sqq. are very obscure. The following suggestions are merely tentative.

884. Cf. Lindesay, *The Answer to y^e Kingis Flyting*, l. 47: 'Zer in and ryde.'

887. 'The gray gose,' cf. 'Winchester goose,' *Oxford Dict.*, *s.v.* goose (3). I think 894-5 mean that Wolsey is rich and lecherous and the son of a Flemish whore (though *SP*. 289, 'Le tonsan de Jason,' supports Williams' suggestion that the reference is to the Order of the Golden Fleece). In 1163-98 and in vol. II, p. 65 (Dyce) Skelton says that Wolsey had syphilis ('Neapolitano morbo grauatium').

894. Cf. Lindesay, *op. cit.*, l. 36: 'lyke ane restles Ram.'

895. 'Flemmyng dam' = prostitute. See Skeat's note on *Piers Plowman*, C text, Passus VII, 367.

W. 908. 'trotters.' The context shows that the explanation of Dyce and Professor Williams is impossible. Some vessel of glass or earthenware is evidently meant. Perhaps we should read 'totters' and assume that it was a Tudor name for tumblers.

W. 950-4.

Such a prelate, I trowe,
Were worthy to rowe
Thorow the streytes of Marock
To the gybbet of Baldock.

Dyce quotes from Mandeville: 'And in Caldee the chief Cytee is *Baldak*,' and is followed by Professor Williams. I have suggested that Baldock in Hertfordshire is meant. It seems to be thought that the former is *a priori* more probable. But (1) it is a commonplace of psychology that, where the same word has several distinct meanings, the meaning intended by a speaker is determined by his previous experience and the train of ideas which has brought the word to his consciousness. So here, as Skelton is an Englishman writing for Englishmen, the presumption is that Baldock is the English town of that name. And this presumption is strengthened when we reflect that Baldock is on the road to Huntingdon and that Skelton in travelling between Cambridge and London may have passed through it. On three occasions Pepys goes to Huntingdon *via* Ware and (on the first two journeys) Cambridge, and returns *via* Baldock (*Diary*, 6 August 1661, 23 September 1661, 23 September 1663). (The ordinary road to Cambridge passed through Ware, that to Diss would be the coast road through Colchester and Ipswich.)

(2) Two other references to Baldock are important:

(a) The iebet of Baldock was made for Jack Leg. (*SP.* 75.)

(b) I haue been from heuyn as farre as heuyn is hens,
At Louyn, at London and in Lombardy,
At Baldock, at Barfolde, and in Barbary,
At Canturbery, at Couentre, at Colchester,...

Heywood: *The Play of the Wether*, ll. 197-200 (published in 1533).

In all three passages the spelling is 'Baldock,' not 'Baldak.' This again makes it antecedently probable that Baldock is meant.

(3) Baldak in 'Caldee' is the Italian Baldacco, an old name for Baghdad. See Chambers's *Encyclopaedia* and the *Oxford Dictionary*, s.v. 'baldachin.' As Dyce has cited no other instance, the name was probably not in common use in England. In Hakluyt's *Voyages* Baghdad is invariably called Babylon. (See Dent's edition, vol. III, pp. 57, 201, 274, etc.) Though English ships traded to the Levant as early as 1511 (Hakluyt, III, p. 2), we do not hear that any Englishman had visited Baghdad before 1583 (*ibid.* 274). So unless Skelton had read Mandeville, he had probably never heard of Baldak, and in

any case it was much less likely to be present in his mind than Baldock.

(4) In view of *SP.* 75 it seems most improbable that Skelton is speaking at random in *W.* 954. He seems to have in mind a gibbet that really existed. Now in which town is it more likely that John Legge, the Englishman, was hanged, and where would Skelton expect Wolsey, the Englishman, to be hanged—in Baldock or in Baghdad?

(5) But why is Baldock associated with the Straits of Gibraltar here and with Barbary in the *Play of the Wether*? We cannot tell, but we may feel confident that Englishmen in those days were much more likely to couple Baldock and Barbary than Baghdad and Barbary. When two or more place-names are associated, the bond of association is not necessarily geographical. Corsica, Elba, and St Helena are associated in our minds, not because they are all islands, but because Napoleon lived in all three. Thus we must not assume that, because Barbary is in foreign parts, Baldock must also be sought abroad. Had we to deal merely with the *Play of the Wether*, we should be justified in supposing the collocation to be merely accidental and in thinking that Baldock had no more to do with Barfold and Barbary than London with Louvain and Lombardy or Gravesend with Glastonbury. It would be obvious that the main causes of their association were the exigencies of alliteration, rhythm, and rhyme. But when we find that Skelton too mentions Baldock along with the Straits of Gibraltar, we are tempted to suppose that there was some further connexion between Baldock and the Barbary coast. Now one may sail through the Straits *in either direction*, either to Syria and thence by land to Aleppo and Baghdad or to London and thence by land to Baldock. Hence 'the streytes of Marock' point no more to Baldak than to Baldock. But Wolsey is 'worthy to *rowe* Thorow the streytes of Marock.' An English ship would *sail*. An Englishman who *rowed* through the Straits of Gibraltar would be a renegado who had joined the pirates of the Barbary coast (this included the Mediterranean coast of Africa at least as far as Tripoli, see Hakluyt, III, 9, 'Tripoly in Barbary') or a galley-slave who rowed in one of their galleys. Thus Skelton may mean (*a*) that Wolsey is as unscrupulous in amassing wealth as a pirate of the Barbary coast and deserves to be hanged at Baldock, or (*b*) that he deserves to be a galley-slave and to end his days on a gibbet. I strongly suspect that Jack Leg's history, if we only knew it, would decide between (*a*) and (*b*). We should probably find that one John Legge, an Englishman, had been in Barbary, either as a pirate or as a

galley-slave, and after his return to England was hanged at Baldock. If this were so, it would be easy to understand why Baldock is coupled now with Barbary and now with 'the streytes of Marock' and why Skelton twice refers to the gibbet of Baldock.

But apart from any such hypothesis, if we look merely at the facts—the difference in spelling, the absence of any known cause for the mention of the city on the Tigris, then almost unknown to Englishmen, and above all the circumstance that Baldock is a well-known English town and that the writers in question are Englishmen—it seems clear that the probabilities are all in favour of Baldock, and that those who maintain the contrary are bound to show what reason could have led Skelton and Heywood to think of Baghdad at a time when that famous town was very far from being, under any name, as much in Englishmen's thoughts as it is in 1917.

W. 1001–4. See *D. N. B.*, Thomas Wolsey, and Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*, 1691, I, col. 673.

W. 1094 sqq. There can be no reference to Wolsey's use of the revenues of St Albans for his foundations at Oxford and Ipswich, for this poem was written in 1522–3 (Dyce and Brie). Wolsey became abbot (*in commendam*) of St Albans in 1521, at the conclusion of the Calais conference, but his school at Ipswich was not founded till 1525 and Cardinal College not till 1526.

Dyce I, p. 19, l. 45. 'To the dyne dale.' Read 'dyme' (= 'dim').

I, p. 134. 'More stinging than scorpions that stang Pharaotis.' Dyce supposed that Pharaoh was meant; but why should Pharaoh become Pharaotis? No doubt Skelton meant Phraotes, who is frequently mentioned in Philostratus' *Apollonius of Tyana*. It is true that Phraotes was not stung by scorpions, but neither was Pharaoh.

I, p. 170, l. 23. 'et cines socios.' On II, 487 Dyce defends 'cines' against his reviewer's emendation 'ciues.' But 'cines' is not Latin. If Dyce thought it meant 'ashes,' he should have read 'cineres.' But the meaning is 'While he lived, he used to disturb his companions and his fellow-citizens.' Therefore 'ciues' must be right.

I, p. 174, l. 5. 'Ah decus, ah patriae specie pulcherrima dudum!' The line should be punctuated 'Ah decus, ah, patriae, specie p. d.!' The words 'decus patriae' go together: 'patriae' means England not Norwich (Williams, p. 2) or Norfolk (Dyce, I, p. vi n.). Skelton means that Norwich was one of the glories of England.

I, p. 175, l. 12. 'Hos lemuresque eat sic Bedel ad superos.' As Skelton is not elsewhere guilty of such a shocking hiatus and the verses

have evidently been very carelessly copied, we should probably read 'hos lemuresque Bedel sic eat ad superos.'

I, p. 180, l. 11. 'Canta, tamen penses....' 'Canta' introduces a false quantity and has no point. Read 'Cauta tamen'... (Marsh's ed.); 'cauta' agrees with *Anglia* in l. 9.

I, p. 207. 'Alma parens O Cantabrigiensis.' Delete 'O,' since the metre is - u u | - - | - u u | - -.

I, p. 218 *ad fin.* 'Qui caterisatis categorias.'... Read 'characterisatis' *i.e.* characterizatis.

M. 2352. 'hyll.' Read 'hell.'

SP. 179. 'Cansales.' Read 'Causales.' Such an obvious correction would not be worth recording but that Warton's absurd suggestion has been repeated by Dyce and accepted by Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, I, p. 541, notes 2 & 3. A glance at the context should have shown them that 'da causales' and 'da racionales' are quotations from some mediaeval catechism of Latin grammar. 'Da causales' means 'Name the causal conjunctions' and 'da racionales' 'Name the conjunctions which mark an inference.' 'Causales' and 'rationales' are given as species of conjunctions in Priscian, *Inst. Gramm.*, XVI, 1. § 1.

SP. 267. Read 'Martialis cecinit carmen quod fit mihi scutum,' for the line appears to be meant for a hexameter and 'fit mihi scutum' is ungrammatical without *quod*.

Many of the emendations proposed above are of a very trivial character, but as Skelton's editors seem to have put far more faith in sixteenth century copyists and compositors than they deserved, even this mild dose of scepticism may have its uses. Many of the explanations too have doubtless occurred to many readers of Skelton, but as they have not, so far as the writer is aware, appeared in print, it seemed worth while to put them on record. For the sake of brevity the qualifications which modesty would dictate have generally been omitted. After all it is for the reader to decide whether any given proposal is probable, possible, or impossible. The writer hopes that he will not be thought unmindful of the respect due to the acuteness, learning, and diligence of the scholars whose views he has controverted.

R. L. DUNBABIN.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

JOHN RASTELL AND 'GENTLENESS AND NOBILITY.'

IN his recent discussion of the authorship of *Gentleness and Nobility*¹ Mr Tucker Brooke, though freely conceding that the evidence which he brings forward in favour of Heywood cannot be regarded as conclusive, believes, on the other hand, that the claims made for Rastell may be definitely set aside. 'In the absence of external evidence,' he writes, 'and in the prevailing uncertainty concerning dramatic activity during the first half of the sixteenth century, an absolutely final decision concerning the origin of the work can hardly perhaps be hoped. It seems possible, however, to show that the suggestion of Rastell's authorship has nothing to support it'². It is the purpose of the present paper to take up and examine again the evidence for Rastell's authorship of this play, which Tucker Brooke thus casts aside.

Let us consider first the arguments for Heywood's authorship. 'Heywood's close family and business relations with the elder Rastell,' Tucker Brooke argues, 'make it antecedently far from improbable that he should be the author of an interlude otherwise unclaimed, which came from the press of the latter'³. Although Tucker Brooke concludes that it would be quite probable that the Rastells would not think it necessary to attach the name of their relative⁴ to the books which they were printing for him, this conclusion is not absolutely certain. From the same combination of relationships Wallace⁵ argues as follows:

¹ For editions of *Gentleness and Nobility* see J. S. Farmer, *A Handlist to Old English Plays*, Student's Facsimile Edition, 1914; see also *Handlist of English Printers, 1501-1556*, Part I, pub. by Bibliographical Soc., Lond., 1895. The edition to which I have had access is *Old English Drama*, Student's Facsimile Edition, Part 9, 1909.

² '*Gentleness and Nobility*; the Authorship and Source,' *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vi, p. 458.

³ *Ibid.* p. 459.

⁴ For family connexions of Heywood and Rastell see Bang, *Eng. Stud.* xxxvii; for their business connexions see *Handlist of English Printers* i, 3-4, and Pollard in Gayley's *Rep. Eng. Comedies*, London, 1903, i, p. 6.

⁵ C. W. Wallace, *The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare*, Berlin, 1912, p. 52.

'These last three interludes' [i.e. *Gentleness and Nobility*, *The Four Elements*, *Calisto and Meliboea*] 'were printed by Heywood's father-in-law, John Rastell, probably between 1520 and 1530, and two of the others, the *Pardoner* and the *Johan*, by his son William Rastell, in 1533-34. None of them bore Heywood's name—a breach inconceivable in his relatives if he had been the author, particularly when we remember that they were careful to put on their own imprint and that William Rastell in this same year, 1533, printed under Heywood's name his much inferior *Play of the Wether* and immediately after it (1534) his similarly undramatic dialogue of the *Play of Love*.' Such opposite conclusions from the same facts make it clear that evidence from the family relations as bearing upon the business relations of the two men is uncertain.

More reliable evidence would seem to result from a comparison of *Gentleness and Nobility* with other pieces known to have been written by Heywood. Tucker Brooke pursues this line of evidence in an attempt to find a resemblance between *Gentleness and Nobility* and Heywood's signed dialogue of *Witty and Witless*¹. Before taking up this matter it may be well to outline briefly the argument of our play.

Its proposition is three-fold: (1) who is a very gentleman? (2) who is a nobleman? (3) how should men come to authority? In proper argumentative fashion the Gentleman and the Merchant give their definitions of a gentleman and according to these definitions proceed to fight out the first part of the proposition. The argument seems real rather than sophistic, and fraught with an earnestness which indicates an effort to convince the reader. At the Plowman's entrance the first portion of the proposition is completed and a concession is made in the way of a little horse-play. But only a little. The serious business of argument is pressing, and the second portion of the proposition is undertaken. At one place the Merchant pulls up the Plowman for 'shifting ground' with an accuracy which would delight the writer of a school rhetoric. When the second section is finished the Plowman conveniently takes himself off to the market to buy his grease. With the opening of the second part comes the proper summary of the first two portions of the proposition and the beginning of the third. It is a capable argument, embodying some of the soundest doctrine of true social democracy.

Tucker Brooke², making out his case for the Heywoodian authorship of *Gentleness and Nobility*, says: 'the superficial resemblance between

¹ *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vi, p. 459.

² *Ibid.* p. 459.

Gentleness and Nobility and Heywood's signed dialogue of *Witty and Witless*, sometimes called *Wit and Folly*, has been very generally recognized... Each presents a debate concerning an academic question, carried on by three interlocutors, and expressed in identical metrical form... But *Gentleness and Nobility* is considerably the more elaborate piece, and shows a much higher degree of dramatic skill.' This seems to be good evidence; but was not the *débat* a common literary form, and three interlocutors a convenient number? Moreover it is to be noticed that the greater part of *Wit and Folly* is carried on by two interlocutors. Only from the bottom of page 16 to the top of page 18 are there three interlocutors, that is, for one and a half pages out of a total of twenty-eight¹. The styles of the two pieces are entirely different and the points of view in the two are widely divergent. In commenting upon the handling of *Gentleness and Nobility* Tucker Brooke says²: 'The careful art with which the characters of our play are brought on and off the stage; the conspicuous ability to develop a serious, ordered argument by means of lively dialogue in which each actor has his fair part; most of all, probably, the motivation of the whole drama by the action and reaction upon one another of contrasted class types representing social rather than moral or scholastic differences; these were no common features of Henry VIII's reign. They are, indeed, the chief characteristics which give to the work of John Heywood its recognized unique quality, and are most conspicuous in his plays of *The Weather* and *The Four PP.*'

As far as subject and general type of literary form go, one must grant the truth of this statement. But it seems to me that the attitude and general point of view of the author are so different in *Wit and Folly* and *Gentleness and Nobility* that the two could only with the greatest difficulty be attributed to the same man. *Wit and Folly* was probably to be played before Henry VIII, to judge by the lines which 'in the Kyng's absens ar voyde'³. But of our play, *Gentleness and Nobility*, Pollard says⁴, 'the tone...is singularly democratic, the Plowman throughout having the best of it.' Is this the tone we should expect from Heywood 'who, for the better part of his life, was in the service of the Court'⁵? Then, too, the purposes of the two dialogues seem different. One may call that of *Gentleness and Nobility* serious, and that of *Wit and Folly* sophistic. The latter is full of a kind of word-play and repetition which bespeaks composition for composition's sake and not for conveying

¹ Percy Soc. xx.² *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vi, p. 459.⁴ Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Com.*, p. 9.³ *Wit and Folly*, Percy Soc. xx, 27.⁵ *Ibid.*

a serious conviction. Opening *Wit and Folly* at random one comes upon such passages as :

Ye, but wytty and wyttles wyttyly wrought
By some payne to such payne that wytty fele most,
Then wytty and wyttles eche parte his part bost;
Tak of wytty the degrees and nomber all,
And of that nombyr I thyngk ye nombyr small etc.¹

And there is a good deal of punning, as :

John. Ye show some wytty wyttines

James. Experyens schall wyttness my tale trewe².

The same pun on *wit* and *witness* occurs in a few pages again. Note also the four lines of punning on *say* and *essay* :

Ye sey so ; and seyde so, but so seyde not I !
Nor sey yt not yet, but that seyng deny ;
And tyll sayng prove your sayng more playnely,
I wyll asay to sey the contrary!³

I have quoted at length in order to convey some idea of the word-play and word-interest which animated Heywood in *Wit and Folly*. The argument itself, while full of clever turns, seems nowhere so seriously handled as in *Gentleness and Nobility*. Even when the dialogue becomes most formal and uses the argumentative terminology, Heywood cannot refrain from tucking in a double meaning :

That conclewcyon ys conclewdyd wysely !
Your pryme proposycyon dyd put presysely
Better to be wyttles then wytty, and now
As good to be wyttles as wytty sey yow !
But that wytt whych putts case in degre comparatyve,
And conclewdyth case in degre posytyve,
Sall not in that case clame sewperlatyve!⁴

Contrast this with the seriousness with which the Merchant recalls the Plowman in *Gentleness and Nobility*⁵ :

That is a verey good and pregnant reason
Yet me thynkith thou makist a degression
From the argument that we furst began
Which was to prove who was most gentylman.

Another point for the Heywoodian authorship of *Gentleness and Nobility*, though not mentioned by Tucker Brooke in this article, may be considered here, as it arises out of the same kind of evidence which has been used in the *Wit and Folly* argument. A connexion between *Gentleness and Nobility* and Heywood is found in the fact that the

¹ *Wit and Folly*, Percy Soc. xx, p. 4.

² *Ibid.* p. 1.

³ *Ibid.* p. 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁵ *Gentleness and Nobility*, Farmer Facsimile, p. 10. The facsimile is not paged ; but the pages will be readily found.

Merchant and Gentleman in Heywood's *Weather* express somewhat the same sentiments as the Merchant and Knight of *Gentleness and Nobility*. For instance, take the passage in *Gentleness and Nobility* where the Knight is explaining how strife arose in the world. He says:

Then such as mine auncestors were that were wyse
Did studi to make laws how the people myght be
Lyffing to gedyr in pease and unyte¹.

With this compare in Heywood's *Weather*, the Gentleman's speech:

Dayly take payne for welth of the comen flocke,
With dylygent study alway devysynge
To kepe them in order and unyte².

The trend of thought in the two passages is similar; while the phrase 'in pease and unyte' makes a tempting parallel with Heywood's 'in order and unyte.' But the similarity of thought, Pollard pertinently remarks, is 'a natural similarity'³. Gentlemen are gentlemen the world over. The similarity of phrasing pointed out above tempts conclusions. But one finds in Rastell's own Preface to his *Expositiones Terminorum Legum Anglorum et Natura Brevium* this sentence: 'Therefore there is no multitude of pepull in no Reame that can continue in unyte and pease without they be thereto compellyd by some good order and law'⁴, etc. Here in Rastell's own work is as good a parallel to our passage as Heywood offers. While the parallel alone cannot make real evidence for Rastell, neither can it do it for Heywood. In the same way, the idea in the Merchant's speech regarding his service to the commonwealth in *Gentleness and Nobility*⁵ is quite like the idea of the Merchant's speech in *Weather*⁶, but it is quite probable that a general conception of the Merchant's function in society found its way into the writing of two contemporary authors. Similarity of idea in the two passages need not point to a single author.

Because Heywood is known to have borrowed from Chaucer for his plays, and because *Gentleness and Nobility* shows the influence of Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*, Tucker Brooke argues that the similarity to Chaucer in our play is proof of Heywoodian authorship⁷. But did Heywood alone have access to Chaucer? Others might borrow from him, it would seem. Rastell, for instance, probably printed Chaucer's *Assembly of Fowls*⁸. He was doubtless familiar with Chaucer and

¹ *Gentleness and Nobility*, Farmer Facsimile, p. 14.

² Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Com.*, I, p. 29.

³ Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, London, 1816, III, p. 89.

⁴ *Gentleness and Nobility*, Farmer Facsimile, p. 7.

⁵ Gayley, p. 32.

⁷ *Mod. Lang. Rev.* VI, p. 461.

⁸ *Handlist of English Printers* I, 4.

³ *Ibid.* p. 9.

might readily use those portions that served his purpose, if he had need for such material.

In dealing with the evidence from the colophon of this play, Tucker Brooke makes the words *Johannes Rastell me fieri fecit* 'capable of only two translations, either of which amounts very nearly to a virtual disclaimer of Rastell's authorship.' One is: "John Rastell caused me to be printed"; i.e., acted simply as publisher.' The other is: "Caused me to be composed"; i.e., suggested or occasioned the writing of the piece by some unmentioned poet, as, for instance, Caxton is said to have inspired some of the work of other writers which issued from his press¹. But in the light of Rastell's interest in the staging and production in his 'ground beside Finsbury'² our colophon may assume a different meaning. Pollard says³: 'as Rastell would probably have written "imprimi fecit" if he had been alluding merely to its printing, we can hardly doubt that the word "*fieri*" refers to performance, if not to composition. With the evidence that we now have that John Rastell had plays acted in his own garden, "*fieri fecit*" seems exactly translatable by "caused to be produced," and as Mrs Rastell helped the tailor to make the dresses, so probably the lawyer-printer helped to write the play.'

My opportunities for examining colophons and title-pages of books printed by Rastell have been very limited, but I have found only one colophon in a Rastell book which exactly duplicates the *Johannes Rastell me fieri fecit* of *Gentleness and Nobility*. According to Dibdin⁴ who quotes Herbert, the *Necromantia* is described as follows: 'a dialog of the poet Lucyan. for his fantesye faynyd for a mery pastyme. And furst by hym compylyd in the Greke tonge. And after translated out of the Greke into Latyn, and now lately translatyd owt of Laten into Englissh for the erudicion of them, which be disposyd to lerne the tongis.' It is in English verse with Latin notes in the margin in ten leaves only and concludes with *Johannes Rastell me fieri fecit*. The translator is nowhere mentioned unless he be Rastell and his translating be recorded in *fieri fecit*. Warton⁵ says that Rastell is the translator and there is perhaps some plausibility in the notion. The translator's purpose, 'for the erudicion of them, which be disposyd to lerne the tongis,' might be Rastell's as we shall later show. If Rastell did

¹ *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vi, pp. 458-9.

² C. R. Baskervill, 'John Rastell's Dramatic Activities,' *Mod. Phil.* xiii, 557; also A. W. Pollard, *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, ed. Dutton, n.d., pp. 307-21.

³ Gayley, p. 8.

⁴ Dibdin, *Typ. Antiq.*, iii, p. 103.

⁵ Warton, *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, London, 1824, iii, p. 190, note 3.

translate the *Necromantia*, then *fieri fecit* might have in it something more than the idea of 'caused to be printed' or 'caused to be composed.' It would become an argument in support of Rastell's authorship of *Gentleness and Nobility*.

In any case, in the light of a possible bearing which Rastell's dramatic activities may have on our colophon, and in the absence of certain knowledge regarding the relationship between the translator of Lucian's dialogue and the colophon, *Johannes Rastell me fieri fecit*, it seems hardly safe to limit the meaning of the colophon of *Gentleness and Nobility* so as to exclude the possibility of Rastell's authorship, as Tucker Brooke does¹.

Another point brought up by Tucker Brooke deals with the relationship between the form and spirit of our play and that of *Four Elements*, generally admitted to be written by Rastell. Before we come to this matter, it seems advisable to say something about the character and interests of John Rastell. As one looks into his life one finds him a definite personality, a clear-cut character. He is always the serious-minded citizen, of some vision and outlook, interested and concerned for the commoner and the common weal, in the sense of social democracy. In the last year of his life he writes to Cromwell²: 'But I desyre most so to spend my tyme to do somewhat for the commyn welth, as God be my Juge.' The prefaces to his translations of books of law bear witness to the same serious eagerness to make knowledge more accessible and to give to people as individuals, regardless of class distinction, the opportunities for intelligent and fruitful living. In his Preface to the *Abbreviation of the Statutes* [first abridgment in the English tongue, and translated by Rastell³] he writes: 'consydering that in reason every law wherto any people shuld be boundyn, ought and shulde be wrytten in such manere and so opynly publisshyd and declaryd that the people myght sone wythout gret dyffyculte have the knowledge of the seyde laws....wherfore now as farr as my symple wytt and small lernynge wyll extende, I have here takyn upon me to abbrege the effect of them more shortly in this lyttyl book; besechyng...to consider my good wyl which have intendid yt for a comyn welth for the causis and consideracyons before rehersyde.' Rastell's early choice of a profession fell upon the law and one can readily see why it appealed to the serious young man with ideas of general social welfare; for his conception of the law makes it the very minister of public weal. In his *Liber Assisarum et*

¹ *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vi, p. 458.

² Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3rd series, II, 311 (cited by Baskerville in *Mod. Phil.* XIII, 557).

³ Dibdin, *Typ. Antiq.*, III, pp. 84-86.

*Placitorum Corone*¹ (1520) in the English Prologue he argues that the public welfare does not consist so much in riches, power, or honours, as in good laws, 'and so they that exersise and busi themself in makingg laws...be thos parsons that gretly increas and multiply the comen welle.' His personality becomes more clearly defined with every record which he has left. Is it any wonder that one finds him putting at the front of his *Liber Assisarum* a tablet with a Latin motto presenting his initials, in *Justicia Regat*²? Though this motto is eminently fitting on the title-page of any book of law, it assumes an added significance when placed there by Rastell. In the light of that interest in social betterment which led him to perform with enthusiasm the more or less uninspiring task of translating out of French the laws which governed his own England, and in the light of that very simple but impassioned testimony of his living creed which is registered in his letter to Cromwell, one imagines that the relation that he had with Sir Thomas More, beginning perhaps in the rather slight connexion of brothers-in-law, must have ripened into a thorough congeniality of ideas; for More's interest in social reconstruction is evident from his *Utopia*.

C. R. Baskervill in his article entitled 'John Rastell's Dramatic Activities'³ emphasizes the same tendency in Rastell, this 'desire to educate the people and to promote a worthy literature in the English tongue.' Baskervill shows how this purpose of Rastell's was forwarded by his stage in the 'ground beside Finsbury.' He says: 'I wish simply to suggest here briefly the possibility that a number of the plays from Rastell's press owe at least their inception to his plan for a stage that should profit his community'⁴. He then proceeds to mention several interludes and translations published by Rastell in which he may have had some share of authorship, including *Gentleness and Nobility*. To this list should be added the lost play, *The Father of Heaven*⁵.

¹ Dibdin, *Typ. Antig.* pp. 99, 100.

³ *Mod. Phil.* xiii, 557.

² *Ibid.* p. 99.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 558.

⁵ I am indebted to Prof. Carleton F. Brown for pointing out this matter to me. Wallace (*Evolution of Eng. Dram. up to Shakespeare*, p. 67, note 2) refers to Sir Henry Guildford's accounts of the new Banqueting house at Greenwich, 6 Feb. to 7 May, 1527 (Exchequer, T. R., Misc. 227), 'which give detailed expenses of a pageant also shown there, called the *ffather of hevin*.' Wallace then reports the contents of this document as follows: 'John Rastell, Heywood's father-in-law, furnished the materials and workmen. His son William worked 45 days at 8d. a day, and a John Redman got 6d. a day.' The only original document of which I have seen a copy is 'A booke of payments of money disbursed by Sir Henry Gwylforde, Knight, and Sir Thomas Wyat, Knight, in building a banketing house at the King his manor of Greenwich' (J. S. Brewer, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of Henry VIII*, iv, part II, p. 1394, London, 1872). This book contains a memorandum of 'Divers necessities bought for the trimming of the *Father of Heaven*, lions, dragons and greyhounds holding candlesticks, as more plainly appeareth in the reckoning of John Rastall' (Brewer, *Letters, etc.*, p. 1395). A similar entry with 'from' substituted

If we turn to the one dramatic piece, *The Nature of the Four Elements*, which is almost unanimously ascribed to Rastell¹, though this ascription rests entirely upon Bale's assignment, we find here in the author an outlook and point of view which seems to accord perfectly with all that has been shown so far of Rastell's self. To begin with, the function of the *Four Elements* seems unique. Warton² says: 'this sort of spectacle [i.e. interlude] was now so fashionable that John Rastell, a learned typographer, and brother-in-law to Sir Thomas More, extended its province...and conceived a design of making it the vehicle of science and philosophy. With this view he published...*Four Elements*.' Manly³ commenting upon the character of the play says: 'The *Four Elements* is indeed the only representative of its class in England. It is not intended to teach any lesson of religion or morals or practical wisdom. Its primary object is to give the audience some cosmographical and geographical information. The author, John Rastell...would probably have accounted for his use of the dramatic form by his desire to hold his audience through the lecture.' Is not such a conception of drama as a means of spreading information and enlightenment to the commonwealth just the conception which one would expect John Rastell to have? One is inclined to believe that the ascription of this play to him is not a mistake. The Messenger [i.e. prologue] is full of ideas which seem unmistakably 'Rastellian':

...for a commonwealth occupied is he
That bringeth them to knowledge that ignorant be⁴.

for 'for' concludes: 'as more plainly appeareth in the reckoning of John Rastall; for the writing of the dialogue and making in rhyme both in English and Latin 3s. 4d.' (Brewer, *Letters, etc.*, p. 1396). On this entry Brewer remarks: 'Among the poets employed to write and translate in English and Latin verse was the celebrated John Rastell, married to Sir Thos. More's sister' (Brewer, *Letters, etc.*, iv, *Introduction and Appendices*, p. ccvi). See also Chambers, *Med. Stage*, Oxford, 1903, II, p. 201, note 2; and Collier, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry*, London, 1879, I, p. 98). Though I have been unable to go thoroughly into this matter, this *Father of Hevin* may very likely be one of the number which according to Baskervill 'owe at least their inception to his plan for a stage, that should profit his community.'

¹ Bale, *Scriptores* (ed. 1548) 'reliquit comediam,' etc.; (ed. 1557) 'comediam primum edidit.' On the significance of the change from 'reliquit' of 1548 to 'primum edidit' of 1557 see Wallace, *Evol. of Eng. Dram.*, pp. 16-17: '[we] must conclude.....that Rastell was not regarded by his contemporary as the author but only as the publisher.' Baskervill (*Mod. Phil.* XIII, p. 557, note) maintains that Wallace's argument 'is without value, for, as Professor Manly points out to me, Bale employs the word in various works to indicate authorship.' It is interesting to notice in this connexion that whereas 'primum edidit' is not the equivalent of 'scripsit,' no more can it be the narrow equivalent of 'edidit.' In the same list in which Bale includes the *Four Elements*, under the same heading ('reliquit,' 'primum edidit') he puts *Dialogus de Purgatorio*, which John Rastell wrote. In regard to authorship see also Warton (1871 ed.) III, p. 290; Ward, *Hist. of Eng. Dram. Poetry*, London, 1875, I, p. 126; Manly, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philology*, II, p. 425; Gayley, *Rep. Eng. Com.* p. lxxi; Creizenach, *Cambridge Hist.* v, p. 63. In regard to the press from which *Four Elements* comes, see *Handlist of English Printers*, Part I.

² Warton (1871) III, p. 290.

³ *Journ. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.* II, pp. 425, 426.

⁴ *Four Elements*, Hazlitt-Dodsley, London, 1874, I, p. 9.

He considers those 'Which nothing but English can understand' and suggests a remedy for their difficulty:

Then if cunning Latin books were translate
Into English, well correct and approbate,
All subtle science in English might be learned¹.

This notion of making knowledge accessible coincides with his work in translating books of law, and echoes the idea in the Preface to his *Abbreviation*, already mentioned, that laws should be 'so opynly publisshyd and declaryd that the people myght sone wythout gret dyffyculte have the knowledge of the seyd laws²'.

All of this serious, purposeful task is undertaken in a humility which accords with the character in question. To the Messenger, again, the author assigns the words:

But though the matter be not so well declared
As a great clerk could do, nor so substantial,
Yet the author hereof requireth you all,
Though he be ignorant, and can little skill,
To regard his only intent and good will³.

Though a feeling of humility in the face of a task imperfectly done besieges every writer of a preface, either sincerely or conventionally, there seems to be something more than the perfunctory humility of the preface-writer here; especially when we find in the preface to Rastell's *Abbreviation* the same expression of feeling: 'wherfore now as farr as my symple wytt and small lernynge wyll extende I have here takyn upon me to abbrege,' etc. 'besechyng...to consider my good wyl which have intendid yt for a comyn welth'⁴.

Furthermore in the Messenger we find the author setting forth the very same criticism upon the accepted bases of social distinction, which the Plowman and Merchant make to the Knight in *Gentleness and Nobility*:

So he that is rich is ever honoured,
Although he have got it never so falsely.
The poor, being never so wise, is reproved⁵.

In the same vein the Merchant attacks the Knight for the basis upon which his honours rest:

But because of the long contynuaunce
Of theyr [i.e. Knight's ancestors] grete possessions by enherytaunce
By the folysh maner of the worlde we see
For that cause ever they have had auctorite⁶.

¹ *Four Elements*, Hazlitt-Dodsley, London, 1874, I, p. 7.

² Dibdin, *Typ. Antiq.*, III, p. 84.

³ *Four Elements*, p. 8.

⁴ Dibdin, *Typ. Antiq.*, III, p. 84.

⁵ *Four Elements*, p. 8.

⁶ *Gentleness and Nobility*, p. 4.

In very truth, if Rastell were to write a dialogue, what subject could be so congenial as the matter of the true basis of honour and distinction, or, as the title-page of *Gentleness and Nobility* puts it, 'who is a verey Gentyman and who is a Noble man and how men shuld come to auctoryte'?

It may be objected at this point that John Heywood was a man of quite as serious purpose as John Rastell, and therefore that the seriousness of tone in *Gentleness and Nobility* does not argue any more effectively for Rastell than for Heywood. It is true that Heywood was a man of serious purpose, so much so that he suffered for his religion. But from what we see of his writings, he seems to keep this serious temper well hidden under a predominating tone of wit and humour. The author of *Gentleness and Nobility*, on the other hand, does not conceal from his readers his serious views of life. He writes in no assumed vein, but directly from his heart, and that heart is filled with grave problems. Take the doctrine of labouring for one's neighbour, community of interest. It comes into the Messenger of the *Four Elements*:

For every man in reason thus ought to do,
To labour for his own necessary living,
And then for the wealth of his neighbor also¹.

This same theory of social interdependence is found in the Merchant's definition of a gentleman in *Gentleness and Nobility*:

For I call hym a gentyman that gentilly
Doth gyf unto other men lovyngly
Such thing as he hath of hys own proper².

While these theories seem general and common enough in the twentieth century which is so much more preoccupied with the interdependence of men and their moral uplifting, in the early sixteenth century such similarity of views argues a closer kinship between the authors than it would in our day. When one finds in both of our pieces the same concrete illustrations, the connexion between the authors is suggested even more strongly. In the *Four Elements* the Messenger says:

Yet all the riches in the world that is
Riseth of the ground by God's sending,
And by the labour of poor men's hands;
And though thou, rich man, have thereof the keeping,
Yet is not this riches of thy getting,
Nor oughtest not in reason to be praised the more,
For by other men's labour it is got before³.

¹ *Four Elements*, p. 8.

² *Gentleness and Nobility*, p. 2.

³ *Four Elements*, p. 8.

The Merchant in *Gentleness and Nobility* uses exactly the same concrete reasoning:

How can lordys and estatis have ought in store
Except thartyfycers do get it before
For all metallis be dyggyd furst by myners
And after wrought by the artyfycers¹.

Although the similarity of idea here would lead to a tempting conclusion about the identity of the authors of the two pieces, at the same time it would be but natural in dealing with such a subject to point out that the connexion between riches [i.e. precious metals] and the labouring class [i.e. miners] is more immediate than the connexion between riches and the wealthy class.

The parallel comes still closer in portions where the superiority of man to beast is discussed. In the first speech of Natura Naturata in the *Four Elements*, it is written:

Brute beasts have memory and their wits five,
But thou hast all those and soul intellective;
So by reason of thine understanding
Thou hast dominion over other beasts all².

And the Plowman in *Gentleness and Nobility* says:

For by reason of hys soule intyllectyve
He subdewyth all other bestis alyve³.

It seems possible that one might claim a direct relation between these two passages. The very wording which forms the end of one line and the beginning of the succeeding line in the *Four Elements* is joined to form the end and beginning of the same line in *Gentleness and Nobility*. 'Intyllectyve' is a rare word. Following upon the verbal similarity, is a line of exactly similar idea in each of the two pieces. 'Thou hast dominion over other beasts all' is equal to 'He subdewyth all other bestis alyve'⁴.

¹ *Gentleness and Nobility*, p. 3.

² *Four Elements*, p. 12.

³ *Gentleness and Nobility*, p. 10.

⁴ A passage in *Wit and Folly* [Percy Soc. xx, p. 20] dealing with the distinction between man and beast reads as follows:

The resonabyll manns imaginashyon
Joynd with resonabyll consyderatyon
Bryngthe man muche plesewr in consyderynge
The plesant proporte of eche plesaunt thyng

(Jerome) What thyng dysposythe most the varyete
Betwene man and beast?

(John) Reson in man, perde.

Though the idea here is similar to the idea in the passages under discussion, this idea is as old as Genesis. The passage shows no apparent relationship such as is indicated by the verbal parallels in the two passages under consideration.

In the light of the remarkable accord of the subject of *Gentleness and Nobility* with Rastell's pronounced ideals; and in the light of the very different attitudes which seem to set off our author from the Heywood of *Wit and Folly*; and especially in the close connexion and even identical usage of words in which *Gentleness and Nobility* parallels the *Four Elements*, Rastell's authorship of *Gentleness and Nobility* seems a safe probability.

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A DISPUTED PASSAGE IN 'LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST'

ARMADO. 'This Hector far surmounted Hannibal,'—

COSTARD. The party is gone, fellow Hector, she is gone; she is two months on her way. (v, 2. 677 ff.)

Such is the reading of this passage in all editions of the play from Theobald onwards. The purpose of this note is to make out a case for returning to the original reading of the Quarto and the Folio, which in both cases is as follows:

*Brag. This Hector farre surmounted Hanniball.
The partie is gone.*

Clo. Fellow Hector, she is gone; she is two moneths on her way.

Theobald, who was the first to depart from the Folio arrangement, justified his emended reading in the following note: 'All the editions stupidly have placed these words as part of Armado's speech in the Interlude. I have ventured to give them to Costard, who is for putting Armado out of his part, by telling him the party (i.e. his mistress Jaquenetta) is gone two months with child by him.' All editors after Theobald have accepted his rearrangement.

Before we attempt to oppose this change, one detail must be noticed. The majority of Theobald's followers regard, as he regards, the Q. and F. printing of *The partie is gone* as indicating that the Q. and F. editors take that phrase to be part of Armado's speech: but Hart (Arden Ed., 1906) states that *The party is gone* is 'in italics as a stage-direction, Qq. and Ff.' On this matter, Theobald would appear to offer the more likely interpretation. Thus, while the phrase, taken as part of Armado's speech, is not unintelligible, as a stage-direction it is clearly without any possible application: further, although the phrase in the Q. and F. is italicised, as are stage-directions, yet italics are also used in the previous line to indicate that it is part of a set speech of Armado's; further still, in the F. (though not nearly so

frequently in the Q.) it is customary to separate stage-directions from preceding lines of the text and often, too, from following lines, by leaving twice the normal spacing between them, whilst in the present instance neither in the Q. nor in the F. is there such an indication; and finally, the only typographical peculiarity which, at first sight, favours the stage-direction interpretation, viz., the in-setting of the phrase in the middle of the page, away from the left-hand margin, as is the practise with stage-directions, is capable of another interpretation; for, although such a spacing for lines of the actual text is apparently unique in the Q. and F. of *Love's Labour's Lost*, it is not infrequent in the F. version of other plays, and moreover, as we shall see, there may be a special reason for it in the present instance. We may take it then, as Theobald took it, that *The partie is gone* is part of Armado's speech in the Q. and F. Moreover, as Hart's suggestion gives us no help at all in the difficulties which Theobald's re-allotment of the speeches presents to us, we need not recur to it again.

We may come at once, then, to examine Theobald's removal of *The partie is gone* from Armado to Costard. On the face of it, it would be sufficient to show that the Q. and F. text is not meaningless, and so, does not require tampering with. But as Theobald's amendment has been universally adopted, we may start with that and point out the difficulties in which it lands us.

In the first place, Costard's remarks become a purely arbitrary interruption without an obvious and immediate suggestion: there is no apparent sequence in Armado's and Costard's speeches, nothing to prompt Costard to interrupt, and to interrupt with these precise words at this precise moment. Editors, accepting Theobald's rearrangement, have felt this difficulty, and have tried to meet it. Most of them have invented some stage-business, and inserted as a sign of it a stage-direction, to prompt Costard to interrupt. We may consider two of these inventions in some detail.

Before doing so, however, we must point out one or two general considerations. It is an especially hazardous matter to interfere with the body of the text of the present play, and especially with its stage-directions. There is strong reason to suppose (see *Camb. Ed.*) that the quarto of *Love's Labour's Lost* was printed from Shakespeare's own MSS.: moreover, the printer had probably in addition access to a prompter's copy, which, of course, would be fully supplied with stage-directions (see especially Furness, *Introd.* and notes to iv, 3. 21, and especially to the imperative form of the direction *Draw out his*

Table-book, v, l. 18, which is the Folio form, generally altered in modern editions to *Draws* etc.). It would seem, then, that the Q. (from which F. was printed) had at its disposal the best indications of stage-directions. And in point of fact, in no single case does it fail to give explicitly any direction necessary for the following of the play. It repeatedly commits gross errors in the prefixes allocating the speeches: that, however, is quite another matter, capable, also, of easy explanation on the theory that the compositor set his type by ear. But with stage-directions proper, it is as a rule strikingly explicit, frequently giving them where so far unnecessary that anybody would know what the business was without them; thus in iv, 3, the steppings aside in the business of spying on each other, are carefully recorded; when the lovers read their verses, we find the notes *He reades the Sonnet*, *Dumane reades his Sonnet*, etc.; and most in point, at l. 205, where the king, definitely referring to the letter Jaquenetta has just brought in, says to Biron, 'Biron, read it over,' Q. and F. meticulously record *He reades the letter*. Indeed one direction (v, l. 18, *Draw out his Table-book*) is totally unnecessary to the action of the play, and can only mark a piece of humorous side 'business.' It is hardly likely then, that a stage-direction absolutely necessary to the coherence of the play, would be omitted in Q. and F.

At the outset, then, we are sceptical about the proposed solutions which would find Costard's prompting in some unrecorded stage-business. We proceed, however, to examine them in greater detail.

(1) Capell's (and Steevens'). In the Qq. and Ff., directly after the last speech of Armado previous to the one we are discussing, 'bestow on me the sense of hearing' (l. 670), there is a stage-direction *Beroune steppes forth*. The direction is unusually indefinite in its reference, remarkably so, as we have seen, for this play. Capell, however, found something in it to help him out of the main difficulty. He assumed that it had reference to the Costard-Jaquenetta-Armado business, and therefore changed it to *Biron steps to Costard and whispers him*, thus making Biron inform Costard of Jaquenetta's condition, and so occasion his precipitate interruption of Armado. Steevens' *Biron whispers Costard* is for the same purpose. But, it may well be asked, why should Biron have information—and such information!—about Jaquenetta, which Costard has not? Further, why should he choose this moment of all others and this clumsy dodge, to convey the information, even supposing he had it? Moreover, and more pointedly still, why should the Q. and F. say simply *Biron steps forth*, if the

action demands *Biron steps to Costard and whispers him*, especially when, as we have seen, they are as a rule almost needlessly clear in their directions? Capell's suggestion then is unconvincing in itself; it is against authority, it would explain Costard's interruption only, and not its precise time nor its precise form. We are convinced *Biron steps forth* has no reference to Costard at all. We regard it as parallel to *Draw out his Table-book* mentioned above, and marking nothing more than a piece of spontaneous comic business on Biron's part. Armado has repeatedly appealed to the courtiers to cease tormenting him by interruptions; he makes one more appeal; and in mock deference, Biron steps forth from the courtiers, where he has been standing, as if now 'humbly complying with Armado's request and dissociating himself from the tormentors. In justification of this interpretation, we may point out that although Boyet and Dumain continue their baiting, Biron is silent until Costard has exploded his bomb.

(2) Collier and Grant White also appreciate the difficulty which their acceptance of Theobald's emendation entails. They too are not convinced by Capell's solution, and they invent their own way out; like Capell, however, they seek the required occasion of Costard's interruption in some unrecorded stage-business. According to them, Costard must be supposed to leave the stage after line 591, 'Stand aside, good Pompey.' Whilst he is off the stage, he learns of Jaquenetta's condition, and comes running back again, interrupting Armado precipitately without heed to what Armado is at the moment saying, but just at the fortuitous moment when he gets back. This explanation has one or two advantages over Capell's. It does not require us to consider Biron as the newsmonger, and hence, does not require the perversion of a stage-direction; although it does require the insertion of two. But there are serious objections to Collier's solution. In the first place, 'Stand aside' is not *exit*, and it is highly unlikely that Costard would permit himself or be permitted to leave the stage during the Interlude of which he is a main figure. Further, and more decisively, there is not a trace either of his exit or of his new entrance in the stage-directions as we have them; and, as we have seen, that in itself is practically decisive in the case of *Love's Labour's Lost*. Moreover, Collier's bolstering comment—'Unless he [Costard] had gone out, it is not easy to see how he had obtained the information he brings'—is surely lamentably weak and entirely irrelevant to the main issue. If Costard can get the information, fortuitously, in a moment's run

off the stage, he surely might have got it at any time between Acts 2 and 5. We cannot, then, accept Collier's (and Grant White's) expedient.

It seems to us, then, that none of these accommodations of stage-directions help us out of the difficulty which Theobald occasions. None of them pay any heed at all to the precise form of Costard's remarks, and at best they give them only an accidental occasion without a real coherence in the sequence of the dialogue. And that seems to us a radical error in a play like *Love's Labour's Lost*, where dialogue and word-play are of supreme importance. Throughout the whole play, the dialogue is one succession of more or less obvious puns and quibbles; a word, or merely a sound, is caught up and becomes the connecting link to an apparently unconnected continuation. One might say that the general principle of the sequence of remarks in the play is that of the quibble. Thus, in most passages where we have apparently merely a collection of *disjecta membra*, we shall find the link from one to the other in a quibble: we would draw special attention to ll. 650-655 in the present scene, and to our note on them in the *Modern Language Review* (vol. XII, p. 78); it seems clear that in that passage we have precisely a case in point; all editors have regarded them as inconsequential sallies of not very pointed wit, whereas in reality the quibble on 'armipotent' gives them the intended point and sequence. Let us try to apply this principle to Armado's 'This Hector far surmounted Hannibal' and Costard's 'The party is gone... etc.' How could Armado's words, directly or quibblingly, give the suggestion of the Armado-Jaquenetta *liaison* to Costard? It seems to us that nothing even fairly obviously does that. It is possible, however, that *Hannibal* suggested a woman to the illiterate Costard, and that he gave a literal and obscene interpretation to *surmounted*. But were that the case, he would hardly have remarked 'The party is gone, fellow Hector, she is gone etc.,' where the repetition obviously implies a quibble with *gone*. He would have said at once 'she is with child.' It seems to us that we want a much more obvious suggestion, and, moreover, one which occasions the precise form of Costard's reply. And we are unable to find the least trace of one in the text as Theobald emended it, although his emendation cannot stand satisfactorily without one.

We may say then, that Theobald's re-allotment of the speeches occasions many serious difficulties. What, then, urged him to make it? Does the Q. and F. allotment present insuperable difficulties? One

may admit at once that *The party is gone* at first sight has no clear connexion with the previous part of Armado's speech. But there are several compelling reasons for our retaining it as Armado's. In the first place, all Ff. and Qq. give it to Armado. In the second, exactly in the spirit of the whole play, it provides us with a link from Armado's to Costard's speech; Costard catches up 'The party is gone,' taking the party, Hannibal, to be a woman, and by recollecting the immediately preceding 'surmounted,' which conveys to him an obscene sense, he is at once led to the quibble with *gone*. In the third place, only in this way can we give point to the exact words of Costard's reply, which clearly seem to be a quibbling repartee. And lastly, we have seen that the allotment of the phrase in question to Costard involves insuperable difficulties. In the face of all this evidence one would be disposed to retain *The party is gone* in Armado's speech, even if it seemed entirely meaningless. But on the contrary, its interpretation as Armado's presents less trouble than as Costard's. Armado has already told us, of Hector, 'The sweet war-man is dead and rotten,' in his attempt to recover from the courtiers' baiting, but now, thoroughly out-badgered, he stammers an echo—'The party (i.e. Hector) is gone.' This seems to us the general sense and application of his remark. The passage will, indeed, bear an even more detailed examination. Armado starts his set speech at l. 650, 'The armipotent Mars...gift,' at which point he is interrupted. With an imperious 'Peace!' (l. 656), however, he silences the baiters, and proceeds with his part, 'The armipotent...pavilion' (657-660): then, as if to show his superior contempt for his would-be interrupters, he turns aside from his set-speech, with a ludicrous brag 'I am that flower' (661) (Q. and F. do not italicise this phrase, thereby marking that it is *not* part of the set speech, although all editors from Theobald onwards, make it a continuation of the declamation). But the consequences are fatal: the baiting is renewed, and Armado is for the moment put out of his part. He half recovers by trying to remember his next line; and possibly his recovery is aided by the likelihood that his lines provided accidentally in themselves some sort of a retort to his tormentors—it seems likely that the set-speech went on to tell of Hector's death; perhaps it quibblingly took up the *breathed* of 659, at all events, the fact of Hector's death is impressed on Armado's mind, he mentions it straightway (666) and also, we suggest, in *The party is gone*; so he tries to remember his lines to urge his tormentors not to beat the bones of the buried. For a moment, he feels confident again 'I will forward with my device.' But again he

is interrupted, and he flounders worse than before : he can only get one more line out, before he feels beaten. And once more making an effort to recall the 'potent' passage, this time he does not get even as near as 'the sweet war-man is dead and rotten'; he merely blurts out the prosiest version 'the party is gone,' thus giving Costard the suggestion for a further perversion and a more decisive discomfiture of the 'flower' Hector, who is now, even to Costard, no more than 'fellow Hector.'

And may not the compositor have signified the floundering and the break in Armado's memory by leaving the space before *The party is gone*, where a modern compositor would probably have used a dash (—) with the same indication ?

But whether the details of this interpretation of *The party is gone* be accepted or not, it seems clear that the general sense of it is likely. At all events there can be little doubt that whatever our particular interpretation, we must reject Theobald's and restore Shakespeare's allocation of the speeches at issue¹.

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¹ Some points in the foregoing note were suggested to me in a long talk over the passage with Professor Vaughan, others by another friend.

UNE SOURCE D'ANDROMAQUE.

'HERCULE MOURANT,' DE ROTROU.

I.

VOLTAIRE a signalé dans son Commentaire sur Corneille, la ressemblance d'*Andromaque* avec *Pertharite*. Ici aussi, le vainqueur s'éprend de la veuve du vaincu, qu'on croit mort. Cette veuve reste fidèle à la mémoire de son mari ; mais elle a un fils, et il lui faut choisir entre la mort de ce fils ou le mariage. Cependant une fiancée dédaignée, jalouse et ironique, pousse son amant provisoire à la venger. 'Il me paraît prouvé, écrit Voltaire, que Racine a puisé toute l'ordonnance de sa tragédie d'*Andromaque* dans ce second acte de *Pertharite*.'

C'est beaucoup dire. Mais quoi qu'il faille penser du rapport des deux pièces, une autre tragédie, au moins, pourrait revendiquer des droits sur *Andromaque*, une tragédie claire, humaine, passionnée, pathétique, naturelle, proche à tous égards de l'ordre de beauté racinien ; c'est *Hercule mourant*, de Rotrou¹.

Les données de fait et de sentiment des deux pièces coïncident dans une large mesure.

Hercule est placé entre Déjanire sa femme, qu'il n'aime plus, et Iole sa captive, dont il est épris follement, à peu près comme Pyrrhus entre Hermione et Andromaque.

Iole et Andromaque sont toutes deux captives, et ont connu les mêmes malheurs : patrie conquise, père ou mari tué par le vainqueur qui les aime.

Iole aime Arcas, comme Andromaque le souvenir d'Hector ; et pas plus qu'Andromaque l'amour de Pyrrhus, elle n'accueille ou n'encourage l'amour d'Hercule.

L'obstacle qui se dresse entre Iole et Hercule, comme entre Andro-

¹ Imprimé en 1636 (Privilege du 30 avril, Achevé d'imprimer du 28 mai). Je cite d'après l'édition princeps. Il existe une réédition moderne, par Viollet le Duc (1820, 5 vol. ; au tom. II). Racine étant dans toutes les mains, je me contente d'y renvoyer.

maque et Pyrrhus, c'est le souvenir ou plutôt la vision toujours vive du père égorgé et de la terre ravagée, avec l'horreur physique et morale qui en résulte.

Iole n'est pas la concubine d'Hercule, malgré la légende, non plus qu'Andromaque ne l'est de Pyrrhus.

Hercule abuse de l'amour d'Iole pour Arcas de la même manière et aux mêmes fins que Pyrrhus de l'amour d'Andromaque pour son fils.

Pour sauver ce qu'elle aime, Iole vient supplier Déjanire, comme Andromaque Hermione.

La menace d'Hercule contre Arcas ne peut rien sur la volonté d'Iole. Celle-ci espère désarmer Hercule en se tuant, comme Andromaque croit trouver un remède à sa situation en épousant Pyrrhus et mourant ensuite sur le tombeau d'Hector.

Hercule prépare et ordonne la mort d'Arcas comme Hermione celle de Pyrrhus; et Philoctète exécutera sa volonté, comme Oreste celle d'Hermione, à contre-cœur.

Déjanire éprouve presque les fureurs d'Hermione, et la jalousie est le ressort du drame.

Déjanire manie l'ironie et le sarcasme comme Hermione.

Déjanire fait (involontairement) mourir Hercule comme Hermione fait tuer Pyrrhus.

Déjanire poursuivrait Iole comme Hermione Andromaque, si les effets de la tunique de Nessus ne se faisaient sentir aussi promptement.

Déjanire a un accès de folie, comme Oreste.

Iole et Arcas sont sauvés et triomphent, comme Andromaque et Astyanax.

Philoctète joue plus ou moins le rôle de Pylade, et Luscinde celui de Cléone.

En somme, l'armature, les ressorts, et les passions des deux pièces se ressemblent, dans les grandes lignes, singulièrement. En lisant l'*Hercule mourant*, on a quelquefois l'impression d'une édition d'*Andromaque* avant la lettre.

Sans doute il faut se méfier de ces analogies, dont plusieurs s'expliquent assurément par la ressemblance foncière des légendes et la nécessité interne des sujets.

Notre règle sera donc la suivante.

Partout où les légendes d'Andromaque et d'Iole coïncident, il faut admettre que Racine n'a pas eu besoin d'imiter *Hercule mourant*. Mais il reste possible qu'il s'en soit inspiré, et alors il devra en subsister quelques reflets dans *Andromaque*.

Partout où les sources ne rendent compte ni de Rotrou ni de Racine, et où pourtant Racine ressemble à Rotrou, on *peut* admettre jusqu'à la découverte d'autres sources, et, si des imitations de détail s'ajoutent à la ressemblance générale, il *faut* admettre que Racine a suivi Rotrou.

Plusieurs imitations importantes et démontrées rendent ensuite probables les imitations possibles.

Rotrou lui-même imitant l'*Hercules Oetaeus* de Sénèque, nous aurons à vérifier dans chaque cas si Racine s'est reporté de Rotrou à Sénèque ; et nous aurons à distinguer entre le texte latin et la traduction qu'en a donnée à Troyes, en 1629, Benoît Bauduyn.

Enfin, les procédés de travail de Racine nous éclairent d'avance sur le genre de ressemblance auquel nous pouvons nous attendre entre lui et Rotrou. Il attachait une importance primordiale au plan, c'est à dire à l'enchaînement rigoureux des causes et des effets, des actions et des réactions psychologiques ; c'est ce qu'il exprimait en disant que son plan terminé, sa pièce était faite ; le travail de la rédaction lui paraissait de moindre importance et de moindre difficulté que l'agencement détaillé des idées et des sentiments. Nous devons donc une attention particulière au dessin des scènes et à la mise en série des arguments. Quant aux ressemblances formelles, elles sont loin de manquer ; mais la précision extrême de Racine, je veux dire l'adaptation rigoureuse de son discours aux circonstances de ses personnages, et la diffusion relative de Rotrou ne les favorisent pas. L'idée, l'ébranlement originel peut venir de Rotrou, le développement appartenir en propre à Racine, la distance qui les sépare paraître grande, et néanmoins le lien exister entre les deux pièces.

Il convient de démontrer d'abord l'imitation de Racine.

Quatre scènes, et non des moindres, pour négliger les détails dispersés, paraissent s'inspirer particulièrement d'*Hercule mourant*.

LA PREMIÈRE SCÈNE ENTRE PYRRHUS ET ANDROMAQUE (I, 4) offre des ressemblances dans le dessin et l'argumentation avec les scènes I, 3 et II, 4 de Rotrou¹. Il faut noter que l'ambassade d'Oreste n'ayant pas d'équivalent chez Rotrou, cette scène est la première où *Andromaque* pût entrer en contact avec *Hercule mourant*.

1°. Hercule demande à Iole au moins un regard d'amour : Iole lui reproche la mort de son père (I, 3).—Cet argument, naturel et nécessaire, a peut-être appelé pour une part les vers 355 ss. de Racine ;

¹ Rotrou utilise quelques vers de Sénèque. Mais ces scènes n'existent pas dans *Hercules Oetaeus*.

mais le couplet de Rotrou a inspiré un autre passage d'*Andromaque* (928-943 ; voir notre second article).

2°. Hercule rejette cette mort sur la beauté d'Iole :

J'ay plaint à ton sujet le succès de mes armes :
Mais de ton propre mal n'accuse que tes charmes,...
Parce que j'aimois trop, je fus un peu cruel,
Et ta seule beauté causa nostre duel.

Même réplique de Pyrrhus dans Racine (311 ss.).

3°. Iole, alors, se plaint de cette beauté :

O cruelle beauté ! trompeuse ! image vaine !
Que le Ciel m'a venduë au prix de tant de peine ;
Quelle misere encor me dois-tu procurer ?
Et combien de malheurs ay-je encore à pleurer¹.

Andromaque (301 ss.) oppose à l'insistance de Pyrrhus les pleurs éternels de ses yeux².

4°. Hercule offre à Iole le réconfort de son amour, et l'orgueil de devenir la femme d'un demi-dieu et la fille d'un Dieu ; c'est l'offre de Pyrrhus à Andromaque (325 ss.).

5°. Iole se révolte :

Moy, la fille d'un Dieu, non, non, que Dejanire,
Sur vos affections conserve son empire ;...

De même Andromaque renvoie Pyrrhus à Hermione (342).

6°. Iole demande plutôt tous les supplices à Hercule, comme Andromaque l'exil à Pyrrhus (338).

7°. Et elle lui réexprime l'horreur qu'il lui inspire :

Mais vos plus doux baisers auroient de l'amertume ;
Baiser, de mon país, l'injuste Conquerant,
Caresser l'assassin de mon plus cher parant,
Et sans que mes esprits incessamment s'alterent ;
Sentir entre mes bras, les bras qui l'estoufferent :
Non, non, prières, pleurs, force ny cruauté
Ne peuvent m'obliger à cette lascheté.

C'est aussi l'argument suprême d'Andromaque (355 ss.).

¹ Vers analogue (II, 4) : le malheureux effet d'une fausse beauté.

² Les vers 275 ss. de Racine ont leur pendant dans ceux-ci, de Rotrou (II, 3) : Attends-tu, se demande Iole, qu'Arcas ait été sacrifié

Non pas pour ses forfaits, mais pour ton innocence,
Mon honneur seulement causera son trespas,
Et le crime qu'il fait, c'est que je n'en fais pas ;
Arcas, Roy de mes vœux, & de mes destinees,
Agréable enchanteur de mes jeunes anneess...

Ces deux derniers vers rappellent le souvenir d'Hector (334 ss.) ; et les vers touchants d'Andromaque (301 ss.) sont dans le même ton que celui-ci (*ibidem*) :

Iole, triste objet, & de haine, & d'amour...

Ces deux dernières ressemblances sont fuyantes.

8°. Hercule se révolte et menace,

Non, non, de ta beauté mon cœur sera le prix,
Mais cedant aux attraits, je vaincray les mespris,

comme Pyrrhus (363 ss., notamment 370).

9°. Iole parle alors de mourir, comme Andromaque (373 ss.).

10°. Hercule bat en retraite :

Ha ! voila rebuter d'un mespris trop severe,
Celuy qui t'aime seule, & seule te revere.
Pardonne, belle Iole, à mon affection,
Ceste mauvaise humeur, & cette émotion...

Ainsi fait Pyrrhus et il parle de la colère d'Andromaque (380 ss.).

11°. Iole achève en priant donc Hercule de 'destourner ailleurs ceste flamme lascive' (*Andr.* 342); Hercule s'humilie, sans désespérer de l'effet de son amour et de ses larmes.

12°. La scène 4 de l'acte II pourrait avoir suggéré à Racine la fameuse *attaque* de Pyrrhus: Me cherchiez-vous, Madame?...Arcas paraît à la fenêtre de la prison et aperçoit Iole :

Est-ce vous mon Soleil ? quelle heureuse nouvelle
Recevray-je aujourd'huy d'une bouche si belle ?
Que vient-elle annoncer au malheureux Arcas ?

— La mort ;

— Et qui sera l'auteur de mon trespas ?

De même Pyrrhus informe Andromaque de l'ultimatum des Grecs, et elle s'écrie, sur le même mouvement (267) :

Et quelle est cette peur dont leur cœur est frappé...

Au surplus, cette scène II, 4 de Rotrou n'offre que des analogies assez fuyantes avec celle de Racine. La plus nette est de poser une fois de plus le fait essentiel du sujet :

Ce vainqueur insolent à sa brutale envie
Veut demain immoler mon honneur, ou ta vie,
Sçachant que pour toy seul je conserve ma foy,
Il croit que ma vertu n'a point d'appuy que toy,
Et qu'elle doit tomber aussi tost que mes larmes,
Quand tu rendras l'esprit sous l'effet de ses armes.

Cette conviction est implicite dans l'esprit de Pyrrhus pendant toute la scène, mais paraît avec plus de précision aux vers 370 ss. ; elle est également à la base de *Pertharite* (574, 759-762).

Enfin Arcas consent à la mort comme Andromaque paraît consentir à celle de son fils ; mais Iole en a fait autant dans la scène I, 3, dont presque tous les arguments ont passé dans Racine, et qui reste sa source principale, à moins d'expliquer par le hasard les nombreux points de contact des deux scènes.

L'ENTREVUE D'ANDROMAQUE ET D'HERMIONE (III, 4) est l'une des scènes les plus caractéristiques et les plus célèbres de la tragédie. Aucune des sources antiques n'en offre le pendant. Il y a bien dans l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide une scène entre Hermione et Andromaque, mais toute différente, et même contraire. Cependant Racine n'avait qu'à en conserver l'idée, en en renouvelant le contenu. D'autre part, les scènes de l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide et surtout des *Troyennes* de Sénèque, dans lesquelles Andromaque discute avec Ménélas et Ulysse le sort d'Astyanax, pouvaient à la rigueur lui fournir, moyennant une forte transposition, une partie de la matière de sa scène. Enfin c'était, dira-t-on, une des 'scènes à faire,' et Racine était trop habile homme pour la manquer.

Il se peut, mais la scène est faite chez Rotrou (II, 3). Iole prie Déjanire pour Arcas et pour elle-même, comme Andromaque prie Hermione pour Astyanax.—La scène n'a pas d'équivalent chez Sénèque, où Iole paraît à peine au premier acte.

Racine a-t-il suivi Rotrou ?

1°. Les deux scènes s'engagent de la même manière. Déjanire est interrompue dans ses apprêts de vengeance comme Hermione dans la joie de son triomphe. Elle s'écrie :

Dieux ! quel sort inhumain pour augmenter ma peine,
 Présente à mes regards cet objet de ma haine ?

Hermione exprime la même impatience de la même manière (v. 857) : Dieux ! ne puis-je à la joie...

2°. Son premier mouvement est de fuir (v. 858). Ce mouvement se retrouve au milieu de la scène de Rotrou. Quand elle a suffisamment insulté Iole, Déjanire veut se retirer. Iole la retient en pleurant :

Madame !—Arreste infame, & ne suy point mes pas.

3°. Les deux scènes finissent semblablement, par quelques mots de plainte échangés entre les princesses et leurs confidentes. Céphise conseille à Andromaque de voir Pyrrhus, comme Iole invite Arsides à visiter Arcas avec elle :

Qu'ay-je à délibérer en ce peril pressant ?
 Visitons [.] Arsides, cet esclave innocent.

Et Arcas paraît aussitôt à la fenêtre de sa prison, comme Pyrrhus se présente à Andromaque.

4°. Le corps même des deux scènes présente peu de ressemblances formelles¹ ; la précision de Racine en est cause ; sur 22 vers $\frac{1}{2}$, 4 sont

¹ Relevons sans y insister le mot *intérêt* : vostre interest (Rotrou, v. 4), son intérêt (*Andr.* 870).

consacrés à Hector, 13 à Astyanax, et n'ont pas d'équivalent possible dans Rotrou. Cependant l'unité de dessin des deux scènes apparaît sous les divergences superficielles. Iole et Andromaque commencent par essayer de désarmer leur ennemie, en rappelant leurs malheurs et protestant de leurs intentions; puis chacune s'efforce de sauver, Iole Arcas, Andromaque Astyanax.

5°. Quelques idées de détail paraissent particulièrement proches. Iole rappelle la perte de son bonheur et de son amour (v. 5-7) comme Andromaque (863-865). Elle fait allusion (v. 10) au pouvoir de Déjanire comme Andromaque à celui d'Hermione (876). Elle se met avec Arcas sous sa protection (v. 11-12), comme Andromaque met Astyanax sous la protection d'Hermione.

Racine ayant assurément lu l'*Hercule mourant*, la conclusion paraît s'imposer. Il faut admettre l'emprunt, plutôt qu'un hasard dû à la logique de la situation et des caractères.

La scène de Rotrou déborde de beaucoup celle de Racine : 76 vers contre 22½. Déjanire, qui ailleurs manie finement l'ironie, ici pratique surtout l'insulte, et assez longuement. Longues aussi, après sa sortie, sont les plaintes d'Iole. Racine les a peut-être utilisées ailleurs; mais ici il les a retranchées; il aura senti que la pureté, la beauté, la puissance d'émotion de cette scène étaient liées à sa brièveté. Il ne s'est pas trompé; la rencontre de Dante et de Béatrice émeut à peine davantage les imaginations françaises.

Iole se lamente sur ce qu'elle déplaît à la fois à Hercule et à Déjanire (à Hercule pour trop lui plaire), sur ce qu'elle est adorée et haïe malgré elle, également outragée par cet amour et par cette haine, également menacée dans son honneur :

Iole, triste object, & de haine, & d'amour...

On sait la parenté que Racine a établie entre ces deux sentiments, qu'il fond l'un dans l'autre. Rotrou est loin d'atteindre sa force et sa netteté. Il n'est guère à croire qu'il ait orienté les réflexions de son successeur bien qu'il présente les linéaments, assez pâles encore, de la théorie racinienne; sans doute n'y a-t-il entre les deux écrivains qu'une rencontre de termes et de pointes. De toute manière, *Hercule mourant* n'est pas construit comme *Andromaque* sur ces jeux antithétiques de l'amour et de la haine.

Cette scène non plus n'a pas la même portée dans les deux tragédies. Chez Rotrou, elle n'aboutit à rien. Chez Racine, elle clôt la série des scènes (II, 4-III, 5) que détermine le premier revirement de Pyrrhus,

enlève à Andromaque sa dernière chance de sauver Astyanax, la rejette vers Pyrrhus dont elle amène la décision finale, et relance le balancier de l'action (III, 6-v, 5, avec la suspension de IV, 5).

LA SCÈNE ENTRE PYRRHUS ET HERMIONE (IV, 5).—Pour la jalousie et les emportements d'Hermione, Racine ne renvoie qu'à l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide (Seconde Préface); en réalité, il n'a guère imité l'écrivain grec.

Rien n'indique non plus qu'il ait relu l'*Hercules Oetaeus*, dont l'acte II contient une étude de jalousie assez poussée. Sénèque y indique même plus nettement que Rotrou les revirements de cette passion; mais sa Déjanire est possédée par la fureur; elle ignore l'ironie.

Corneille était un grand maître d'ironie. Pourtant Rotrou, dont les deux premiers actes suivent de près Sénèque, a plus sûrement inspiré Racine¹.

Celui-ci semble avoir dispersé le rôle de Déjanire, selon qu'il inclinait à la fureur ou à l'ironie, entre Hermione, Pyrrhus et Oreste. Son imitation ressort particulièrement dans l'une des scènes caractéristiques de sa tragédie, la grande scène de l'acte IV entre Pyrrhus et Hermione²; celle-ci dérive, surtout à partir du vers 1313, de la scène parallèle entre Déjanire et Hercule (I, 2), avec emprunts de détail aux scènes I, 4 (Hercule, Déjanire, Iole), II, 1 (Luscinde) et II, 2 (Déjanire, Luscinde).

1°. Les vers 1297-1300 et surtout 1301-1305 de Racine ressemblent singulièrement à ceux-ci, de Rotrou (I, 4):

Adieu, plains toy jalouse³, & de cette aventure
Accuse si tu veux, le Ciel, & la Nature;
Appelle lâcheté, foiblesse, trahison,
L'agréable tourment qui trouble ma raison;
Je suis traistre, volage, inconstant, infidelle;
Je suis ce qu'il te plaist, mais j'aime ceste belle;
Hercule est glorieux de sa captivité,
Et souz de si beaux fers il hait sa liberté⁴.

¹ L'un des traits les plus frappants de l'ironie de Déjanire est le suivant. Hercule vient de lui vanter très indiscretement les beautés d'Iole; elle lui répond ce seul vers et s'en va: Madame est plus charmante encor que vos discours (I, 4). A ses ironies il faut en ajouter quelques-unes d'Hercule.

² Les analogies de cette scène avec la *Sophonisbe* (III, 4) et le *Marc-Antoine* (III, 4) de Mairet sont fortuites.

³ Déjanire vient de sortir, sur le joli vers que j'ai cité ci-dessus.

⁴ Une tirade de la *Didon* de Scudéry (IV, 3) ressemble aussi à celle de Racine; mais l'emprunt serait unique.—Enée s'adresse au portrait de Didon:

Ouy Madame, il est vrai, je manque de promesse;
Je ne vous cele point que je suis criminel,

A cet ordre de sentiments se rattache aussi la réponse d'Hermione (1325-1326).

2°. Les vers 1309 ss. et 1315 de Racine ne sont pas sans analogie avec ceux-ci d'*Hercule mourant* (II, 2) :

Il ne daigne à mes yeux cacher sa perfidie,
Et peut-estre en son cœur desjà me repudie.

Mais à partir du vers 1313, comme je l'ai dit, les scènes IV, 5 de Racine et I, 2 de Rotrou se rejoignent, et les imitations se précisent.

Déjanire veut faire avouer à Hercule qu'Iole est sa maîtresse ; elle plaide le faux pour savoir le vrai, avec une soumission affectée qui couvre à la fois de l'ironie et de la fureur. Les arguments se suivent dans l'ordre suivant : 1°. Enfin Iole vous attend, est à vous (4 vers). 2°. Elle s'est consolée facilement du mal que vous lui avez fait ! (6 vers). 3°. *Hercule* : Jamais fille n'a plus regretté son père (4 vers). 4°. Oui, mais l'amour a fait taire les regrets (4 vers). 5°. *Hercule* : Non, elle est vertueuse, et je n'ai pas essayé de la séduire (8 vers). 6°. A quoi bon vous en défendre ? N'êtes-vous pas le maître ? Avez-vous peur de moi ? Ne vous gênez pas. C'est trop d'un demi-dieu pour une mortelle. Même partagé, vous m'êtes encore trop cher (18 vers). 7°. *Hercule* : Cruelle ! après tant d'amour, croyez-vous que je puisse cesser de vous aimer ? (9 vers). 8°. Mais préparez le sacrifice d'actions de grâces (7 vers). 9°. Ah ! traître, ah ! déloyal ! je sais que tu ne m'aimes plus, l'âge m'a enlevé mon charme, tandis qu'Iole brille de toute sa jeunesse (16 vers). Mais il me reste mon courage, et ton infidélité te fera voir en moi un monstre plus terrible que tous ceux que tu as domptés (8 vers).

Racine a modifié l'ordre des arguments de Rotrou.

Et que mon cœur merite un supplice eternel.
J'ay trop de cruauté, & trop d'ingratitude ;
Elle devoit avoir un traitement moins rude ;
L'amour qu'elle a pour moi me devoit obliger,
A n'acquiescer jamais le titre de leger ;
Pour tant de biens receuz, je devois me resoudre,
A voir tomber sur moy les pointes de la foudre,
Vous pouvez m'attaquer par ces termes tranchans,
Dont un cœur irrité doit traiter les meschans ;
Appellez-moy perfide, appelez-moy volage,
Je sçauray l'endurer, si cela vous soulage :
Je voy qu'elle a raison, & que je la trahis,
Mais les dieux apres tout, veulent estre obeis.

Il y a ainsi des situations et des tirades qui reviennent de tragédie en tragédie, à cause de la ressemblance des sujets de la tragédie, et dont il serait utile d'avoir une sorte d'Index. C'est ainsi que les vers 1275-1308 d'*Andromaque* ont un pendant dans Quinault, *Mort de Cyrus*, IV, 4 (? 1656 ; impr. 1659).

3°. Ses vers 1313-1317 utilisent l'argument 6 :

Quel timide respect à vostre amour est joint ?
Ce qui vous plaist est juste, & vous ne faillez point ;
Vous celez sans sujet cét aimable servage,
Et le desguisement trahit votre courage.
Quoy

Les deux développements aboutissent, après le même nombre de vers (4), au même mouvement interrogatif, ou plutôt à une même série d'interrogations, qui occupent chez l'un et l'autre poète six vers ; mais ici la précision de Racine empêche toute ressemblance de fond. Puis les deux développements repartent sur un ton plus posé :

Contentez, grand Heros, vostre amoureuse envie,
Et ne contraignez point une si belle vie ;
Hercule oblige trop de n'aimer qu'en un lieu,
Pour un object mortel, c'est trop qu'un demy Dieu ;
C'est trop que jusqu'à nous Hercule se ravalles,
Et que je le partage avec une rivalle,
Quelque nouvel object qui le puisse toucher,
Hercule divisé m'est encore trop cher.

4°. Il est douteux si les vers 1325-1328 de Racine sont un écho de ceux de Rotrou (argument 1) :

Enfin Iole est vostre, & ses caresses prestes,
De gloire, & de plaisir vont combler vos conquestes ;
Iole glorieuse attend les bras ouverts
Ce Heros, qui souz soy fait trembler l'Univers¹.

5°. Mais les arguments 2, 3 et 4 de Rotrou ont pu rappeler l'attention de Racine sur les torts de Pyrrhus envers Andromaque (1333-1340) :

Le servage est pour elle une heureuse victoire,
Son païs déconfit, altere peu sa gloire,
Et voyant par vos mains ses parens expirer,
Elle songe bien plus à vous voir qu'à pleurer.
Elle a vû sans regret sa Province deserte ;...
Elle aimoit le vainqueur, & mesprisait sa perte. Etc.

6°. L'argument 3 de Rotrou se reconnaît dans la réplique de Pyrrhus (v. 1341 ss.) :

Jamais perte aux vaincus n'a tant cousté de pleurs,
Son esprit fut troublé, son teint perdit ses fleurs ;
Et jamais une mort ne fut tant regrettee,
Qu'Iole a regretté la perte d'Euritée.

7°. Les vers 1345 ss. d'Andromaque semblent répondre, autrement

¹ Luscinde (II, 1, traduit de Sénèque v. 251) dit de Déjanire :

Sa pasleur fait juger du mal qui la possède,
La rougeur tost apres à la pasleur succede ;...

Il n'est pas à croire que ces vers soient pour rien dans le vers 1327 de Racine.

que Rotrou n'a fait lui-même, à l'argument 6 du même Rotrou (voir ci-dessus).

8°. Et la réponse d'Hercule (argument 7) se reconnaît dans la réplique d'Hermione (v. 1356 ss.) :

Cruelle, pour tesmoin de mon amour extremes,
Je t'offre seulement tes attraits, & toy mesme ;
Ces traits de tant d'amants autre-fois reverez,
Que toute l'Oetolie a naguere adorez,
Et qui blessent encor tant d'ames estrangeres ;
Pense-tu qu'ils m'aient fait des blessures legeres,
Et qu'on puisse guerir de l'aimable tourment
Que tes yeux ont fait naistre en l'esprit d'un amant.
Non, perds ces faux soupçons, & que ta crainte meure,

9°. Les vers d'Hermione 1365 et 1369-1370 ne sont peut-être qu'un résumé du début de l'argument 9 de Rotrou :

Non, non, je ne suis plus cét object si charmant
Qui força l'inconstance à l'aimer constamment ;
Qui fit d'une infidelle, un Amant veritable¹ ;
Qui s'acquit sur tes sens un pouvoir redoutable ; etc.

10°. L'apostrophe et le tutoiement paraissent dans Racine (v. 1375) et dans Rotrou au même point du développement :

Ha traistre ! ha desloyal ! que d'une vaine feinte,
Tu me veux desguiser le sujet de ma crainte...

11°. Enfin les derniers vers d'Hermione (v. 1381-86) rappellent de près les derniers vers de Rotrou :

..... & le cours de cét aage
Qui m'oste des attraits, me laisse du courage ;
Si ma force n'est vaine en ceste occasion,
Je paroistray ta femme à ta confusion ;
Ta vie en la fureur dont j'ay l'ame enflammee,
Trame un pire Lyon que celui de Nemea,
Et ma jalouse humeur t'est un monstre plus fort
Que tous ceux dont tes bras ont accoursi le sort².

Hercule profère les mêmes menaces (I, 4) contre Iole qui vient de le braver ; le passage qui suit a pu renforcer le précédent :

Ingrate, dy plustot la perte de ton cœur,
Arcas te le ravit, Arcas en est vainqueur,
Et la foy que je veux ce captif l'a receuë :
Mais appren en deux mots quelle en sera l'issuë.
Demain si je n'obtiens la faveur que je veux
J'immoie à mon courroux cét object de tes vœux,

¹ Rotrou dit ailleurs (la référence précise m'échappe) : Il te plaît infidèle et t'a déplu constant !—Cette antithèse a été retournée de toutes les manières dans la tragédie française.

² Dans la même scène Hercule donne ses ordres pour le sacrifice où il revêtira la tunique fatale. Mais la mort de Pyrrhus à l'autel (v. 1385) est fournie directement à Racine par l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide.

Ce beau fils, ce mignon, ton ame & tes delices,
A tes yeux esgorgé payera mes services ;
Consulte là-dessus.

Ces vers, sauf une exclamation d'Iole (1 vers $\frac{1}{2}$), terminent la scène et l'acte.

Il ne semble pas que la ressemblance générale des situations suffise à expliquer tant de points de contact, dont quelques-uns sont si précis, entre les deux scènes¹.

LA SCÈNE DE FOLIE (v, 5), enfin, nous met en face d'une dernière imitation caractérisée. Elle provient pour la meilleure part de la scène III, 4 d'*Hercule mourant*.

Agis presse Déjanire de s'enfuir :

Allez, courez, fuyez, & quoy, Madame ? ô Dieux !
Après cet accident vous restez en ces lieux !...
Tout le monde assemblé ne vous sauverait pas.

Ainsi fait et dit Pylade (1586)².

Les vers 1613 ss. sont nés peut-être de ce couplet d'*Hercule* (iv, 1) :

Tranchez cruelles sœurs ceste fatale trame
Qui ne peut consommer, qui resiste à la flamme ;
Achevez de mes jours le penible fuseau,
Et de toutes vos mains pressez-y le cizeau ;
Je ne troubleray point vos tenebreuses rives.
O remede trop lent ! ô filles trop tardives !
Quoy ? mon mal par la mort ne peut estre allegé,
Et pour ne mourir point il faut vivre enragé ?

Enfin les vers 1625-1648, les derniers de la tragédie, dérivent sans aucun doute, mais pour une part seulement, de Rotrou.

Le prototype de ces scènes de folie se trouve dans l'*Oreste* d'Euripide (v. 208 ss.). Oreste, endormi, comme mort, se réveille. Electre s'approche de lui, le soigne tendrement, l'encourage... L'accès reprend pourtant (v. 253). Oreste voit 'les vierges à l'œil de sang, armées de serpents' s'élancer sur lui ; il bondit hors de son lit, où Electre essaie de le retenir ; il demande son arc pour repousser les déesses ; il entend les flèches voler ; il apostrophe les furies. L'accès s'apaise après le paroxysme, au milieu d'une agitation et à la suite d'une expiration pénibles. Oreste reprend ses sens (v. 280) et se recouche, toujours veillé et conseillé maternellement par Electre.

¹ Presque aucun des arguments retenus par Racine ne vient de Sénèque. Pour les autres, Racine n'est pas remonté au texte latin.

² Les vers 1621 ss. de Racine ne sont pas sans ressembler à *Mélite*, 1301 ss. ; le vers 1597 à *Mélite* 1300. Rencontres fortuites. La folie comique d'Eraste se prolonge pendant plusieurs scènes. Les scènes de folie sont d'ailleurs très nombreuses dans notre théâtre de 1620 à 1640.

Si l'on veut bien se reporter au texte et y comparer Racine, on verra qu'en dehors du thème général, ces deux fragments de scène n'ont guère de points de contact. Euripide insiste surtout sur l'œil de sang, les yeux de chiens, le regard effroyable des Erinnyes ; et il fait dire (v. 390) par Electre à Oreste qu'un regard effrayant s'échappe de ses pupilles desséchées. Racine (qui, en l'absence d'une imitation générale prouvée, ne peut guère devoir ce trait unique à Euripide) fait bien jeter d'affreux regards par Hermione sur Oreste ; mais il tire à peu près tout son effet des serpents, qu'Euripide ne mentionne qu'en passant. Chez les deux poètes enfin, l'apostrophe d'Oreste se rencontre, mais amenée et orientée différemment. Il est certain que Racine n'a pas relu *Oreste* avant d'écrire la tirade finale d'*Andromaque* ; à tout le moins n'en a-t-il pas utilisé la scène de folie.

Il apparaît clairement, en outre, qu'il n'a pas taillé lui-même dans le dialogue simple, touchant, miséricordieux (et très coupé) de la tragédie grecque, sa tirade d'allure oratoire et violente. Il l'a empruntée à l'*Hercule mourant*.

Mais d'abord, *Hercule mourant* contient (d'après Sénèque, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1432 ss.) une scène de rêve ou de ravissement. Ses souffrances apaisées un moment, Hercule voit le ciel ouvert devant lui dans un éblouissement de lumière ; puis il se réveille de son extase en des vers que Rotrou a traduits de la sorte :

Mais de quelle ombre, *ô Ciel* ! ces clartez sont suivies ?
Quelle nuit m'a si tost ces merveilles ravies ?
Ô Dieux ! tout mon bonheur s'efface en un moment !
 Et je retombe enfin en ce triste Element,
Je revoy...

IV, 2.

Il est très probable que Racine a pris là ses vers 1625-1628, dont l'idée, le mouvement et certains détails sont pareils. Il n'est d'ailleurs pas remonté à Sénèque, dont la pensée (v. 1440 ss.) s'exprime en termes techniques.

Voici maintenant la scène de folie telle qu'on la lit dans Rotrou¹. Déjanire, apprenant les tortures qu'elle a innocemment infligées à Hercule, perd la raison.

Elle devient folle. Ha ! je descouvre enfin l'appareil² de ma perte,
 D'affreuses legions la campagne est couverte,

¹ Je mets en italiques les mots qui se retrouvent dans Racine, et j'essaye en note de mesurer la probabilité des imitations. Mais je prie le lecteur de relire d'abord le texte de Racine, puis celui de Rotrou, sans les notes.

² Cf. *Andr.*, 1639. Le lexique de Racine (mais il est incomplet et peu sûr) ne donne aucun exemple du mot avant *Andromaque* ; il en cite un autre dans cette tragédie (v. 23) et six postérieurs. Le mot, d'origine latine, signifie état, mise, dispositions, préparatifs de fête, cortège. Il a le même sens dans nos deux textes.

Le juste bras du Ciel sur ma teste descend,
 Les enfers vont s'ouvrir, & la terre se fend¹;
 Desja Megere sort, & ses noires couleuvres
 Vont adjouster ma perte à leurs tragiques œuvres;
 Que faut-il? Ce Heros ne veut-il que mon sang²?
 Il est prest à sortir, picquez, percez ce flanc:
 Mais quel Dieu? quel *Demon*³? ou quel *bras*⁴ redoutable,
 Lance contre mon chef ce roc espouvantable;
 A ce coup, à ce coup, je vay perdre le jour,
 Pardon, mon crime, ô Ciel? n'est qu'un crime d'amour⁵:
 Mais que dis-je, ma mort est encor incertaine?
 Et je veux différer une si juste peine;
*Non, non*⁶, ces ennemis ont un courroux trop lent,
 Je scauray bien mourir d'un coup plus violent;
 La main qui tuë Hercule, est assez genereuse,
 Pour ne rebrousser pas contre une mal-heureuse;
 Allons de mille coups sur ce coupable corps,
 Reparer une mort pire que mille morts.

LUSCINDE.

Dieux! comme furieuse, & comme abandonnée,
 Elle cherche où finir sa triste destinée.
 O Ciel! ô justes Dieux! destournez son trespas;
 Mais elle est desja loin, courons, suivons ses pas.
 (III, 4.)

Sans insister sur les détails que j'ai soulignés et dont un ou deux paraissent des indices très sérieux, sinon décisifs, le lecteur se sera rendu compte que l'ordre et le mouvement des deux morceaux sont semblables, à quelques détails près: (1°) L'hallucination générale: chez Rotrou, l'égarement de Déjanire, les légions de furies, l'enfer qui s'ouvre, Mégère qui apparaît, l'offre que Déjanire fait de son sang; chez Racine, la volonté d'Oreste de mourir en se noyant dans le sang de Pyrrhus et d'Hermione, son égarement, l'apparition des deux amants. (2°) De part et d'autre la crise s'accroît, l'hallucination se particularise, les mêmes interrogations arrivent et se pressent; un roc chez Rotrou, les furies chez Racine, menacent Déjanire et Oreste. (3°) Les deux

¹ Harmonie à retenir pour les vers 1637-1639 d'*Andromaque*. Voir plus bas.

² Un peu plus haut Rotrou a écrit: Que mon sang sur ce mont fasse mille ruisseaux (Déjanire se voit tombant du haut du mont, déchirée par les rochers). Ces deux vers ont-ils amorcé les vers 1622 et 1628 d'*Andromaque*? Mais le sang est partout dans la tragédie. 'On voit un tour de sang dessus sa gorge nue,' s'écrie Hérode contemplant Mariane dans l'hallucination finale de *Mariane*, par Tristan l'Hermite (que Racine n'a pas imitée).

³ Cf. *Andr.*, 1635-1636. La présence du mot *Démon* (deux autres exemples dans le théâtre de Racine) paraît rendre l'imitation des plus probables.

⁴ Racine (1637) dit: vos mains sont-elles prêtes? Mais *prêtes* est là pour rimer avec *têtes*, et a pu entraîner *maines*. Il n'y a sans doute pas de source à un détail aussi simple. [Cf. *Hercules furens*, 86-88, 101-103.]

⁵ Comparer *Phèdre* iv, 6 (1289).

⁶ *Andromaque* 1642: mais non.—Le redoublement de la négation après une proposition exclamative, si fréquent chez Racine, se rencontre une dizaine de fois dans *Hercule mourant*. Mais il se rencontre aussi chez Corneille, et partout.

malheureux s'abandonnent à leur sort. (4°) Luscinde et Pylade finissent chacun la scène par un couplet de quatre vers, d'intention et de signification pareilles.

L'identité de structure et de dessin est frappante. Ajoutons que ces deux fragments ont chacun vingt vers.

Ce qui achève la démonstration, c'est la place respective qu'ils occupent chez l'un et l'autre poètes. Chez Rotrou, en un temps où l'unité de péril n'était pas encore inventée, tout au moins pas encore obligatoire, et où des catastrophes, suivies de déplorations, atteignaient les personnages, principaux ou secondaires, au cours de la pièce, cette scène constitue le *finale*, très frappant, du 3^e acte ; chez Racine, le *finale* du cinquième. Racine n'a eu qu'à reculer la scène de Rotrou de deux actes, pour obtenir son dénouement.

Racine s'est-il reporté à l'*Hercules Oetaeus* (III, 1000-1024)? Il ne semble pas. Aucun des traits caractéristiques de Sénèque que Rotrou néglige, Racine ne le relève ; et partout où ni l'un ni l'autre des deux *Hercule* ne rend compte de son invention, celle-ci n'a rien de si particulier qu'on ne pût la croire personnelle. Elle a une source, cependant, et très précise, mais différente.

L'*Hercules Oetaeus* présente bien quelques vers plus nets que l'imitation de Rotrou, et qui par conséquent auraient pu parler davantage à l'imagination de Racine¹ :

Patet ecce plenum pectus aerumnis : feri...
 Verberum crepuit sonus.
 Quanam ista torquens angue vipereo comam
 Temporibus atras squallidis pinnas quatit ?
 Quid dira me flagrante persequeris face,
 Megaera ? (v. 1000, 1002-1006.)

Mais la *Médée* de Sénèque (958 ss.) contient aussi une scène de folie, plus simple, plus sobre, plus classique de goût, que sans doute Racine connaissait bien, et c'est d'elle qu'il a emprunté la marche et les détails de la fin de sa tirade :

Quonam ista tendit turba Furiarum impotens ?
 Quem quaerit ? aut quo flammeos ictus parat² ?
 Aut cui cruentas agmen infernum³ faces
 Intentat ? ingens anguis excusso sonat

¹ Je cite Sénèque d'après l'édition Cramoisy (Paris, 1625, Nunc primum in Gallia editae). Les éditions de Leyde 1621, Genève 1627, Amsterdam 1632 et Londres 1634 (ces deux dernières dérivant de Paris 1625) ne présentent aucune variante qui importe à mon propos.

² *Andr.*, 1638-1639.

³ *Andr.*, 1637 : filles d'enfer.—Cette expression est dans *Mélite* 1369, et sans doute ailleurs. Cf. Euripide, *Oreste*, 408 ss. : Je crois voir trois filles (κόρας) semblables à la nuit.

Tortus flagello¹. Quem trabe infesta petit
 Megaera²? Cujus umbra dispersis venit
 Incerta membris? frater est, poenas petit.
 Dabimus³. Sed omnes fige luminibus faces:
 Lania, perure, pectus en Furiis patet⁴.
 Discedere a me, frater, ultrices Deas,
 Manesque ad imos ire securas jube⁵:
 Mihi me relinque, et utere hac, frater, manu,
 Quae strinxit ensem: victima manes tuos
 Placamus ista⁵. Quid repens affert sonus?
 Parantur arma, meque in exitium petunt.

Ce passage n'existe pas dans la *Médée* d'Euripide, ni dans celle de Corneille.

Je conclus que la source de Racine est double. Rotrou l'a conduit à Sénèque, dont la *Médée*, et non l'*Hercules Oetaeus*, s'est superposée à l'*Hercule mourant*. Rotrou a fourni les grandes lignes, l'allure générale, et quelques détails; Sénèque a fourni la marche et la plupart des détails des huit derniers vers prononcés par Oreste. Il suffit de relire *Andromaque* pour voir que l'invention de Racine reste considérable; tout le mérite en consiste dans la précision extrême avec laquelle il a adapté la scène de folie à la situation de ses personnages, en réduisant au minimum le lieu-commun des Furies.

(A suivre.)

GUSTAVE RUDLER.

LONDRES.

¹ *Andr.*, 1638. Sénèque a pu s'ajouter à Rotrou (cf. ci-dessus) pour suggérer à Racine une harmonie imitative plus poussée?

² *Andr.*, 1639.

³ Est-ce là que Racine a pris l'idée de l'apparition de Pyrrhus et d'Hermione à Oreste (*Andr.*, 1621 ss., 1629-1635)?—J'élimine les scènes de folie auxquelles Racine ne doit rien: *Hercules furens*, 961-976; Tristram, *Mariane*, scène finale; etc., etc. Ces scènes abondent.

⁴ *Andr.*, 1644. Rotrou fait dire par Iole à Déjanire (II, 3): 'Vous mesme portez luy ce cœur qu'il me demande,' et par Hercule (III, 2): 'Mange son cœur jaloux, boy son perfide sang.'

⁵ *Andr.*, 1642. Tout contr'indique que Racine ait connu la traduction de Bauduyn. Je m'abstiens donc de la donner.

THE BATTIFOLLE LETTERS ATTRIBUTED TO DANTE.

EMENDED TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

THE so-called Battifolle letters—three letters written from the castle of Poppi in the Casentino (by Dante as there is good reason to believe)¹ in the name of a Countess of Battifolle, wife of one of the Conti Guidi², to Margaret of Brabant, wife of the Emperor Henry VII, in the first year (1311) of the expedition of the latter into Italy—have been preserved in one MS. only, viz. *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729 in the Vatican Library. They were first printed by Torri in his *Epistole di Dante Alighieri edite e inedite* published at Leghorn in 1842 (*Epist.* viii-x); and were reprinted by Giuliani in the second volume of his *Opere Latine di Dante* published at Florence in 1882 (*Epist.* i*-iii*)³. They are not included in Fraticelli's edition of Dante's works, nor in the *Oxford Dante*.

A transcript of the three letters from the MS., with an *apparatus criticus* containing the variations from the MS. text in the above

¹ The question as to Dante's authorship of these letters was examined by Oddone Zenatti in his *Dante e Firenze* (Florence, 1901), pp. 74 n., 370 ff., 395 ff.; and more recently by Dr Moore in an article published three years ago (April, 1914) in this *Review* (Vol. ix, pp. 173-89), and subsequently reprinted (with additions and corrections) in the fourth series of his *Studies in Dante* (Oxford, 1917), pp. 256-75, 287. (I have added here one or two parallels to those collected by Dr Moore in this article.) See also Novati's remarks in *Dante e la Lunigiana* (Milan, 1909), p. 509 (where by an oversight he speaks of the Empress as 'Caterina di Brabante'), and pp. 537, 540, with the references there given; and Mascetta-Caracci in *Dante e il 'Dedalo' Petrarcesco* (Lanciano, 1910), pp. 333-4; and Parodi in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xix, 11-15 (Dec. 1912).

² This lady has been identified conjecturally with Gherardesca di Donoratico, wife of Guido di Simone di Battifolle (see Ricci, *L' Ultimo Rifugio di Dante*, p. 17).

³ These letters were also reprinted by G. L. Passerini in *Le Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri*, vi (Florence, 1910). This text abounds in misprints, e.g. in Letter I, 'reinae' for 'reginae'; 'assumptare verenter' for 'assumpta reverenter'; 'insufficientiae' for 'insufficiantiae'; 'ab auspicia' for 'ad auspicia': in Letter II, 'reinae' for 'reginae'; 'flessis' for 'flexis'; 'familiater' for 'familiariter'; 'caeleste' for 'caelesti': in Letter III, 'sunmi' for 'summi'; 'tempora' for 'tempore'; 'ab Italian' for 'ad Italian.' (See *M.L.R.* vii, 223 n. 1.)

editions, and a trial list of proposed emendations, was printed by me in this *Review* some five years ago¹. I now print the text as emended, together with an English translation, the letters being numbered in the order in which they occur in the MS.²

LETTER I.

MS. *Epist.* i (= Torri, *Epist.* ix: Giuliani, *Epist.* ii*).

Emended Text.

Gloriosissimae atque clementissimae dominae, dominae Margaritae³, divina providentia Romanorum Reginae et semper Augustae, G. de Battifolle⁴, Dei et adiuvalis Magnificentiae⁵ gratia Comitissa in Tuscia Palatina, tam debitae quam devotae subiectionis officium ante pedes.

Gratissima regiae Benignitatis epistola et meis oculis visa laetanter et manibus fuit assumpta reverenter, ut decuit. Cumque significata per illam mentis aciem penetrando dulcescerent, adeo spiritus lectitantis⁶

¹ In January 1912 (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vii, pp. 19-24).

² Torri (followed by Giuliani and Passerini), for some reason not apparent, departs from this order, placing the last letter first, the second third, and the first second; so that MS. *Epist.* i = Torri, *Epist.* ix: Giul. *Epist.* ii*: Pass. *Epist.* xii; MS. *Epist.* ii = Torri, *Epist.* x: Giul. *Epist.* iii*: Pass. *Epist.* xiii; MS. *Epist.* iii = Torri, *Epist.* viii: Giul. *Epist.* i*: Pass. *Epist.* xi.

³ MS. .M.

⁴ MS. bat.

⁵ Instances of 'Magnificentia' as a title of honour (here applied to the Emperor; cf. *Epist.* iii, 6, where it is applied to the Marquis Moroello Malaspina; and *Epist.* x, 1, 603, where it is applied to Can Grande), as of 'Celsitudo' (in *Letters* ii and iii), 'Culmen' (in *Letter* ii), 'Serenitas' and 'Sublimitas' (in *Letter* iii), are of frequent occurrence in the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*; thus the title 'Regia Magnificentia' is applied by Innocent III (March 1, 1201) to the Emperor Otto IV (ed. Potthast, No. 1292); and by Honorius III (Dec. 11, 1220) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth. No. 6434); and that of 'Imperialis Magnificentia' by Gregory IX (Jan. 19, 1231) to the same Emperor (Potth. No. 8653); that of 'Regia Celsitudo' by Innocent III (Oct. 4, 1204) to Frederick King of Sicily (Potth. No. 2287), and (Jan. 21, 1209) to King John of England (Potth. No. 3618); that of 'Regalis Celsitudo' by the same (Dec. 18, 1207) to the same (Potth. No. 3248); and by Gregory IX (April 27, 1236) to Alexander II of Scotland (Potth. No. 10148); that of 'Imperialis Celsitudo' by Honorius III (June 27, 1222) to the Emperor of Constantinople (Potth. No. 6868); and by Gregory IX (July 22, 1227) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth. No. 7972); and by the same (Oct. 1227) to the same (Potth. No. 8049); the title 'Culmen' (cf. 'Apostolicum Culmen,' of the Pope, in *Epist.* viii, 164) is applied by Gregory IX (July 22, 1227) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth. No. 7972); that of 'Serenitas' by Honorius III (May 29, 1224) to Louis VIII of France (Potth. No. 7202); by Gregory IX (March 30, 1227) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth. No. 7869); etc., etc.; that of 'Imperialis Serenitas' by the same (Aug. 19, 1236) to the same (Potth. No. 10228); that of 'Regalis Serenitas' by Innocent III (Feb. 25, 1208) to Peter II of Aragon (Potth. No. 3306); that of 'Sublimitas' by Honorius III (Nov. 22, 1226) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth. No. 7614); by Gregory IX (March 23, 1227) to the same (Potth. No. 7864); by the same (June 4, 1238) to the King of Portugal (Potth. No. 10611); and that of 'Regia Sublimitas' by the same (April 3, 1230) to Alexander II of Scotland; and so on.

⁶ MS. *letitantis*.

fervore devotionis incaluit, ut numquam possint superare oblivia¹, nec memoria sine gaudio memorare. Nam quanta vel qualis ego? Ad enarrandum mihi de sospitate consortis et sua (utinam diuturna!) coniunx fortissima Caesaris condescendat? Quippe tanti pondus honoris neque² merita gratulantis neque dignitas postulabat. Sed nec etiam inclinari humanorum graduum³ dedecuit apicem, unde velut a vivo fonte sanctae civilitatis exempla debent inferioribus emanare. Dignas itaque persolvere grates non opis est hominis, verum ab homine alienum esse non reor pro insufficientiae supplemento Deum exorare quandoque. Nunc ideo regni siderii iustis precibus atque piis aula pulsetur, et impetret supplicantis affectus quatenus mundi Gubernator aeternus condescensui tanto praemia coaequata retribuat, et ad auspitia Caesaris et Augustae dexteram gratiae coadiutricis extendat, ut qui Romani Principatus imperio barbaras nationes et cives in mortalium tutamenta subegit, delirantis aevi familiam sub triumphis et gloria sui Henrici reformet in melius.

Translation.

To the most glorious and most clement Lady, the Lady Margaret, by Divine Providence Queen of the Romans and ever Augusta, G. di Battifolle, by the grace of God and of His allied Magnificence⁴ Countess Palatine in Tuscany⁵, makes humble offering of her dutiful and devoted submission.

The most welcome letter of your Royal Benignity was beheld with joy by my eyes, and with becoming reverence was received into my hands. And when the purport thereof penetrated the recesses of my mind with its sweetness, my heart as I read glowed with so great fervour of devotion as oblivion can never extinguish, nor memory recall without

¹ MS. *oblia*.

² MS. *atque*.

³ MS. *humanorum in graduum*.

⁴ That is the Emperor (see note 5 on p. 303); cf. the titles of *Letters* ii and iii: 'Dei et Imperii gratia largiente'; 'Dei et Imperialis indulgentiae gratia.'

⁵ The founder of the family of the Conti Guidi was made Count Palatine in Tuscany in the tenth century by the Emperor Otto I; cf. Villani iv, 1: 'Questo Otto ammendò molto tutta Italia, e mise in pace e buono stato; e abbattè le forze de' tiranni; e al suo tempo assai de' suoi baroni rimasono signori in Toscana e in Lombardia. Intra gli altri fu il cominciamento de' conti Guidi, il quale il primo ebbe nome Guido, che 'l fece conte Palatino, e diegli il contado di Modigliana in Romagna....' The title was regularly employed as part of the Counts' official description, and as such occurs frequently in the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*; e.g. a bull of Honorius IV (Oct. 28, 1243) refers to 'Guidonem dictum Guerram comitem palatinum Tusciae' (ed. Potthast, No. 11166); Honorius IV (Feb. 9, 1287) 'Guidoni de Battifollis comite Tusciae palatino concedit...' (Potth. No. 22557); Boniface VIII (Feb. 14, 1300) 'Tegrino comiti in Tuscia palatino ad sedandas discordias inter eum ex parte una et Manfredum ac Guiglielmum fratres et Guidonem Novellum nepotem ipsorum comites in Tuscia palatinos...' (Potth. No. 24911); etc., etc.

delight. For who and what am I, that the most potent spouse of Caesar should condescend to inform me as to the well-being (which long may it endure!) of her Consort and of herself? Verily the weight of so great an honour neither the deserts nor the dignity of her who greets you could look for. Yet was it not unseemly that the pinnacle of the ranks of human society should thus incline itself, since from hence, as from a living fountain, the exemplars of sacred civilisation must be transmitted to those below. To return adequate thanks is beyond the power of man¹, but I deem it to be not unnatural for man sometimes to make prayer to God for help in his insufficiency. Now therefore let the court of the starry realm be assailed with just and holy prayers, and may the zeal of the suppliant obtain that the Eternal Ruler of the world may recompense so great a condescension with proportionate reward², and may stretch forth the right hand of His grace in furtherance of the fortunes of Caesar and of Augusta; to the end that He, who for the safeguard of mankind brought under the Empire of the Roman Prince all peoples barbarian and civilised, may by the triumphs and glory of His servant Henry³ regenerate the human family of this crazy age.

LETTER II.

MS. *Epist.* ii (= Torri, *Epist.* x : Giuliani, *Epist.* iii*).

Emended Text.

Serenissimae atque piissimae dominae, dominae Margaritae⁴, coelestis miserationis intuitu Romanorum Reginae et semper Augustae, devotissima sua G. de Battifolle⁵, Dei et Imperii gratia largiente Comitissa in Tuscia Palatina, flexis humiliter genibus reverentiae debitum exhibere.

Regalis epistolae documenta gratuita ea qua potui veneratione recepi, intellexi devote. Sed cum de prosperitate successuum vestri felicissimi cursus familiariter intimata concepi, quanto libens animus concipientis arriserit, placet potius commendare silentio tamquam nuntio

¹ 'Grates persolvere dignas Non opis est nostrae,' *Aen.* i, 600-1.

² A reminiscence of *Aen.* i. 603-5 (from the passage quoted in the previous sentence): 'Di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid Usquam justitiae est, et mens sibi conscia recti, Praemia digna ferant.'

³ 'Sub triumphis et gloria sui Henrici'; cf. *Epist.* vii, tit. (according to the S. Pantaleo text): 'Gloriosissimo et felicissimo triumphatori...domino Henrico.'

⁴ MS. .M.

⁵ MS. *bateffolle*, with the first *f* expunctuated.

meliori; non enim verba significando sufficiunt ubi mens ipsa quasi debria superatur. Itaque suppleat regiae Celsitudinis apprehensio quae scribentis humilitas explicare non potest. At quamvis insinuata per literas ineffabiliter grata fuerint et iucunda, spes amplior tamen et laetandi causas accumulat, et simul vota iusta confectat. Spero equidem, de coelesti provisione confidens, quam numquam falli vel praepediri posse non dubito, et quae humanae civilitati de principe singulari providit, quod exordia vestri regni felicia semper in melius prosperata procedent. Sic igitur in praesentibus et futuris exultans, de Augustae clementia sine ulla haesitatione recurro, et suppliciter tempestiva depono, quatenus me sub umbra tutissima vestri Culminis taliter collocare dignemini ut cuiusque sinistationis ab aestu sim semper et videar esse secura.

Translation.

To the most serene and most gracious Lady, the Lady Margaret, by the merciful dispensation of Heaven Queen of the Romans and ever Augusta, her most devoted servant, G. di Battifolle, by the bountiful grace of God and of the Empire Countess Palatine in Tuscany, on her humbly bended knees presents her dutiful respects.

I received the favour of your royal letter with all possible reverence, and studied its contents with devotion. But when I perused your friendly intimation as to the prosperous issue of your most auspicious progress, with what great joy my heart was gladdened by the perusal I prefer to commend to silence, as to a more competent messenger; for words are not adequate as a means of expression when the mind itself is overcome as it were with inebriation. May then the understanding of your Royal Highness¹ supply what the humility of your correspondent is not able to convey. But although the news contained in your letter was unspeakably welcome and pleasing, yet a larger hope both heaps up fresh causes for rejoicing, and already sees the fulfilment of its just aspirations. I indeed hope, confiding in the providence of Heaven, which, as I firmly believe, can never be deceived, nor be hindered of its purpose, and which has provided for civilised mankind one sole Prince²,

¹ 'Regia Celsitudo' (see note 5 on p. 303).

² 'Princeps singularis'; cf. 'Dominus singularis' applied to the Emperor Henry VII in *Epist. vii tit.*

that the happy inauguration of your reign may be confirmed by ever increasing prosperity. Exulting therefore in the present as in the future, without hesitation I commit myself to the clemency of Augusta, and humbly make early supplication that you may deign to place me in safekeeping beneath your Eminence's¹ shadow, in such wise that I may ever be, and may be seen to be, sheltered from the fiery heat of all and every untoward chance.

LETTER III.

MS. *Epist.* iii (= Torri, *Epist.* viii: Giuliani, *Epist.* i*).

Emended Text.

Illustrissimae atque piissimae dominae, dominae Margaritae, divina providentia Romanorum Reginae et semper Augustae, fidelissima sua G. de Battifolle², Dei et Imperialis indulgentiae gratia Comitissa in Tuscia Palatina, cum promptissima recommendatione se ipsam et voluntarium ad obsequia famulatum.

Cum pagina vestrae Serenitatis apparuit ante scribentis et gratulantis aspectum, experta est mea pura fidelitas quam in dominorum successibus animi³ subditorum fidelium collaetentur. Nam per ea quae continebantur in ipsa cum tota cordis hilaritate concepi qualiter dextera Summi Regis vota Caesaris et Augustae feliciter adimplebat. Proinde gradum meae fidelitatis experta, petentis audeo iam inire officium. Ergo ad audientiam vestrae Sublimitatis exorans, et suppliciter precor et devote depono quatenus mentis oculis intueri dignemini praelibatae interdum fidei puritatem. Verum quia nonnulla regali clausurarum videbatur hortari ut, si quando nuntiorum facultas adesset, Celsitudini Regiae aliquid peroptando de status mei conditione referrem, quamvis quaedam presumptionis facies interdicat, obedientiae tamen suadente virtute obediam⁴. Audiat ex quo iubet Romanorum pia et serena Maiestas quoniam tempore missionis praesentium coniunx praedilectus et ego, Dei dono, vigeamus incolumes, liberorum sospitate gaudentes,

¹ 'Vestrum Culmen' (see note 5 on p. 303).

² MS. *battifolle*.

³ MS. *tā*; the reading in the text is conjectural; Torri, followed by Giuliani, reads *pectora*.

⁴ Dr Moore punctuates (*M. L. R.* ix, 176; *Studies* iv, 260): 'quamvis quaedam praesumptionis facies interdicat obedientiae, tamen suadente virtute obediam'; but both the construction and the cursus—*facies interdicat (velox)*—point to the punctuation adopted in the text.

tanto solito laetiores quanto signa resurgentis Imperii meliora iam saecula promittebant.

Missum de castro Poppii xv Kalendas Iunias faustissimi cursus Henrici Caesaris ad Italiam anno primo.

Translation.

To the most illustrious and most gracious Lady, the Lady Margaret, by Divine Providence Queen of the Romans and ever Augusta, her most faithful servant, G. di Battifolle, by the grace of God and of the Imperial indulgence Countess Palatine in Tuscany, with the most zealous devotion offers herself and her willing service to command.

When the letter of your Serenity¹ came before the eyes of her who writes and sends this greeting, my sincere devotion proved in what measure the hearts of devoted servants are made glad by the happy fortunes of their Lords. For from the contents of your letter I gathered with the most complete rejoicing of heart how the right hand of the Most High King was auspiciously bringing about the accomplishment of the wishes of Caesar and of Augusta. Having then made proof of the measure of my devotion, I now make bold to assume the part of petitioner. Supplicating therefore the attention of your Eminence², I humbly beg and earnestly beseech that you may deign to examine with the eyes of your mind³ the sincerity of the devotion of which I have spoken. But whereas a sentence in the royal letter seemed to urge that, should the opportunity of a messenger occur, I should furnish to your Royal Highness⁴, agreeably to my fervent desire, some particulars as to the condition of my circumstances, although a certain appearance of presumption would forbid me, yet under the suasion of the virtue of obedience I will obey. May it please the gracious and serene Majesty of the Romans to learn, since such is her command, that at the moment of the despatch of these presents my beloved husband and myself, by the gift of God, were prospering and in good health, rejoicing in the

¹ 'Serenitas' (see note 5 on p. 303).

² 'Vestra Sublimitas' (see note 5 on p. 303).

³ 'Mentis oculis' cf. *Mon.* ii, 1, ll. 17-18: 'mentis oculos infixi'; *Epist.* ii, 30-1: 'mentis oculis lux dulcis consolationis exoritur'; *Epist.* v, 163: 'aperite oculos mentis vestrae'; and *Epist.* viii, 146-8: 'qualis est...ante mentales oculos affigatis oportet' (where the printed texts read 'mortales o. a. omnes'); cf. also *Par.* x, 121: 'l'occhio della mente'; and *Conv.* ii, 5, ll. 116-17: 'gli occhi della mente umana.'

⁴ 'Regia Celsitudo' (see note 5 on p. 303).

welfare of our children, and more than usually joyful in that the omens of the reviving fortunes of the Imperial cause were already giving promise of more happy times to come.

Despatched from the castle of Poppi on the eighteenth of May¹ in the first year of the most auspicious passage of the Emperor Henry into Italy.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.,
20 *March*, 1917.

¹ 'xv Kalendas Iunias,' which Torri renders 'il 16 Maggio,' and Mascetta-Caracci (*loc. cit.*), 'il 16 Giugno'!

THE GEORGIAN ENGLISHMAN IN CONTEMPORARY ITALIAN EYES.

DURING the eighteenth century France gave the law to Europe in questions of taste. Once Voltaire and Montesquieu had discovered England, Anglomania became a kind of refinement of Gallomania. Nowhere had all things English more enthusiastic admirers than in Italy. 'A man who has not been in Italy is always conscious of an inferiority from not having seen what it is expected a man should see,' said Johnson, and the Italian had every opportunity of studying the Englishman at close quarters. The young gentleman of quality making the grand tour with his tutor was a familiar figure in the peninsula from Leghorn in the North, with its flourishing colony of English merchants, to Naples and even Sicily in the South. As he advanced in years the Milordo was still willing to face the discomforts of the journey in order to escape the 'killing-month,' as Ippolito Pindemonte assures us November was called, when the East wind and the fog made the temptation to commit suicide almost irresistible among our vapoured and splenetic countrymen. There were often as many as fifty wealthy Englishmen with their retinues of servants to be found in Rome.

But for all his love of travelling the Englishman, as a rule, kept very much to himself, religiously reading his English paper, which, even at this time, we are told, faithfully followed him everywhere from London. His judgments, too, were sometimes surprisingly narrow. Sir Lucas Pepys could write home to his brother: 'You are quite right that the Circus at Bath is beyond anything in Italy except St Peter's.' But at his best the Englishman was a munificent art-patron, like Horace Walpole or Sir William Hamilton. 'Knowing him to be English, I expected he would talk to me of buildings and pictures,' says Rousseau of Lord Edward Bomston in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. Wherever he went, he spoilt the market, so that 'English prices' are

still proverbial in Italy, though American prices would perhaps now be nearer the truth.

Hence it is not surprising to find the Englishman appearing fairly frequently in the plays and novels of the period. The writers of these have not been in England themselves, nor do they seem to have taken much trouble to study the English in their midst, if indeed they had the opportunity. Perhaps it would have been useless to do so. The public had a clear conception of its own of what a 'milordo' was like, which it would have been dangerous for an author to attempt to upset. So the Englishman soon crystallized into a stereotyped character, with quite unimportant variations. He may be compared with the stage Frenchman of our own theatres, who is now fortunately almost extinct.

In the latter part of the century a writer of the 'comédie larmoyante' like De Gamera was fond of laying the scenes of his plays in England, as well as in Germany or France. He was following the fashion. He calls the characters Conte Ricardo Campley, Mistress Gray, Sir Giorgio Fidler, Grip and the like, but he might just as well have spared himself the trouble and given them Italian names for all the knowledge of English life he displays. It is only when the Englishman appears in a genuine Italian play and is contrasted with Italians or men of other nationalities that we are able to form a clear idea of the popular conception of him; and then it is so similar to the portrait current in France that it is an indirect tribute to the prevailing Gallomania of the age.

To this class belongs Milord Wandel in Greppi's *Dorinda e Conrambert*.

Claribel. But here comes the proud and generous Wandel. He is English, therefore rich.

Stertoin. What manners! He sits down and stares at us without even bowing to us.

Claribel. It is the custom in England. Englishmen are very sparing of their words.

Here we have all the characteristics. The Englishman is proud, laconic and generous, rather cold-blooded, for he is rarely represented as seriously in love in this type of play, yet fiery and quick to resent an insult. And above all things he is rich. He probably owed not a little of his popularity and the high moral excellence with which he was credited to the vogue enjoyed by the French translation of *The Spectator*, which was in everybody's hands in Venice about the middle of the century. Even the ladies, who were then perhaps the most frivolous in Europe, devoured it eagerly. Goldoni wrote his

Filosofo Inglese, the scene of which is laid outside a coffee-house and a bookseller's shop in London, to humour the craze for this so-called philosophy to which it gave rise. Baretti told Johnson that his admiration for *The Spectator* had not a little to do with inducing him to come to London.

The rather starched and priggish Lord Stunkle in Albergati's *Ciarlato Maldicente* perhaps shows us the popular idea of the 'Milordo' at its best. 'Few words and many sequins' is the servants' verdict, but they declare that he is the only gentleman in the country-house where the scene of the play is laid. The plot turns on an anonymous letter hinting that the heroine, a charming widow, is carrying on an intrigue with his lordship, but Stunkle's chief function in the play is apparently to utter moral maxims, which were doubtless supposed to recall *The Spectator* and English philosophy, as popularly understood. As Albergati, however, could certainly read English and quotes our poets in his letters to Voltaire, he knew more about us than most of his brother playwrights. Two letters to him from Baretti in English have recently been published in Italy.

Milord Runebif in Goldoni's *Vedova Scaltra* is still alive to-day, which is more than can be said of most of these Englishmen. Rosaura has to choose between a French, a Spanish, a Venetian and an English suitor. Runebif says nothing, but sends her a valuable ring by Birif, his servant, and then a case of jewels, which he finds cheap at a thousand ducats. Rosaura thinks him adorable. The lively Venetian suitor complains that it is impossible to tell from his expression whether Milord is cheerful or depressed, and the Englishman's silence and refusal to answer by anything but nods end by getting on his nerves to such an extent in a coffee-house that he tells him he behaves more like an animal than a human being. Runebif makes no answer, but rises, goes outside, challenges him and runs him through the arm.

Later in the play Rosaura goes out to meet Milord masked and disguised as an English woman. Was she wearing one of the English straw hats, tied with a silk ribbon under her chin, that proved so irresistible to Italians of the day? To his offers of refreshment she only replies by nods. 'Ah, she is English,' exclaims Milord in delight. 'Bring some punch. Who brought you to this country?'

Rosaura. My father.

Milord. What is he?

Rosaura. What you are.

Milord. Are you a lady?

Rosaura. Yes, Milord.

The dialogue proceeds in this laconic 'English' style during the whole interview. Runebif is overjoyed at finding a woman as sparing of words as himself—a true Englishwoman, in fact. Throughout the play Milord cuts a highly favourable figure when compared with the other foreign suitors, but his wooing is not very serious and he is genuinely pleased at the inevitable success of the Venetian. Even English servants are clothed with perfection, as with a garment. Runebif's man, Birif, is as laconic as his master and quite as honest, for he flatly refuses to accept a tip; and when Worthon, in Greppi's *Marianna e Guelfin*, the scene of which is laid in England, desires to poison his wife, he is obliged to choose a Venetian servant as his instrument.

Arturo Graf, in his excellent book on Anglomania, quotes a verse-portrait of the English Milordo in Italy during the early years of the century. He walks 'with slow step and chest thrown out, something of the soldier in his gait.' When he greets you or returns your greeting, he clicks his heel on the ground and makes a slight, stiff bow. His coat is long and has no particular cut, while the lace is put on without the least attempt at style. He does not scent his hair and perfumes himself with pitch and bitumen. He wears a small red or black cravat and a large hat without a plume. His breeches are tight, his sword is short and he carries a little cane. His eye-glass is never out of his hand for a moment, day or night; his hair is kept back by a horn comb, while his shoes are pointed and his heels so high that he can hardly walk. This last detail is scarcely what we should expect to find in one so practical and so careless in his dress. Noble and well-bred in appearance, he affects a masculine roughness in courting the ladies. Yet he is everywhere welcome, because he spends his money freely. So popular is he, in fact, that in the *Calzolaio Inglese*, a play by Gherardo dei Rossi which is mentioned by Graf, a Roman cobbler actually passes himself off as a lord; and we hear of a tailor masquerading as an English Duke. English villains occur, of course, but they are rare and are almost all found in plays altogether concerned with English life. Milord Wilk, who appears in three of Greppi's plays, is redeemed by his jealousy; but when his friends point out that his determination to turn the apparently faithless Teresa upon the streets, penniless and unprotected, is unworthy of an Englishman, he behaves as becomes one of his nation.

Goldoni's poor rival, Pietro Chiari, is even less successful than his fellows in his English plays, such as *Fannì a Londra*. Miss Jalingh,

the heroine of his novel, *Le Isole della Fortuna, o sia Viaggi di Miss Jalingh, scritti da lei medesima*, has nothing more English about her than her name, and the same is true of the villain, Milord Ston, and the hero, Melvil. But Chiari's advanced views make him interesting. To some extent he is a champion of the rights of women, as well as of those of children against their parents, the abuse of which is proved by the unhappy stories of Leopardi and the brothers Verri. In this strange, fantastic tale Miss Jalingh travels to the Isles of Fortune and finds the Isola della Bellezza and the Isola di Collistorto actually ruled by women, since it was thought better that their authority should be openly acknowledged, instead of being secretly exercised from behind the scenes, as was so common in oriental countries. But Chiari makes no attempt to show us English life.

It is a relief to turn from this conventional Englishman, so justly ridiculed by men like Baretti who had themselves been in England, to the writings of cultured travellers, or of the literary adventurers who had come to London to pick up a precarious living by teaching, or by writing libretti for the opera. On the whole the Englishman comes well out of the ordeal, though his character is subjected to more criticism than almost anything else in the country. He was never regarded as the ideal of his sex, like the Englishwoman. 'Not that I cared especially for individuals,' says Alfieri, who loved England better than any country except his own, 'though I preferred them to the French, because they are more kindly and better natured; but the character of the place, the simple manners, the lovely, modest women and girls, and above all the equitable government and the true liberty that results from it' appeal to him. And this is the general opinion.

The lower classes are often severely criticised, owing to this very liberty, which enables them to treat their social betters in a way that would be impossible in Italy. 'The English populace will...tumble a gentleman in the mud, or fling dirt at his coach, or break his windows, upon their coming to the knowledge that such a gentleman is not of the party which some cause has made them espouse the day, or the week before. The English populace will stop the chair of a lady going to a mask and force her with a most arbitrary violence to uncover her face, that they may look at her,' indignantly declares Baretti. This tone is not surprising in foreigners, for they had much to put up with in London, where the mob grouped them all together, even Turks with long beards, under the comprehensive term of 'French dog,' making them the butt of their wit and even subjecting them to rough horse-play.

Hair worn in a bag, or a richly laced coat of foreign cut were positively dangerous in a crowd, and when Count Verri went on foot to Tyburn to see an execution in heavy snow, he was careful to be dressed entirely in English clothes and not to open his mouth the whole way. Otherwise he would have been unmercifully snowballed, as were his two companions, Italians like himself. On another occasion he was much hurt at being told by a waterman who had nearly run his boat down on the Thames that there was small harm in drowning a French dog. It is useless to lose one's temper, he says. You must answer as readily as you can. One inevitably thinks of Johnson's historic retort on a similar occasion. Alessandro Verri's brother, Pietro, also a confirmed Anglomaniac, has no sympathy with him on being told that an Englishman, after nearly knocking an Italian down in the Park, had coolly answered that he should learn to give way to an Englishman. 'It is natural to our pride to regret our inferiority as a nation, but reason is on the side of the English. They are markedly superior to the rest of the continent of Europe and are right to treat foreigners as slaves.'

'The London populace is neither polite, nor charming,' says Verri, 'but more kindly perhaps than any other.' The Englishman may belabour you with his fists, but he does not injure you. He is more just than the Frenchman, though worse mannered. If you drew a sword upon an unarmed mob, there would be trouble, as Baretto was to learn. The crowd, however, will enjoy watching a fair fight with sticks or fists and only interfere on behalf of the under dog. Even the highwaymen are good fellows, who will do you no harm if you stand and deliver. Verri ends with the astounding statement that highway robbery is 'compulsory alms-giving and nothing more.'

But it is different with the upper and middle classes. Baretto probably knew us better than any other of his countrymen. When he is out of temper, his pen runs away with him and he can rail against us with merciless virulence, as he can against everything else in heaven or on earth. But these outbursts are quite exceptional and in his calmer moments he is proud to call himself 'a kind of demi-Englishman.' 'Scoundrels are as plentiful here as they are in any other country,' he says in one of his letters, 'but good people abound here in a proportion about thirty times as large as in other countries'; and this is his deliberate opinion. We have our faults. We can be tyrannical and overbearing, though Baretto is the last person entitled to bring such charges against anyone, and our national vanity makes us look down

upon every other country. But these are not very terrible and in moments of enthusiasm Baretti can write sheets in our praise, declaring that we are quite at the head of mankind.

Simplicity and generosity are our chief virtues. 'The truth is, the English do their utmost to make money, but once they have made it, they spend it freely and will give it you, whoever you may be, if they like you.' Baretti certainly had good reason for praising English generosity and it is not surprising to find him exclaiming 'English friends for me,' after the loyal support he received during his trial for stabbing a bully in the Haymarket.

Men like Alfieri, who came to England under the convoy of a popular diplomatist, or Baretti, who won himself a position in the best literary and artistic society of the day, speak highly of English hospitality. But a casual foreigner like Count Alessandro Verri, who had to rely on a few introductions, would find most doors closed to him, though he was of good birth, however lavishly he might have entertained the Milordi at home. He complains that even the faces of the English are different as soon as they land at Dover. When invited to dine with the Royal Society at a tavern, he was actually made to pay his three-and-six, like everyone else. Sterne, however, was an exception, showing him a 'world of hospitality,' though they had barely met in Milan. He took off Verri's coat, which was wet through with rain, when he called, embraced him and made him seat himself near the fire. On another occasion, dressed in his grey coat and round wig, he met Verri at a public assembly, embraced him again and whispered so many kind things in his ear that his talk was a positive delight. Fox astonished Verri by repeating long passages from Sophocles and Demosthenes, calling them the fountains of all style; and it may be due to this meeting that Verri, like Alfieri, learnt Greek in later life.

Towards women we were sadly lacking in chivalry. Verri is horrified at the way they were treated at a fashionable concert at Madame Cornelys' rooms which he attended. If they arrived late and all the seats were full, they had to stand throughout the performance, the men gazing stolidly at their distress as they looked round for places. A porter would push four women into the wall in the street, exclaiming 'What is a woman, after all?' When we remember how English women were regarded at this time by Italians, it is not surprising to find Verri describing such conduct as a 'santo scandalo.'

As to our vices, gambling was common, as was only natural at this

period of high play, and neither Topham Beauclerk, nor Lord Lincoln were the only Englishmen who lost fortunes during Carnival-time in Venice, where gaming was the only serious occupation; and our forefathers probably spent almost as much money upon singers as upon works of art. However, they were easily distanced here by a number of Italians of the day. But they obtained an unenviable notoriety for drunkenness, which was almost unknown at that time in Italy. Horace Walpole speaks of the still existing Dilettanti Club, 'for which the nominal qualification is having been in Italy, the real one being drunk: the two chiefs are Lord Middlesex and Sir Francis Dashwood, who were seldom sober the whole time they were in Italy.' Visitors to our island have the same story to tell. Ippolito Pindemonte speaks of a certain type of Italian who has been in London as a past master in toast and tea, punch and beer, and ready to uphold British drunkenness, if he is invited to a great dinner. Alfieri is disgusted at the habit of spending long hours at table, sitting up till two or three in the morning, and Baretti makes the same complaint. Alessandro Verri, after commenting on the absence of napkins at our tables, notices how the men settle down to the serious business of getting drunk as soon as the ladies have withdrawn.

The Englishman was generally credited with a tendency to eccentricity, which culminated in his proneness to commit suicide. The frequency of suicide, which was then almost unknown on the continent, interested and puzzled most intelligent foreign visitors. We have already mentioned Pindemonte's reference to November as the killing-month. Various explanations of the phenomenon are offered, chief among them being our damp, gloomy climate and the Englishman's passion for personal liberty. But Appiano Buonafede ascribes it to our desire to emulate the virtues of the ancient Romans 'by killing our kings and ourselves.' In his *Storia della Vita Civile* Martinelli, who spent many years in England, discusses the question at some length. He tells us he had heard thoughtful Englishmen more than once express their concern at the existing state of affairs. Voltaire's well-known judgment on Shakespeare shows that our Elizabethan drama was too strong a food for eighteenth century digestions on the continent, and Martinelli is not the only Italian observer to hold that the frequency with which the Englishman sees death upon the stage, when taken in conjunction with his natural melancholy, tends to make him indifferent to life. He himself, to his great disgust, was moved to tears by Mrs Cibber's performance of Juliet, and though he is as fond of life as

any man, he can understand that a woman who had seen this admirable performance and found herself in a similar position to Juliet might easily be tempted to commit suicide. This callousness pervades all classes, so that even the wretched thief, whose dignified behaviour on the gallows greatly impressed foreigners, sees nothing tragic in death.

But a man without a vice is like a landscape without shadows and these defects only serve to bring out the sterling qualities of the national character as it appeared to the Italian of the eighteenth century. He laughs at us now and then, but in his heart he cannot help admiring, even loving us; and this attitude lasted till the end of the century, when our opposition to Napoleon gave rise to a strong anti-English feeling among certain sections of the community. But our active sympathy during the struggle for freedom and unity, though it did not, of course, restore the Englishman to the position he had once occupied, gave him a place of his own in the affections of the Italian people, which he is not now likely to lose.

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LONDON.

LESSING'S INTERPRETATION OF ARISTOTLE¹.

III.

THE DEFINITION OF TRAGEDY.

'A TRAGEDY,' says Aristotle, 'is the imitation of an action that is serious and also, as having magnitude, complete in itself; in language with pleasurable accessories, each kind brought in separately in the parts of the work; in a dramatic, not in a narrative form; with incidents arousing pity and fear, wherewith to accomplish its catharsis of such emotions².' The chief difficulty of the definition lies in its last words: δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν. What is meant by the terms ἔλεος, φόβος and κάθαρσις? What is the end or purpose of tragedy?—these are the questions round which the main controversies of Aristotelian interpretation have always turned. Lessing's contribution to these controversies forms, as might be expected, one of the most interesting aspects of his critical theory. It will be convenient to begin by considering what he understands by the words ἔλεος and φόβος.

i. 'PITY' AND 'FEAR.'

Aristotle's words, ἔλεος καὶ φόβος are, throughout the first part of the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, translated by Lessing 'Mitleid und Schrecken³.' But in Stück lxxiv he corrects 'Schrecken' to 'Furcht,' and in the remainder of the work renders the phrase 'Mitleid und Furcht⁴.'

It is difficult to reconcile this with the fact that, as far back as

¹ Continued from *Modern Language Review*, xii, p. 168.

² I quote from the late Professor Bywater's translation, Oxford, 1909.

³ Stück xxxii (*Schriften*, ed. Lachmann and Munkler, ix, pp. 316 f.), xxxvii (p. 339), xxxviii (p. 344), li (p. 403), lxxiv (*Ibid.* x, p. 98), lxxv (p. 102); also in earlier writings: *Theatralische Bibliothek* (*Ibid.* vi, p. 6); Translation of Diderot, 1760, i, pp. 235, 282; unchanged in the edition of 1786.

⁴ Stück lxxiv (pp. 99 f.), lxxv (pp. 102 f.), lxxx (p. 125).

April 2, 1757, he had written to Nicolai with considerable emphasis, that 'Schrecken' was a mistranslation. He said: 'Nun behalten Sie, durch die ganze Dichtkunst des Aristoteles, überall wo Sie Schrecken finden, diese Erklärung der Furcht in Gedanken, (denn Furcht muss es überall heissen, und nicht Schrecken), und sagen mir alsdann, was Sie von der Lehre des Aristoteles dünkt¹.' In the face of this letter of ten years previously, one is tempted to suggest that the earlier passages in the *Dramaturgie* dealing with the definition of tragedy, are based on older notes; but even then, it seems an inadequate excuse for the lapse of memory which the reversion to 'Schrecken' implies.

It may help to elucidate this point, if we look to the usage of some earlier writers. Heinsius—to go no further back—had, in his Latin version of the *Poetics*, accepted Victorius's 'misericordia et metus²' as the translation of ἔλεος καὶ φόβος, but in his *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, which profoundly influenced eighteenth-century interpretation of Aristotle's theory, he wrote 'affectus proprii illius sunt duo: misericordia et horror,' and again, 'misericordia et terror³.' Boileau translated φόβος by 'terreur⁴.' Corneille wrote 'crainte,' but he clearly meant 'terreur⁵.' Dacier used 'terreur,' but in his notes to Aristotle's thirteenth chapter he frequently substitutes 'crainte⁶.' Brumoy, too, wrote both 'terreur' and 'crainte,' mainly, however, the latter, and he would seem to give it the significance claimed for it by Lessing⁷. The older German writers invariably translated 'Schrecken und Mitleiden⁸.'

As the eighteenth century moved on, the word 'terreur' established itself more firmly in France as the translation of Aristotle's φόβος. It will be found, for example, in Dubos' *Réflexions critiques sur la Poésie et sur la Peinture*⁹, and in Batteux's *Les Beaux-arts, réduits à un*

¹ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 98; but in a letter to Mendelssohn of November 5, 1768, Lessing again uses the word 'Schrecken' (*Ibid.*, p. 270).

² *Aristotelis de Poetica*, Leyden, 1611, p. 54.

³ Leyden, 1643, cap. ii, pp. 10, 19. It might be noted in this connection that La Mesnardière, in his *Poétique* (Paris, 1640), discussed at great length the difference between 'horror' and 'terror.'

⁴ *L'Art poétique*, iii, 18.

⁵ *Trois Discours (Oeuvres, ed. Marty-Laveaux, i)*, pp. 22, 52 ff. The translation in Lessing's *Beyträge zur Historie und Aufnahme des Theaters* follows with 'Furcht.'

⁶ *La Poétique d'Aristote*, Paris, 1692, 'terreur,' pp. 73, 80 ff., 192, etc.; 'crainte,' pp. 185 ff.

⁷ *Théâtre des Grecs*, Paris, 1730, i (*Discours sur l'origine de tragédie*), pp. li, liii, lv. Cp. especially p. li: 'D'où il arrive que la crainte nous est plus naturelle, et nous donne des secousses plus fréquentes que toute autre passion, par le sentiment intime et expérimental qui nous avertit toujours que les maux assiègent de toutes parts la vie humaine.'

⁸ For instance, Gottsched, *Critische Dichtkunst*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1737, p. 675; Breiinger, *Critische Dichtkunst*, i, p. 69; Curtius's translation of Aristotle; Mendelssohn, *Briefe über die Empfindungen and Rhapsodie (Gesammelte Werke, Leipzig, 1843, i)*, pp. 173, 249.

⁹ Vol. i, Sections xiv and xv (Edition of 1755, pp. 114, 120).

même Principe, and the enlarged form of that treatise, *Principes de la Littérature*¹; and the German translators of these works render 'terreur' by 'Schrecken'. Both Rousseau and Diderot keep to 'terreur'. Marmontel, in his *Poétique Française*, a work with which Lessing was familiar, translated the phrase in Aristotle's definition: 'la terreur et la pitié'; but in the text of his work he also wrote 'la crainte et la pitié'.

Lessing was not the first writer to insist upon this distinction between 'terror' and 'fear'; it had been already urged by Louis Racine, in his *Traité de la Poésie dramatique ancienne et moderne*, appended to his commentary on his father's works (1752)²:

Nous sommes depuis long-temps en usage de rendre ce mot φόβος par celui de terreur; cependant la terreur est un trouble de l'âme fort différent de celui qui cause la crainte, et φόβος ne signifie que crainte. L'auteur de l'argument qui est à la tête de l'Agamemnon d'Eschyle, pour dire que le discours de Cassandre excite la terreur et la pitié, emploie ces deux mots, ἐκπλήξιν καὶ οἶκτον. Metus est le mot dont les interprètes latins d'Aristote se servent ordinairement. Castelvetro s'est servi d'*spavento*, et non de *terrore*; un commentateur espagnol se sert du mot *miedo*, qui veut dire crainte; enfin Corneille, dans son Discours sur la Tragédie, nommant les deux passions qui en sont l'âme, suivant Aristote, nomme toujours la pitié et la crainte.

It is an open question how far Louis Racine may have been responsible for Lessing's suggestion that φόβος should be translated 'Furcht' rather than 'Schrecken.' I cannot bring forward any evidence of Lessing's knowledge of Racine's book: but it is worth noting that in a review of Racine in the *Mercure de France* for January, 1751 (pp. 75 f.) prominent notice was given to this very statement: and we know that Lessing possessed a set of this periodical down to the year 1758³.

Lessing's attitude to the question of the precise meaning of φόβος seems to have been as follows. When he first busied himself with the matter, and before he had reason to doubt the correctness of 'Schrecken'

¹ *Principes de la Littérature*, Paris, 1764, iii, pp. 72 f., 76 f., etc.

² It is, however, interesting to note that Ramler, the translator of Batteux, who did not hesitate to bring Batteux up to date and impute to him views which he could not possibly have held, changed 'Schrecken' to 'Furcht' in editions of the work published subsequently to Lessing's *Dramaturgie*.

³ Rousseau, *Lettre à M. D'Alembert*; Diderot, *Le Fils naturel, Entretiens* (Ed. of 1772, i, pp. 204, 236; see above, p. 319, note 3).

⁴ Tome ii, pp. 96 ff., 120 ff., etc. Lessing quotes from this work both in his *Laocoon*, xvii (Schriften, ix, p. 107; see my note in *Modern Language Review*, vi, pp. 216 ff.) and in the *Dramaturgie*, St. xiv (p. 239); there is also a reference to Marmontel's book in the materials for the *Dramaturgie* (Schriften, xv, p. 44).

⁵ Edition of Amsterdam, 1752, pp. 83 f.; *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1808, iv, pp. 379 f. Attention has, I find, already been drawn to this by J. Meyer in an article on *Lessing und die Franzosen in Alemannia*, xvii, 1889, pp. 187 ff.

⁶ Letter to Gleim, February 1, 1767 (Schriften, xvii, p. 229). Cp. also pp. 238, 251, 253, 268, 311 of the same volume. Lessing refers repeatedly to the *Mercure* in his *Collectanea* (Schriften, xv, pp. 193, 224, 283, 302, 318); also in *Laocoon* (Schriften, ix, p. 28).

as the German translation of *φόβος*, he was content to accept Mendelssohn's definition of the word. He wrote to Nicolai on November 13, 1765: 'Das Schrecken in der Tragödie ist weiter nichts als die plötzliche Ueberraschung des Mitleides, ich mag den Gegenstand meines Mitleids kennen oder nicht¹'; which is clearly an echo of Mendelssohn's: 'Dasjenige, was in den Trauerspielen unter dem Namen des Schreckens bekannt ist, ist nichts als ein Mitleiden, das uns schnell überrascht; denn die Gefahr droht niemals uns selbst, sondern unserm Nebenmenschen, den wir bedauern².' It is that first shock which we feel when misfortune suddenly befalls the hero, and which has, as its consequence, the awakening of our pity. But with the more careful study of Aristotle—which would seem to have taken place between November 13, 1756, and April 2, 1757—Lessing was obliged to discard the word 'Schrecken.' *Φόβος* has now become 'Furcht' and referred to the fear which we, as spectators, have, lest we might possibly become the object of a tragic pity—the fear for ourselves. Lessing's standpoint in 1757 is thus precisely that which he takes up in the *Dramaturgie* in 1767. Only in the early note he explained a little more clearly why *φόβος* should be translated 'Furcht' and not 'Schrecken,' and in 1767 he is a little more insistent that that emotion is irrelevant to the actual tragic effect. And in both passages he supports his view by quoting Aristotle's definition of fear and pity from the second book of the *Rhetoric*. The two passages might be put side by side³:

1757

Lesen Sie, bitte ich, das zweyte und achte Hauptstück des zweyten Buchs der aristotelischen Rhetorik...Aristoteles erklärt das Wort *φοβος*...durch die Unlust über ein bevorstehendes Uebel, und sagt, alles dasjenige erwecke in uns Furcht, was, wenn wir es an andern sehen, Mitleiden erwecke, und alles dasjenige erwecke Mitleiden, was, wenn es uns selbst bevorstehe, Furcht erwecken müsse.

1767

Die authentische Erklärung dieser Furcht, welche Aristoteles dem tragischen Mitleid beyfüget, findet sich in dem fünften und achten Kapitel des zweyten Buchs seiner Rhetorik...Er erklärt daher auch das Fürchterliche und das Mitleidswürdige eines durch das andere. Alles das, sagt er, ist uns fürchterlich, was, wenn es einem andern begegnet wäre, oder begegnen sollte, unser Mitleid erwecken würde: und alles das finden wir mitleidswürdig, was wir fürchten würden, wenn es uns selbst bevorstünde.

The phraseology is so similar in these passages that we cannot but again conclude that Lessing was here utilising in 1767 the materials

¹ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 65; R. Petsch, *Lessings Briefwechsel über das Trauerspiel*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 53.

² *Briefe über die Empfindungen*, Beschluss (*Schriften zur Philosophie, Aesthetik und Apologetik*, ed. by M. Brasch, Leipzig, 1880, ii, p. 79).

³ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 98; Petsch, p. 104; *Dramaturgie*, Stück lxxv (p. 102 f.).

of 1757 which he put together when he asked Nicolai and Mendelssohn to return his letters.

With regard to the possible occasion of Lessing's change of view, Zerbst has pointed to Heinsius, who, in his *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, referred to the 'books of the Rhetoric' for Aristotle's definition: 'Etenim quae, ne sibi eveniant, metuunt homines, ea aliis cum evenere, miserationem movent, et hunc gignunt affectum¹.' But this, as most other cross-references from the *Poetics* to other works of Aristotle, had already been noted by Robortelli in his commentary². Dacier also refers on this matter to the *Rhetoric*³; so, too, does Louis Racine⁴. There is consequently no reason, here at least, for claiming Heinsius as Lessing's immediate source. As a matter of fact, the view that 'fear' in Aristotle's definition is the fear for ourselves, was more generally held in the eighteenth century than the contrary opinion maintained by Mendelssohn⁵. It will suffice to quote Batteux, who had stated it quite unequivocally:

La pitié émeut nos entrailles, parce que nous voyons notre semblable malheureux. La terreur nous resserre le cœur, parce que nous craignons pour nous le malheur que nous voyons dans les autres : mais cette crainte est mêlée d'une certaine douceur qui vient de la comparaison secrète que nous faisons de notre état avec celui du malheureux qui souffre⁶.

I turn now to Lessing's interpretation of the Greek ἔλεος as a resultant emotion of tragedy. In 1757 Lessing—whose opinion was Mendelssohn's—held that a great deal more was included under 'Mitleid' than under ἔλεος. In his letter of December 18 he refers to Mendelssohn's 'bessern Begriff' of 'Mitleid,' that is, better than Aristotle's⁷. And this 'Begriff,' as stated in the 'Beschluss' of the *Briefe über die Empfindungen*, is as follows:

Allein was ist das Mitleiden? Ist es nicht selbst eine Vermischung von angenehmen und unangenehmen Empfindungen?... Diese Gemüthsbewegung ist nichts, als die Liebe zu einem Gegenstande mit dem Begriffe eines Unglücks, eines physikalischen Uebels verbunden, das ihm unverschuldet zugestossen⁸.

¹ *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, Leyden, 1643, p. 96; M. Zerbst, *Ein Vorläufer Lessings in der Aristotelesinterpretation*, Jena, 1887, p. 28.

² F. Robortelli, *In librum Aristotelis de Arte poetica Explicationes*, Florence, 1548, pp. 151 ff.

³ *La Poétique d'Aristote*, Paris, 1692, p. 189.

⁴ *Oeuvres*, vi, p. 389.

⁵ Mendelssohn was never convinced that Aristotle was right in considering a subjective fear essential to tragedy. 'Ich für meinen Theil leugne diese Rücksicht auf uns selbst. Wenigstens ist sie nicht nothwendig, wenn wir mit andern sympathisiren sollen.' (Later note to the *Rhapsodie*, Brasch's ed., ii, p. 112.)

⁶ *Principes de la Littérature*, v, ii, ch. iii (Ed. of 1764, iii, pp. 73 f.); Ramler's German translation, Leipzig, 1802, p. 294.

⁷ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 85; Petsch, p. 87.

⁸ Ed. Brasch, ii, p. 79.

The limitations of Aristotle's 'falscher Begriff von dem Mitleiden¹,' he goes on to say, are clearly seen where Aristotle declares in his thirteenth chapter that the misfortune of a too virtuous hero would not induce 'Mitleid,' but 'Entsetzen und Abscheu.' But according to the 'better' modern conception of 'Mitleid,' the emotion which such a misfortune induces is 'Mitleid' of the highest kind; and if Aristotle's statement is true, then 'Entsetzen und Abscheu' are the highest form of 'Mitleid,' which they are not. Thus Aristotle is clearly wrong.

Such is the standpoint of the Correspondence of 1756-57. By the time Lessing came to write his *Laocoon*, an English thinker, Adam Smith, had given him occasion to reflect once more on the nature of 'Mitleid': and the thoughts which he expresses on the subject in Section iv of the *Laocoon* are drawn exclusively from the first chapter of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, London, 1761. This writer's discussion of the nature of sympathy and his condemnation of Greek tragedy for attempting 'to excite compassion by the representation of bodily pain²,' might have called forth further speculation on Lessing's part on the subject of sympathy in tragedy; but the *Laocoon* afforded no opportunity of pursuing the matter, and when he came to discuss 'Mitleid' in the *Dramaturgie*, he fell back on Mendelssohn. As we have seen, he had accepted Mendelssohn's definition in 1756; he accepted it again now; but between 1756 and 1767 Mendelssohn had himself given a more exhaustive definition of 'Mitleid' in his *Rhapsodie über die Empfindungen*, published in 1761³. Here, referring to what he had formerly written in the *Briefe*, 'über die verwischten Empfindungen, die von Lust und Unlust zusammengesetzt sind,' Mendelssohn defines 'Mitleiden' as:

eine vermischte Empfindung, die aus der Liebe zu einem Gegenstande und aus der Unlust zu dessen Unglück zusammengesetzt ist. Die Bewegungen, durch welche sich das Mitleiden zu erkennen giebt, sind von den einfachen Symptomen der Liebe sowohl, als der Unlust unterschieden, denn das Mitleiden ist eine Erscheinung. Aber wie vielerlei kann diese Erscheinung werden!... (After referring to various tragedies: *Electra*, *Philoctetes*, *Oedipus*, etc.): Was empfinden wir da? Immer noch Mitleiden! aber mitleidiges Entsetzen, mitleidige Furcht, mitleidigen Schrecken. Die Bewegungen sind verschieden, allein das Wesen der Empfindungen ist in allen

¹ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 98; Petsch, p. 105.

² 'Pain never calls forth any very lively sympathy, unless it is accompanied with danger. We sympathize with the fear, though not with the agony of the sufferer. Fear, however, is a passion derived altogether from the imagination, which represents, with an uncertainty and fluctuation that increases our anxiety, not what we really feel, but what we may hereafter possibly suffer.'

³ Ed. Brasch, ii, pp. 111 f. The *Rhapsodie* appeared in Mendelssohn's *Philosophische Schriften*, Berlin, 1761, from which Lessing quoted the passage in full in his *Dramaturgie* (Stück lxxiv; x, p. 100); he also refers to the *Schriften* in the *Laocoon* (*Schriften*, ix, p. 139).

diesen Fällen einerlei...Warum sollten also nicht auch Furcht, Schrecken, Zorn, Eifersucht, Rachbegierde und überhaupt alle Arten von unangenehmen Empfindungen, sogar den Neid nicht ausgenommen, aus Mitleiden entstehen können?

Lessing does not see any possibility of anyone disagreeing with this definition of Mitleid—not even Aristotle¹. But he finds in Aristotle not merely this ἔλεος, but also mention of another kindred emotion which is described by the adjective *φιλάνθρωπον*. He says:

Aristoteles betrachtet das Mitleid nach seinen primitiven Regungen, er betrachtet es bloß als Affekt....Mitleidige Regungen, ohne Furcht für uns selbst, nennt er Philanthropie: und nur den stärkern Regungen dieser Art, welche mit Furcht für uns selbst verknüpft sind, giebt er den Namen des Mitleids².

In this 'Philanthropie,' that is, disinterested, 'unfearing' sympathy for our fellow men, Lessing believed he had found a solution to the difficulty which confronted him in 1756, when he spoke of the 'falsche Erklärung' of 'Mitleid' in Aristotle—'falsch' in so far as it prevented the application of the word 'Mitleid' to the feelings awakened in us by the sufferings of a perfect character. The too virtuous hero may awaken our pity, but as we ourselves, not feeling ourselves perfect, are not touched by his undeserved sufferings, we have no fear for ourselves; consequently the emotion in question is not ἔλεος but *φιλάνθρωπον*.

Wir haben Recht, (Lessing concludes), wenn wir sie mit [that is to say 'Philanthropie'] unter dem Namen des Mitleids begreifen. Aber Aristoteles hatte auch nicht Unrecht, wenn er ihr einen eigenen Namen gab, um sie, wie gesagt, von dem höchsten Grade der mitleidigen Empfindungen, in welchem sie, durch die Dazukunft einer wahrscheinlichen Furcht für uns selbst, Affekt werden, zu unterscheiden³.

As will be seen later, Lessing returns to these 'philanthropischen Gefühle' for an explanation of τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων in the definition of tragedy.

As early as his letter of November 1756, Lessing had expressed the opinion that the only passion which it is the business of tragedy to awaken in the spectator is 'pity': 'Kurz, ich finde keine einzige Leidenschaft, die das Trauerspiel in dem Zuschauer rege macht, als das Mitleiden⁴.' He does not, however, deny that it also awakens both 'Schrecken' and 'Bewunderung': but these 'sind keine Leidenschaften, nach meinem Verstande.' He objects to the inclusion of 'Schrecken' in the definition, because, as we have seen, he had learnt from his friend Mendelssohn that this was a mere modification of 'Mitleid⁵.' But

¹ Stück lxxv (p. 101): 'Diese Gedanken sind so richtig, so klar, so einleuchtend, dass uns dünkt, ein jeder hätte sie haben können und haben müssen.'

² Stück lxxvi (pp. 107 f.).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 65; Petsch, p. 52.

⁵ Cp. also the summary of the controversy which Nicolai sent to Lessing on May 14, 1757 (*Schriften*, xix, p. 79; Petsch, p. 115): 'Das Mitleiden begreift als das nomen generis alle Modifikationen der Unlust in sich, die wir über eines andern Unlust empfinden.'

then comes the question, if 'Schrecken' is only a subordinate form of 'Mitleid,' why should Aristotle have expressly mentioned it? Mendelssohn was frankly of opinion that it ought not to have been mentioned, and proposed the substitution of 'Bewunderung¹.' In 1757, when Lessing discovered that he ought to have written 'Furcht,' he still had a difficulty in explaining its presence in the definition. 'Die Furcht,' he said, 'kann keine unmittelbare Wirkung des Trauerspiels seyn, sondern sie muss weiter nichts als eine reflektirte Idee seyn,' and the reason why Aristotle mentioned it at all was because it was the means whereby the ἔλεος brought about the κάθαρσις. But if this was Aristotle's view, he was wrong. 'Das Mitleiden reiniget unsre Leidenschaften, aber nicht vermittelt der Furcht, auf welchen Einfall den Aristoteles sein falscher Begriff von dem Mitleiden gebracht hat².' In the *Dramaturgie* Lessing returned to the matter. 'Aristoteles würde nicht sagen, Mitleiden und Furcht; wenn er unter der Furcht weiter nichts als eine blosser Modification des Mitleids verstünde³.' But a little later he has frankly to admit that it is such a 'Modification.' The reason which Lessing now offers for its mention is that, although superfluous in view of the inclusive character of 'Mitleid,' 'fear' had to be mentioned in the definition, as being one of the passions which tragedy had especially to purify⁴. Thus Lessing returns, after all,—although with a different justification for Aristotle's mention of 'fear'—to his first conviction, that the business of tragedy is to awaken 'Mitleid' and 'Mitleid' only. 'Die Tragödie ist ein Gedicht, welches Mitleid erreget⁵.'

Lessing, as we have seen, is particularly insistent that 'fear,' that is fear for ourselves, is an essential element in tragic pity; in fact, that it is the one thing which distinguishes 'pity' proper from mere 'philanthropy.' It is perhaps worth noticing that this close alliance of tragic pity and fear had also been urged by Brumoy: 'La pitié qui n'est qu'un secret repli sur nous à la vue des maux d'autrui, dont nous pouvons être également les victimes, a une liaison si étroite avec la crainte, que ces deux passions sont inséparables dans les hommes, que le besoin mutuel oblige de vivre dans la société civile⁶.' And this view is repeated in the *Dramaturgie*:

¹ See below, p. 329.

² *Schriften*, xvii, p. 98.

³ Stück lxxv (p. 104).

⁴ Stück lxxiv (p. 100).

⁵ Stück lxxvii (p. 111).

⁶ *Théâtre des Grecs*, i, p. li. Brumoy, it might be noted, emphasises (p. lv) the subjective nature of both fear and pity: 'La crainte en un mot, et la pitié qui l'accompagne presque toujours, sont les premiers fruits de l'amour de nous-mêmes, parce qu'elles ont pour objet direct le mal présent que nous voulons fuir sur toutes choses.'

Nicht als ob diese Furcht hier eine besondere, von dem Mitleiden unabhängige Leidenschaft sey, welche bald mit bald ohne dem Mitleid, so wie das Mitleid bald mit bald ohne ihr, erregt werden könne...sondern weil, nach seiner Erklärung des Mitleids, dieses die Furcht nothwendig einschliesst; weil nichts unser Mitleid erregt, als was zugleich unsere Furcht erwecken kann¹.

One result of this conviction was that it made Lessing the more ready to attack Corneille on a point which had escaped the attention of both Dacier and Curtius. Corneille insisted that Aristotle's use of the disjunctive conjunction—*neither fear nor pity*—implied that it was sufficient for the purpose of tragic effect, if only one of these were present². Although Dacier had overlooked this vulnerable point in Corneille's theory, it had not escaped the notice of other anti-Cornelian critics, and it is possible that Lessing's attention had been drawn to it by Bodmer's Italian friend Calepio, the author of the *Paragone della Poesia tragica d'Italia con quella di Francia*, published by Bodmer at Zürich in 1732, and paraphrased by him in German in his *Critische Briefe* (1746). The passages in question are as follows:

Paragone (Cap. I, art. i).

Dopo le predette testimonianze dee parere strano che il Sig. Dacier, benchè nelle osservazioni sopra la poetica d'Aristotile mostri conoscere nelle favole Francesi del disviamento; abbia asserito nella prefazione, che Cornelio sostenuto dalle regole di questo filosofo ha restituito lo splendore alla tragedia appresso il suo lungo smarrimento.

Hamburgische Dramaturgie (pp. 105 f.).

Ich kann mich nicht genug wundern, wie Dacier, der doch sonst die Verdrehungen ziemlich aufmerksam war, welche Corneille von dem Texte des Aristoteles zu seinem Besten zu machen suchte, diese grösste von allen übersehen können.

Without insisting dogmatically on Calepio's little book as a 'source'—and other evidence of Lessing's acquaintance with it may be found in the *Dramaturgie*—the parallelism of these passages is worth, I think, drawing attention to³.

ii. 'ADMIRATION.'

In his *Dramaturgie* Lessing has avoided a controversy on which he had a good deal to say in 1756, namely, as to how far, 'admiration' ('Bewunderung') may be regarded as an emotion legitimately called forth by tragedy. The question is, in fact, only twice touched on, and merely in passing, in the *Dramaturgie*: in Stück i (p. 187): 'Wenn heldenmüthige Gesinnungen Bewunderung erregen sollen: so muss der

¹ Stück lxxv (p. 104).

² *Discours sur la Tragédie* (Ed. cit., pp. 60 ff.); *Dramaturgie*, Stück lxxvi, p. 105.

³ O. F. Walzel has discussed the influence of the *Paragone* on Lessing at some length in his review of F. Braitmaier's *Geschichte der poetischen Theorie und Kritik*, Frauenfeld, 1888, in the *Anzeiger f. deut. Altertum*, xvii (1891), pp. 55 ff. I hope to return to this matter.

Dichter nicht zu verschwenderisch damit umgehen; denn was man öfters, was man an mehreren sieht, höret man auf zu bewundern': and in Stück lxxv (p. 103): 'Von dieser Ursache wissen sie nichts, und ich möchte wohl hören, was sie aus ihrem Kopfe antworten würden, wenn man sie fragte: warum z. E. die Tragödie nicht eben so wohl Mitleid und Bewunderung¹, als Mitleid und Furcht, erregen könne und dürfe?'

In his *Abhandlung vom Trauerspiel* Nicolai had distinguished three classes of tragedies: (1) those which excite merely terror and pity, 'moving' tragedies: that is, 'bürgerliche Trauerspiele': (2) tragedies which, with the help of terror and pity, awaken admiration: and (3) those whose end is to awaken terror and pity, and also admiration in the case of certain characters ('mixed tragedies'). Of Corneille's 'heroic tragedies,' which excite admiration, without the assistance of terror and pity, he says: 'Wir glauben aber, dass eine solche Gattung, wo nicht unmöglich, dennoch sehr schwer auszuführen, und deswegen gar nicht anzurathen sey².' Lessing did not object to the inclusion of admiration, but he insisted on the subordination of both admiration and terror to pity, the real purpose of tragedy being to awaken pity; whereas terror and admiration are, he says, 'der Anfang und das Ende des Mitleids³.' He expressed himself still more emphatically a little further on in the same letter:

Die Bewunderung ist das entbehrlich gewordene Mitleid. Da aber das Mitleid das Hauptwerk ist, so muss es folglich so selten als möglich entbehrlich werden; der Dichter muss seinen Held nicht zu sehr, nicht zu anhaltend der blossen Bewunderung aussetzen, und Cato als ein Stoiker ist mir ein schlechter tragischer Held. Der bewunderte Held ist der Vorwurf der Epopee; der bedauerte des Trauerspiels⁴.

This distinction is repeatedly insisted on by Batteux⁵. Lastly, in his letter of December 18, 1756, Lessing stated his view in its most complete form, namely, that admiration in tragedy must only be an element in pity, pity being an emotion made up of admiration and pain.

Die Bewunderung findet also in dem Trauerspiele nicht als ein besonderer Affekt

¹ This was what Mendelssohn demanded; see below. Vossius (*Poetices*, 1647, cap. xix) was apparently the first to suggest the addition of τὸ θαυμαστὸν to the effects of tragedy; he was, no doubt, influenced by Corneille. Cp. C. Arnaud, *Les théories dramatiques au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1888, pp. 154 f.

² Petsch, pp. 19 f. In his letter to Lessing, Nicolai calls his second class 'heroische Trauerspiele.'

³ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 66; Petsch, p. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68 (p. 56). Petsch (p. xxi) draws attention to the fact that Lessing's phrases echo the comment of the German translator of Le Bossu (*Abhandlung vom epischen Gedicht*, übersetzt von Z*, Halle, 1753). This was reviewed by Lessing (*Schriften*, v, pp. 193 f.). Calepio had already maintained, in his *Briefwechsel* with Bodmer, that Cato was not suited to be a tragic hero.

⁵ See especially *Traité* iv, ch. v and *Traité* v, 2, ch. iii (*Ed. cit.*, ii, pp. 198 f., iii, pp. 71 ff.).

Statt, sondern bloß als die eine Hälfte des Mitleids. Und in dieser Betrachtung habe ich auch Recht gehabt, sie nicht als einen besondern Affekt, sondern nur nach ihrem Verhältnisse gegen das Mitleiden zu erklären. Und in diesem Verhältnisse, sage ich noch, soll sie der Ruhepunkt des Mitleidens seyn¹.

Mendelssohn and Nicolai, on the other hand, came to an agreement: 'dass sowohl Bewunderung als Mitleiden den moralischen Geschmack beschäftigen können, und ich wünsche mit dem Herrn Nicolai, dass man künftig statt Schrecken und Mitleiden, Bewunderung und Mitleiden setzen möchte, weil das Schrecken bloß eine besondere Modifikation des Mitleidens ist²': but Mendelssohn also realised that 'Bewunderung ohne Mitleiden, ohne Schrecken, ist für die Dichtkunst überhaupt und um so viel mehr für das Theater, ein gar zu kalter Affekt³.'

Walzel is inclined again to see the influence of Calepio, who, in his *Paragone* (Cap. ii, art. i), had insisted on the subordination of admiration because it introduced an untragic moral purpose into tragedy⁴. But the matter had been put quite trenchantly enough by Dacier; he says that Aristotle would have excluded Corneille's *Nicomède* from his tragedies, for the poet here

n'a travaillé qu'à exciter l'admiration dans l'âme du spectateur, et qui en s'éloignant des préceptes d'Aristote, a cru trouver une manière nouvelle de purger les passions; mais ce n'est nullement le but de la Tragédie, de purger les passions par l'admiration, qui est une passion trop douce pour produire un si grand effet; elle n'emploie que la crainte et la pitié, et laisse régner l'admiration dans le poème épique auquel elle est plus propre et plus nécessaire, et où elle a plus de temps pour agir sur les habitudes et sur les mœurs⁵.

I think we may safely infer that Lessing's views on the subject did not undergo any material change between the Correspondence and the *Dramaturgie*; that is to say, he still considered that 'Bewunderung' might be an element of tragic effect, but it must be a strictly subordinate one, and employed in moderation; it could not, any more than 'fear,' be regarded as essential to tragedy.

iii. THE PURPOSE OF TRAGEDY.

In his *Abhandlung vom Trauerspiel* Nicolai had proposed to substitute for the 'Satz, den man dem Aristoteles so oft nachgesprochen hat, es sey

¹ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 80; Petsch, p. 81.

² *Schriften*, xix, pp. 83 f.; Petsch, p. 119.

³ In a review of Wieland's *Clementina von Porretta* (*Litteraturbriefe*, cxiii, August 21, 1790; *Schriften*, iv, 2, p. 146). Lessing echoes this in his *Laocoon* (*Schriften*, ix, p. 10): 'Sieht man ihn sein Elend mit grosser Seele ertragen, so wird diese grosse Seele zwar unsere Bewunderung erwecken, aber die Bewunderung ist ein kalter Affekt dessen unthätiges Staunen jede andere wärmere Leidenschaft, so wie jede andere deutliche Vorstellung, ausschliesset.'

⁴ *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, xvii, pp. 55 ff.

⁵ *L'Art poétique d'Aristote*, p. 148. Cp. also note to ch. xiii (pp. 185 f.).

der Zweck des Trauerspiels die Leidenschaften zu reinigen oder die Sitten zu bilden,' another, namely: 'der Zweck des Trauerspiels sey die Erregung der Leidenschaften¹.' Lessing replies cautiously: he admits the practical disadvantage of the utilitarian doctrine of tragedy: 'das Trauerspiel soll bessern'—for so he interprets Aristotle's meaning—and recognises that Nicolai's definition will produce good tragedies²: but he is not satisfied that Nicolai is right in throwing over the old theory. The one view represents the end, the other the means: both may be right.

Das meiste (he says) wird darauf ankommen: was das Trauerspiel für Leidenschaften erregt. In seinen Personen kann es alle mögliche Leidenschaften wirken lassen, die sich zu der Würde des Stoffes schicken. Aber werden auch zugleich alle diese Leidenschaften in den Zuschauern rege? Wird er freudig? wird er verliebt? wird er zornig? wird er rachsüchtig? Ich frage nicht, ob ihn der Poet so weit bringt, dass er diese Leidenschaften in der spielenden Person billiget, sondern ob er ihn so weit bringt, dass er diese Leidenschaften selbst fühlt, und nicht bloß fühlt, ein andrer fühle sie³?

This is clearly an echo of Batteux:

Elles [passions, such as anger, envy, cruelty, despair] peuvent se trouver dans les acteurs; mais ce ne doit être que pour en produire d'autres, différentes d'elles, dans les spectateurs. Car il faut observer que les sentimens ne sont pas les mêmes dans les uns et les autres; l'orgueil dans les acteurs produit l'envie dans les spectateurs: la cruauté produit l'horreur, la douleur la compassion, la perfidie l'indignation; ainsi du reste. Le sceau qui caractérise la Tragédie est donc l'espèce du sentiment, non qu'elle contient, mais qu'elle produit⁴.

And Batteux concludes that the only passions which tragedy awakens in the spectator are 'la terreur et la pitié.' Lessing, no doubt, would have agreed, had not—as we have seen—Mendelssohn's more comprehensive definition of 'Mitleid' absolved him from the necessity of mentioning 'Schrecken.' But, in any case, it was the awakening of pity on which Batteux laid emphasis: 'Vous avez l'idée d'une Tragédie parfaite. Il n'y a point de doute que ce ne soit celle qui touche le plus vivement, et le plus longtemps le Spectateur.'⁵ Thus Lessing concludes that the essential business of tragedy is to awaken 'Mitleid': 'Kurz, ich finde keine einzige Leidenschaft, die das Trauerspiel in dem Zuschauer

¹ Letter of August 31, 1756 (*Schriften*, xix, p. 40; Petsch, p. 47); *Abhandlung*, ed. Petsch, p. 5. Nicolai's view really comes from Mendelssohn, who, in his *Briefe über die Empfindungen*, xiii (Ed. Brasch, ii, pp. 63 f.) says: 'Der Zweck des Trauerspiels ist, Leidenschaft zu erregen, und das schwärzeste Laster, das zu diesem Endzwecke leitet, ist auf der Schaubühne willkommen.'

² Lessing himself says (*Abhandlung von dem Wesen der Fabel*; *Schriften*, vii, p. 438): 'Der heroische und dramatische Dichter machen die Erregung der Leidenschaften zu ihrem vornehmsten Endzwecke.'

³ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 65; Petsch, p. 52.

⁴ *Traité* vii, Partie ii, ch. iii (*Ed. cit.*, iii, pp. 74 f.).

⁵ *Partie* ii, ch. viii (*Ed. cit.*, i, pp. 120 f.).

rege macht, als das Mitleiden'; and later in the same letter: 'Das Trauerspiel soll so viel Mitleid erwecken, als es nur immer kann¹'

When Lessing insists on the object of tragedy being to awaken our 'Mitleid,' to 'move' us, he is expressing a conviction that had been borne in on him by his predilection, practical as well as theoretical, for the 'bürgerliche Trauerspiel.' He already gave expression to it in the Preface which he wrote to the volume of *Les Herrn Jacob Thomson sämtliche Trauerspiele* (1756); he says there that he would rather be the author of *The Merchant of London* than of *Der sterbende Cato*:

Denn warum? Bey einer einzigen Vorstellung des erstern sind, auch von den Unempfindlichsten, mehr Thränen vergossen worden, als bey allen möglichen Vorstellungen der andern, auch bey den Empfindlichsten, nicht können vergossen werden. Und nur diese Thränen des Mitleids, und der sich fühlenden Menschlichkeit, sind die Absicht des Trauerspiels, oder es kann gar keine haben².

And some years later, in the famous seventeenth *Litteraturbrief* (1759), in which he places Shakespeare above the French classics, he states that the tragic quality is the 'Gewalt über unsere Leidenschaften³,' in other words, that the more Shakespeare 'moves' us, the greater he is. Finally, it is unnecessary to say where the sympathies of the translator of Diderot (1761) were likely to lie in this matter.

But to return to Lessing's letter of November, 1756. At the end of his discussion of the rôle which 'Mitleid' plays in tragedy he recalls the fact insisted upon by Corneille, but a fact on which Lessing at no time laid much emphasis⁴, namely, that one function of tragedy is to please:

Beyder Nutzen, des Trauerspiels sowohl als des Lustspiels, ist von dem Vergnügen unzertrennlich; denn die ganze Hälfte des Mitleids und des Lachens ist Vergnügen, und es ist grosser Vortheil für den dramatischen Dichter, dass er weder nützlich, noch angenehm, eines ohne das andere seyn kann⁵.

And in this connection a definition of the drama might be quoted from the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, which gives unmistakably the impression of going back to a period considerably anterior to that publication. It is in Stück xxxv. Lessing, with reference to his *Abhandlung von dem Wesen der Fabel*, is comparing the drama with the fable:

Das Drama hingegen macht auf eine einzige, bestimmte, aus seiner Fabel fließende Lehre, keinen Anspruch; es gehet entweder auf die Leidenschaften,

¹ *Schriften*, xvii, pp. 65, 67; Petsch, pp. 52, 55.

² *Schriften*, vii, p. 68. Even in the *Dramaturgie* we still hear of the 'angenehmen Thränen, die das Trauerspiel erregen will' (St. i, p. 187).

³ *Ibid.*, viii, p. 43.

⁴ Cp. *Laocoon*, ii (*Schriften*, ix, p. 13): 'Der Endzweck der Künste hingegen ist Vergnügen; und das Vergnügen ist entbehrlich. Also darf es allerdings von dem Gesetzgeber abhängen, welche Art von Vergnügen, und in welchem Maasse er jede Art desselben verstatten will.'

⁵ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 67; Petsch, pp. 54 f.

welche der Verlauf und die Glücksveränderungen seiner Fabel anzufachen und zu unterhalten vermögend sind, oder auf das Vergnügen, welches eine wahre und lebhaft Schilderung der Sitten und Charaktere gewähret; und beides erfordert eine gewisse Vollständigkeit der Handlung, ein gewisses befriedigendes Ende, welches wir bey der moralischen Erzählung nicht vermissen, weil alle unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf den allgemeinen Satz gelenkt wird, von welchem der einzelne Fall derselben ein so einleuchtendes Beyspiel giebt¹.

This again clearly comes from Batteux's chapter 'Qu'elle peut être la fin morale de la Tragédie' from which I have already quoted. Batteux is controverting Le Bossu:

Nous pouvons cependant dire en général que ce n'est point une maxime comme dans l'Apologue, ni aucune leçon d'instruction, qui s'adresse d'abord à l'esprit pour être ensuite appliquée à la conduite. Si on veut que la Tragédie soit une leçon d'instruction, j'ose dire qu'on va contre son objet².

The important thing to notice in all this is that there is not a word about the Aristotelian idea of 'purging' or 'purifying'; and, in fact, Lessing does not face the problem of the meaning of *κάθαρσις* until he comes to the *Dramaturgie*; or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he never faced it at all. The word 'katharsis' is to him, as to the majority of eighteenth-century theorists, nothing more than a metaphorical expression; Aristotle's statement is regarded as equivalent to saying that tragedy improves us morally.

The beginnings of Lessing's theory of the 'Endzweck' of tragedy may, however, be traced back to the Correspondence with Nicolai and Mendelssohn. In the first letter to Nicolai he says:

Wenn es also wahr ist, dass die ganze Kunst des tragischen Dichters auf die sichere Erregung und Dauer des einzigen Mitleidens geht, so sage ich nunmehr, die Bestimmung der Tragödie ist diese: sie soll unsre Fähigkeit, Mitleid zu fühlen, erweitern³.

And in the letter to Mendelssohn of December 18, 1756:

Das Trauerspiel soll das Mitleiden nur überhaupt üben, und nicht uns in diesem oder jenem Falle zum Mitleiden bestimmen....Ich lasse mich zum Mitleiden im Trauerspiele bewegen, um eine Fertigkeit im Mitleiden zu bekommen...ohne Zweifel ist derjenige der beste Mensch, der die grösste Fertigkeit im Mitleiden hat⁴.

This again clearly comes from the chapter of Batteux which I have just quoted:

¹ *Schriften*, ix, p. 331. Similarly, in Stück xii (p. 231): 'Ich will nicht sagen, dass es ein Fehler ist, wenn der dramatische Dichter seine Fabel so einrichtet, dass sie zur Erläuterung oder Bestätigung irgend einer grossen moralischen Wahrheit dienen kann. Aber ich darf sagen, dass diese Einrichtung der Fabel nichts weniger als nothwendig ist,' etc. Curtius (*Abhandlung von der Absicht des Trauerspiels* in his translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, p. 392) had also said: 'Es ist deswegen nicht nothwendig, dass ein jedes Trauerspiel nur eine moralische Wahrheit in sich fasse. Man hat zu geschwinde von der Einheit der Handlung auf die Einheit der Moral geschlossen.'

² *Ed. cit.*, iii, p. 88.

³ *Schriften*, xvii, p. 66; Petsch, p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83; Petsch, p. 84.

On ne peut guères disconvenir, je crois, que la Tragédie ne soit généralement parlant, un exercice de l'âme par des émotions tristes. Il n'est point de Tragédie qui ne s'annonce ainsi dès le premier vers. Les émotions répétées, doivent, comme tous les autres actes de l'âme, se changer en habitude, et l'effet de cette habitude, vertu ou non, ce que je n'examine pas encore, doit être nécessairement de rendre notre âme plus aisée à remuer et moins facile à abattre par le malheur : toute habitude ayant pour effet essentiel de rendre plus facile l'exercice de la faculté qui est exercée, et d'accoutumer l'âme à l'objet qui l'exerce¹.

Turning now to the *Dramaturgie*, I fail to see that Lessing has made any essential advance on these ideas which he learned from Batteux ten years before, unless to express them a little more fully and exactly, a little more trenchantly. He continues to accept the word 'katharsis' or 'Reinigung' as a mere metaphor or figure of speech; and he states it as his final view that the business of tragedy consists 'in der Verwandlung der Leidenschaften in tugendhafte Fertigkeiten'; in other words, that the end of tragedy is 'sittliche Besserung,' 'moral improvement.' The paragraph is so important that I must quote it in full :

Da nemlich, es kurz zu sagen, diese Reinigung in nichts anders beruhet, als in der Verwandlung der Leidenschaften in tugendhafte Fertigkeiten, bey jeder Tugend aber, nach unserm Philosophen, sich disseits und jenseits ein Extremum findet, zwischen welchem sie inne stehet : so muss die Tragödie, wenn sie unser Mitleid in Tugend verwandeln soll, uns von beiden Extremis des Mitleids zu reinigen vermögend seyn ; welches auch von der Furcht zu verstehen. Das tragische Mitleid muss nicht allein, in Ansehung des Mitleids, die Seele desjenigen reinigen, welcher zu viel Mitleid fühlet, sondern auch desjenigen, welcher zu wenig empfindet. Die tragische Furcht muss nicht allein, in Ansehung der Furcht, die Seele desjenigen, reinigen, welcher sich ganz und gar keines Unglücks befürchtet, sondern auch desjenigen, den ein jedes Unglück, auch das entfernteste, auch das unwahrscheinlichste, in Angst setzet. Gleichfalls muss das tragische Mitleid, in Ansehung der Furcht, dem was zu viel, und dem was zu wenig, steuern : so wie hinwiederum die tragische Furcht, in Ansehung des Mitleids².

Critics have registered with disappointment and regret this seeming relapse into a Gottsched-like faith in the moral purpose of poetry. And Lessing had expressed himself even more emphatically elsewhere; in the end of the seventy-seventh part of the *Dramaturgie*—that is to say, only a page or two before the passage just quoted—he wrote : 'Bessern sollen uns alle Gattungen der Poesie : es ist kläglich, wenn man dieses erst beweisen muss; noch kläglich ist es, wenn es Dichter giebt, die

¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 92. The bridge from Batteux's French terms to Lessing's German terms is supplied by Mendelssohn; in his *Von der Herrschaft über die Neigungen*, which he sent Lessing in manuscript in January, 1757 (cp. *Schriften*, xix, p. 64; Petsch, p. 95), he says : 'Durch die Übung (welche mit der Gewohnheit einerley Wirkung hat) wird eine jede Fähigkeit in unserer Seele zu einer Fertigkeit. Eine Fertigkeit besteht in einem Vermögen, etwas so geschwind zu verrichten, dass wir uns nicht mehr alles dessen bewusst bleiben, was wir dabey vorgenommen?' (*Ges. Schriften*, iv, i, Leipzig, 1844; also Petsch, p. 131). Cp. also Ramler's translation of Batteux : 'Wiederholte Bewegungen müssen, wie alle übrigen Beschäftigungen der Seele, sich in Fertigkeiten verwandeln....'

² Stück lxxviii, pp. 117 f.

selbst daran zweifeln¹. There is no ambiguity here. But the criticism of Lessing, to which I have referred, involves an injustice. Even Corneille, who insisted that the primary object of tragedy was to give pleasure, has much to say about its 'utilité'²; and the movement of French eighteenth-century theory through Voltaire to Marmontel³ and Diderot, was all in favour of laying greater emphasis on the moral end of tragedy⁴. In Germany, which was entirely dominated by French thought in these matters, it could not be otherwise: and I am very doubtful whether, in respect of the moral question, Nicolai, and, after him, C. H. Schmid, Gerstenberg and the other theorists of the 'Sturm und Drang' would have felt themselves very much at variance with Lessing. These critics, it is true, demanded as the first business of tragedy, that it should 'awaken passions,' move the feelings; but this was very far from defending an 'amoral' drama; on the contrary, they recognised as clearly as Diderot himself, that the more the feelings of the spectator were harrowed, the greater the moral effect was likely to be. It was only a question of keeping apart two distinct issues⁵.

Bywater sums up acutely the criticism which may be brought against Lessing's theory⁶: its confusion of the purgation of an emotion and the purgation of the soul from an emotion; of purging and moderating; and the very questionable statement that the excessive indulgence of a strong emotion weakens it; but all this criticism has to be brought, in the first instance, not against Lessing, but against his predecessors from whom he drew his ideas.

The eighteenth century had, in respect of the nature of the Aristotelian 'katharsis,' a choice between a medical and a religious

¹ Page 114. One might compare, from what seems to me unmistakably older elements in the *Dramaturgie*, the opinion that the good dramatist's object is 'den Pöbel zu erleuchten und zu bessern' (Stück i, p. 188); and Stück ii (p. 188): 'Das Theater soll die Schule der moralischen Welt seyn.' Cp. Voltaire's 'la véritable Tragédie est l'école de la vertu' (Dissertation to *Sémiramis*); and Dacier's: 'Leur Théâtre étoit une école où la vertu étoit souvent mieux enseignée que dans les écoles des Philosophes' (*La Poétique d'Aristote*, Préf., p. xxiii).

² 'Purification' means to him, too, the moral improvement of the spectator. Cp. Arnauld, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

³ 'La Tragédie,' says Marmontel (*Poétique Française*, ii, pp. 99 f.), 'peut avoir deux fins, l'une prochaine, et l'autre éloignée. La première est de plaire en intéressant, et celle-là est indispensable: la seconde d'instruire et de corriger, et celle-ci, quoique moins essentielle au Poëme, en fait l'excellence et le prix.' And again, p. 145: 'Le but de la Tragédie est, selon nous, de corriger les mœurs en les imitant.'

⁴ This has been clearly brought out by M. GaiFFE in his work on *Le Drame en France au XVIIIe Siècle*, Paris 1910, especially pp. 78 ff.

⁵ *Abhandlung vom Trauerspiel* (Petsch, p. 11): 'Doch folget hieraus nicht, dass das Trauerspiel gar nichts zur Verbesserung der Leidenschaften beytragen, und also gar keinen moralischen Nutzen haben könne; man muss nur diesen entfernten Nutzen des Trauerspiels nicht zu weit ausdehnen und zum Hauptzweck desselben machen....'

⁶ *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909, pp. 160 f.

interpretation. According to the former the purging is to be taken as strictly analogous to the medical use of the term. This is the most generally accepted view to-day; it was first firmly established by Jakob Bernays in 1857¹. Bernays was under the impression that his interpretation was new; but this is not in accordance with the facts. He had not only a German predecessor in Weil², but, as Spingarn has shown, similar views are to be found in Minturno's *De Poeta* (1559) and *L'Arte poetica* (1564); and from Minturno the interpretation passed to Milton (Preface to *Samson Agonistes*, 1671)³. But there is more to be said than this: the medical interpretation was entirely familiar to the whole eighteenth century, and was—as is to be seen even in Milton—accepted by authors who put the matter from the ethical point of view. It is, for instance, quite unequivocally expressed by Dacier:

On peut comparer en cette occasion Platon et Aristote à deux Médecins, dont l'un condamneroit une médecine, et l'autre l'approuveroit... La Tragédie est donc une véritable médecine, qui purge les passions, puisqu'elle apprend à l'ambitieux, à modérer son ambition; à l'impie, à craindre les Dieux; à l'importé, à retenir sa colère, et ainsi du reste. Mais c'est une médecine agréable, qui ne fait son effet que par le plaisir⁴.

And the mere fact that Dacier gave the idea currency meant that it became the common property of the eighteenth century⁵. The religious interpretation would appear to go back to Lambin, a French commentator on Aristotle in the sixteenth century, who translated *κάθαρσις* 'lustratio seu expiatio,' and saw in it a kind of religious purification, a cleansing from some spiritual impurity⁶. This religious interpretation appears again in Heinsius, but in combination with the idea of moral purification.

Whatever the explanation of the cathartic process, the ethical end of tragedy had, as we have seen, been almost invariably conceded or tacitly accepted. But here again there was room for different opinions as to the precise nature of the method whereby this ethical purpose was achieved by tragedy. The eighteenth-century critics incline to one or

¹ *Grundzüge der verlorenen Abhandlung des Aristoteles über Wirkung der Tragödie*, Breslau, 1857; reprinted in *Zwei Abhandlungen über die Aristotelische Theorie des Dramas*, Berlin, 1880.

² H. Weil, *Über die Wirkung der Tragödie nach Aristoteles* (*Verhandlungen der zehnten Versammlung deutscher Philologen in Basel*, 1848, pp. 131 ff.).

³ J. E. Spingarn, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, 2nd ed., New York, 1908, pp. 79 ff. Minturno, *De Poeta*, p. 64: *Arte poetica*, p. 77 (cp. I. Bywater, *op. cit.*, p. 134 and *Journal of Philology*, xxvii (1900), p. 54).

⁴ *La Poétique d'Aristote*, pp. 83.

⁵ Louis Racine even compares the cathartic action of tragedy with inoculation for smallpox! (*Oeuvres*, vi, p. 395).

⁶ Cp. J. H. Reinkens, *Aristoteles über Kunst, besonders über Tragödie*, Vienna, 1870, p. 85.

other of two interpretations of the ethical katharsis. One of these is that the fear and pity of tragedy render us so familiar with these emotions that we cease to shrink from them; that is to say, tragedy works ethically by moderating, damping, or rendering less acute our emotions; the other is that tragic pity and fear excite instead of damping our pity and fear, and thus make our souls more sensitive, more ready to extend our sympathies and our fears, in other words, render us more 'humane.' The first of these views comes down from the Italian commentators Robortelli, Victorius and Castelvetro; Nicolai mentions it in his *Abhandlung*, quoting Brumoy's authority in his support¹. It is also, as we have just seen, Dacier's view.

The second interpretation goes back to Heinsius. In his *De Tragœdiæ Constitutione* he says:

De affectibus autem ita judicabat Aristoteles. Nec virtutes eos neque vitia esse. Caeterum habitum quendam, quatenus et quando, gaudendum, dolendum, commiserandum, reliquique, e praescripto rationis admittendi essent, comparare virum sapientem posse. Talem e tragoediæ representatione nasci....Ad talem autem habitum reduci posse affectus, multa sunt, quae docent....Iisque actionibus horrorem et commiserationem movet. Quae duo, eosdem in humano animo affectus mitigant aut sedant, et si recte adhibeantur, defectum eorum atque excessum expiant ac purgant. Mediocritatem vero relinquunt².

This view was espoused by Batteux in France, and, as we have seen, it passed over from Batteux to Lessing: the latter's 'Verwandlung in tugendhafte Fertigkeiten' is clearly Batteux's 'changer des émotions en habitude' together with his subsequent demand that the emotions in question must be 'passions vertueuses'.³ Batteux's theory had, however, already been enunciated in German by Curtius, who, in his *Abhandlung von der Absicht des Trauerspiels*, had said:

Wenn das Unglück eines Fremden auf der Bühne uns lebhaft rühret, so wird das Mitleiden und Erbarmen zu einer Fertigkeit der Seelen, und der Menschenfreund in den Logen und dem Parterre, bey dem die auf der Bühne vorgestellte Begebenheiten das Gefühl der Menschlichkeit rege gemacht haben, wird auch in den Handlungen seines Lebens sich als ein Menschenfreund erweisen⁴.

Lessing, however, was not content with the phrase 'Verwandlung in tugendhafte Fertigkeiten'; he endeavoured to find an explanation of the process by which the 'Verwandlung' is carried out. All Dacier

¹ Lessing, finding in Curtius's *Abhandlung von der Absicht des Trauerspiels* some lines of Timocles, quoted in Latin translation from Athenaeus, vi, cap. i, p. 223, suggested them to Nicolai as older evidence of the theory than that of Brumoy. It is Athenaeus who refers to Stobaeus (cp. Lessing's letter of April 2, 1757; Petsch, p. 106). The source of the matter is really Robortelli, in *Aristotelis de Poetica*, Florence, 1548, pp. 53 f.

² *Ed. cit.*, pp. 22 ff. Quoted by M. Zerbst, *Ein Vorläufer Lessings in der Aristoteles-interpretation*, Jena, 1887, pp. 49 f.

³ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 92 and 96. See above, p. 333.

⁴ *Aristoteles Dichtkunst*, p. 390.

could tell him on this point is contained in a statement that the 'Péripéticiens' regarded the expression 'purger les passions' as equivalent to 'emporter l'excès des passions par où elles péchent, et les réduire à une juste modération.' Here again, Batteux was much more explicit and helpful:

Purger la terreur et la pitié, je crois que c'est les purifier, c'est-à-dire, leur ôter ce qu'elles peuvent avoir ou de trop ou d'étranger, qui les empêcheroit d'être aussi profitables qu'elles le seroient sans cela. On conçoit bien que la *pitié* et la *terreur* même peuvent être utiles à l'humanité; mais comment l'une et l'autre peuvent-elles cesser de l'être, faute d'être purifiées, ou *purgées*, puisque c'est le terme d'Aristote?... Il faut donc que la terreur et la pitié, pour en faire deux vertus secourables, soient sans mélange et sans excès. Si la terreur est mêlée d'horreur, elle effarouche l'âme, plutôt qu'elle ne l'affermir; si la pitié est mêlée de foiblesse, elle dégénère en pusillanimité. Si elles sont l'une et l'autre en-deçà d'un certain point, elles ne font qu'effleurer l'âme sans la ramuer; si elles sont au-delà, elles l'emportent au loin, ou la pétrifient. Il falloit donc les réduire à leur point juste, les épurer, les dégager de tout ce qui pouvoit altérer leur nature, pour les rendre vraiment utiles à l'humanité¹.

But Lessing carries the matter a step further; recalling the theory of the passions possessing two extremes, which Aristotle had set forth in his *Ethics*, he claims that the business of the pity and fear of tragedy is not merely to remove the excesses of these passions in the spectator, but also to add to them in case of deficiency. If tragedy is to be considered as an instrument of moral betterment, it is confessedly not easy to see how the second claim can be defended; nor does Lessing try to defend it. I cannot help thinking that it was one of those moot points in the *Poetics* which Lessing might have reconsidered later, had he ever written his proposed commentary. In any case, the view had already been expressed by one of Lessing's predecessors, and a predecessor whom he could not have failed to read, namely, Rapin². In his *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote et sur les ouvrages anciens et modernes* (1671) that writer had advanced the following argument:

Elle [la Tragédie] rend l'homme modeste, en luy représentant des Grands humiliez; et elle le rend sensible et pitoyable, en luy faisant voir sur le théâtre les étranges accidens de la vie, et les disgraces imprévues auxquelles sont sujettes les personnes les plus importantes. Mais parce que l'homme est naturellement timide, et compatissant, il peut tomber dans une autre extrémité, d'être ou trop craintif, ou trop pitoyable: la trop grande crainte peut diminuer la fermeté de l'âme, et la trop grande compassion peut diminuer l'équité. La Tragédie s'occupe à régler ces deux foiblesses: elle fait qu'on s'apriveoise aux disgraces, en les voyant si fréquentes dans les personnes le plus considérables, et qu'on cesse de craindre les accidens ordinaires, quand on en voit arriver de si extraordinaires aux Grands.

¹ *Ed. cit.*, pp. 97 ff.

² Cp. G. Kettner, *Zu Lessings Hamburgischer Dramaturgie in Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xxx (1898), pp. 237 ff., to which I am indebted for this reference. Louis Racine had also cited Rapin's views in his *Traité de la Poésie dramatique* (Oeuvres, vi, p. 393). Kettner points out that Lessing shows knowledge of Rapin in the *Critische Briefe*, 1753, No. xvi (reference to Dante; *Schriften*, v, p. 80) and in his *Anmerkungen über das Epigramm* (*Schriften*, xi, p. 218).

Et comme la fin de la Tragédie est d'apprendre aux hommes à ne pas craindre trop foiblement des disgrâces communes, et à ménager leur crainte : elle fait état aussi de leur apprendre à ménager leur compassion, pour des sujets qui la méritent. Car il y a de l'injustice d'être touché des malheurs de ceux qui mérite d'être misérables¹.

Lessing broaches a further refinement of the question, namely, as to the precise manner in which the pity and fear of tragedy act on the pity and fear of the spectator : whether pity excites fear or pity, and whether the tragic fear excites pity or fear. But this, again, was a question which he left to be decided at a later date².

The translation of τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων had given—and still gives—trouble to the commentators. Robortelli, for instance, restricted the phrase to fear and pity only ; so, too, did Castelvetro, while Maffei, in the Preface to his *Merope*, proposed the omission of the phrase altogether from the definition. Corneille held that 'all passions' could be cured by the pity and fear awakened by tragedy ; such was also Dacier's view, although he qualifies his statement in an interesting way. He translates the text : 'achève de purger en nous ces sorts de passions, et toutes les autres semblables,' but in his note he enlarges and distinguishes between two functions. The first is that tragedy 'purge la terreur et la compassion par elles-mêmes.' In the second place :

En purgeant la terreur et la compassion, elle purge en même temps toutes les autres passions qui pourroient nous précipiter dans la même misère, car en étalant les fautes qui ont attiré sur ces malheureux les peines qu'ils souffrent, elle nous apprend à nous tenir sur nos gardes pour n'y pas tomber, et à purger et modérer la passion qui a été la seule cause de leur perte³.

Here, again, Lessing holds with Batteux ; he says : 'Das τοιούτων bezieht sich lediglich auf das vorhergehende Mitleid und Furcht⁴.' And Batteux :

Aristote dans la définition même qu'il donne de la Tragédie, nous dit que ce poème est fait pour *purger la terreur et la pitié qu'elle produit*. (And in a note) : Il faut faire attention à la lettre du texte. Corneille s'y est trompé, lorsqu'il a dit (Disc. 2) que la pitié purgeoit les passions qui causent les malheurs. C'est la pitié même qui est purgée⁵.

Lessing admits that there is a possibility of a further purgation : 'Zwar können sich in der Tragödie auch zur Reinigung der andern Leidenschaften, nützliche Lehren und Beyspiele finden' ; but these are alien to the specific 'Absicht' of tragedy as tragedy. So, too, does Batteux :

Il est certain que la terreur et la pitié sont l'effet de la Tragédie....J'ajoutera

¹ *Les Oeuvres du P. Rapin*, ii, Amsterdam, 1709, pp. 159 f.

² Stück lxxviii, p. 117. It is perhaps worth noting that Brumoy had said (*Théâtre des Grecs*, i, p. lii) : 'Ce qu'il y a de particulier et de surprenant en cette matière, c'est que la Poésie corrige la crainte par la crainte, et la pitié par la pitié ; chose d'autant plus agréable, que le cœur humaine aime ses sentimens et ses foiblesses.'

³ *Poétique d'Aristote*, p. 82.

⁴ Stück lxxvii, p. 113.

⁵ *Ed. cit.*, iii, pp. 96 f.

pourtant que tous les autres effets qu'elle peut produire, toutes les vues politiques qu'on lui donne quelquefois, toutes les allégories, toutes les allusions qu'on peut y trouver, toutes les maximes, toutes les belles sentences, n'y sont, comme dans l'Épopée, que des finesses de l'artiste, et non l'objet de l'art. Une Tragédie avec ces beautés, ou sans elle, n'en sera ni plus ni moins une Tragédie, si elle exerce l'âme au malheur, et qu'elle le conduise par degré aux deux passions que nous avons dites, et dont on peut faire deux vertus¹.

Lessing recognises, however, that there is some difficulty in the fact that Aristotle writes *τοιούτων* and not *τούτων*. His attitude to Aristotle being what it is, this must be accounted for. With the common modern acceptance of *τοιούτων* as practically equivalent to *τούτων*—an equivalence which is, however, by no means beyond question²—Lessing could hardly be expected to agree. And he ingeniously interprets the 'like' passions as the 'philanthropischen Gefühle' which, it will be remembered, formed a constituent of his own and Mendelssohn's definition of 'Mitleid,' but were excluded from Aristotle's *ἔλεος*. I am doubtful, however, whether Lessing put forward this explanation with much conviction, or indeed, as anything more than an attempt to justify the word in the interests of philological accuracy. At least, a little later, he expresses himself quite unambiguously that the purgation is strictly limited to fear and pity. 'Aristoteles, um es abermals und abermals zu sagen, hat an keine andere Leidenschaften gedacht, welche das Mitleid und die Furcht der Tragödie reinigen solle, als an unser Mitleid und unsere Furcht selbst³.'

There is one other point. In all the editions of the *Poetics* available in Lessing's time, the text reads: *οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας ἀλλὰ δι' ἐλέου*, which Lessing translates (p. 111) 'nicht vermittelt der Erzählung, sondern vermittelt des Mitleids und der Furcht.' Lessing saw the difficulty—or hiatus—as both Dacier and Curtius had seen it: but, unlike them, he, being a stickler for the letter of Aristotle, endeavoured to justify it. His attempt has no value in view of the fact that *ἀλλά* is now known to be an interpolation of the Aldine edition; but, like Lessing's discussion of *τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων*, it is interesting as an illustration of his determination at all costs to justify—not to say 'accommodate himself with'—Aristotle.

(To be concluded.)

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¹ *Ed. cit.*, iii, pp. 100 f.

² Cp. Bywater, *op. cit.*, p. 152: '*τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων* is a general expression for this whole group of disturbing emotions (enthusiasm, pity, fear, etc.) instead of being, as is so often thought, either limited to the two emotions (pity and fear) which appear in the context, or applying to the emotions in general.'

³ Stück lxxviii, p. 116.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

AN EPISODE IN ONGENPEOW'S FALL.

(*Beowulf*, ll. 2957—2960.)

IN connexion with his description of Scyld's funeral obsequies, Knut Stjerna makes especial reference to the circumstance that the departed hero was accompanied to the other world not only by his sword and corselet but by his ensign of gold as well, in order that he might there lead his Scyldings to victory under the assembling banner. The standard was placed over his head, 'somewhat as armies were led forward in battle under the war banner' (cf. Clark Hall's translation of Stjerna's *Essays*, Coventry, 1912, p. 130), and the author alludes for support to *Beowulf*, ll. 2957—8. The error which he commits in selecting these lines as an illustration is shared in some of the numerous details by most of the editors of the poem. Clearly, something will be gained in harmonizing the various conjectures and stating the case correctly as a whole.

The four lines which have furnished one of the small storm-centres of the textual criticism appear in the manuscript in the following form :

þa wæs æht boden sweona leodū segn higelace.
freoðo-wong þone ford ofer-eodon syððan hreoð-lingas to hagan þrunгон.

The interpretation postulated by Stjerna's context, confirmed also by Hall's rendering (*Beowulf*, London, 1911, p. 146), viz. 'then was chase given to the Swedish folk, the banners of Hygelac overran the fastness until the Hrethlings pressed on the serried ranks¹,' is the resultant of Holthausen's view of *segn* as the subject of *oferēodon* and of the Kemble-Thorpe-Bugge emendation (*P.B.B.* XII, 108), *Higelāces*, the uplifted

¹ Cf. Grundtvig's free translation (1865):

Til Higelak, i Sadlen fast,
Med Gother nok i Følge,
Med Kongeflag paa høien Mast,
Ham giæsted over Bølge.

banner being considered the token of pursuit. Two of the latest editors, Chambers (1914), and Schücking (1913), however, do not favour this division but, in accordance with the manuscript, assume a stop after *Higelāce*, and read, 'then was pursuit offered to the Swedes and the banner (captured from the Swedes) offered to Hygelac.'

This has long been the standing interpretation of the two lines, and the punctuation of the manuscript would be satisfactory, if it did not give rise to an 'incongruous combination.' Klaeber has tried to explain the abruptness of the style and the unusual zeugma of *boden* by the structure of l. 653, *him hæl ābēad, wīn-ærnes geweald* (*Mod. Phil.* III, 240). The parallel however is not perfect: the antithesis of an abstract with a concrete noun, *æht* and *segn*, and the wide difference of the unexpressed agents, the Geats and the Fortunes of war, cannot be confused with the marked concinnity of the other verse. 'He bespake him luck and power in the wine-hall' is an unforced turn, in need of no elucidation. To bring about a better parallelism, Sievers (*P.B.B.* ix, 143) proposed *sæcc* for *segn*, but such an alteration is no more necessary than Holthausen's *ōht* or Trautmann's *æfst* for *æht*.

The solution lies, as we have before indicated (*The Dative of Agency*, New York, 1913, p. 101), partly in the recognition of the fact that *æht* in the sense attributed to it in the passage is a ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, and that its original meaning of 'treasure' < *āgan* (O.H.G. *āhta* would correspond to Ags. *ōht*) need not be obscured in this one instance. (The suggestion is commonly attributed to Schröer, *Anglia*, XIII, 348, but the idea surely goes back beyond him at least to Ettmüller's translation, Zürich, 1840, 'Da für eigen boten die Sweomannen *Schatz Hygelāce*.') The other requirement consists in the retention of MS. *lēodum*, against Schröer's attempt to change the word into gen. *lēoda*. The latter renders, 'Da wurde der schatz der Schwedenleute, das banner dem Hygelac (als lösegeld) angeboten,' but since Child has shown that *segn* may be taken as a plural noun (*M.L.N.* XXI, 200), we arrive at the version, 'Then was (the) treasure offered (yielded) by the folk of the Swedes, their banner to Hygelac.' We see in *lēodum* an instance of the dative-instrumental of personal agency, and offer a translation, 'by the people of the Swedes,' which Mr Sedgfield similarly proposes on the basis of Schröer's 'der Schwedenleute' (cf. Sedgfield, *Beowulf*, 1910, p. 181), and which is also foreshadowed in H. Leo's 'und als eigentum ward von den Sweon geboten Hygelac eine zimirde' (Halle, 1839).

What is now the meaning of the entire passage? In order to

defend his house and hoard from the invaders, Ongentheow, hard pressed, has retreated to a fastness, in all likelihood a citadel surrounded with earth-walls (cf. l. 2950, *fæsten* and 2957, *eorð-weall*). The Geat messenger of Wiglaf, having given a brief and hurried summary of the events preceding the final victory, now announces in exultant anticipation the rout of the Swedes and the end of their king: then were there treasures and ensigns relinquished by the enemy! and (if one may look forward to l. 2988, they were) *offered* to the chieftain by the victorious warriors! Amongst whom is Eofor who *hāres hyrste Higelāce bær*.

Weyhe (*Eng. Stud.* xxxix, 14 ff.) has plausibly shown that the main interest in both versions of this phase of the Swedish-Geatish hostilities, viz. ll. 2472 and 2922, centres about the significant denouement, the king's fall, the proof positive of Geatish prowess. We must add, also the loss of his hoard, l. 2955, and of his insignia. The capture of the enemy banner in Germanic warfare was, as Heyne's quotations bear out, of primary significance: '*occidit eum et tulit bandonem ipsius et capsidem*,' etc. It is but natural to assume that theirs would be defended by the Swedes with great tenacity, and that they would not *offer* it to Hygelac as a ransom. And, in fact, if the word *freoðo-wong*, itself a *ἄπ. λεγ.*, is not taken with Schröer as a 'plain of peace,' there is no question of a peace-parley, 'Versöhnungsversuch,' and the Swedes would not have to cross the place of compromise when the hosts of Hygelac began nevertheless to press forward! (*Sic* Schröer, making the Swedes the subject of *oferēodon*.) Gummere's 'the standards of H. o'er peaceful plains in pride advancing' or Gering's 'das freie Gefilde' seems equally colourless. Cosijn's definition (*Aanteek.*) of the word, accepted by Schücking, as 'the fortified grounds' is correct only in the sense that it refers to the Swedish citadel (and not to the plains, as in Müllenhoff, *ZfdA.* xiv, 238); for the emphasis is clearly not on the protected but rather on the protective aspect of the fortress, as the often-cited l. 522, *freoðo-burh fægere*, shows. Thus Mr Chambers defines the word correctly as a 'place of refuge.' It may be added, in confirmation, that this corresponds to a nicety with the meaning of the Old Saxon *fridu-* whose compound *fridugumo* must, in conformity with the sense of the proper names *Fridurich* and *Friduhelm*, be taken in the *Heliand* as referring to the protection which the king must afford to his thanes. See also Notker's *fridoman* in Graff's Old High German *Sprachschatz*. As to other mooted words, we follow Müllenhoff, Heyne and the other editors who adhere to the MS. reading, in making *Hrēðlingas* the subject of *oferēodon*; with respect to *hagan*, we cannot disregard

the signification given in l. 2892, 'hedge-enclosure,' and read not 'hedge-shields'—the shield-wall of defence, or serried ranks, as even Chambers is inclined to—but, literally, the 'hedge on or around the earth-wall' of l. 2957. Accordingly we translate, turning l. 2959 into passive in English,

By the folk of the Swedes,	then was treasure yielded,
That place of refuge	their flags to Hygelac!
When the Hrethlings	was overrun,
	on the hedge-round closed.

The manuscript reading and punctuation are retained. The parallelism of ll. 2957–8 is no longer objectionable. The proleptic statement at the outset is in harmony with the practice of the poem, cf. l. 734, *ne wæs þæt wyrd þā gēn, þæt hē mā mōste manna cynnes ðicgean ofer þā niht*, or l. 2341, *sceolde lēn-daga æpeling ær-gōd ende gebīdan, worulde līfes*.

ALEXANDER GREEN.

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THE O.E. 'EXODUS.'

ll. 47–53. In his excellent notes on the *Exodus* (*Modern Language Notes*, Jan. 1912) Bright has shown how effectively the O.E. poet selected the culminating disasters leading up to the expulsion of Israel from Egypt. But difficulties have arisen in connection with the subsequent passage which describes the actual departure. Moore condemns it as 'obscure and probably corrupt' (*Modern Philology*, July, 1911), while Bright himself has recourse to a novel interpretation of *drēogan* as 'execute, devise, perpetrate, impose,' etc. It seems possible to make good sense out of the passage by taking *swā* as a relative 'who, which' (cf. the Heyne-Schücking glossary to *Bēowulf*), and *eal-dwērige* (weak adj. acc. neut.) *Egypta folc* as accusative, parallel to *fæsten*. This interpretation appears, indeed, to be that of Blackburn (*Exodus and Daniel*, 1907), though it has apparently escaped notice. The bold juxtaposition of the concrete and the abstract expressions is quite in accordance with the style of the poet, cf. ll. 44–5 where *lāðsīð* parallels *folc fērende*, and also ll. 326–30. The passage then runs: 'That was a famous day when the Israelites fared forth, who had endured for many years captivity, the perverse folk of the Egyptians, because they (the Egyptians) had determined for ever to refuse to Moses' kinsmen their desire for the cherished expedition.'

l. 79. Bright proposes to read *dægescældes hlēo* which he interprets

as 'protection against, or deliverance from, the day-cold.' If *sceald* can be explained as a North. back-umlaut form due to the plural inflection and bearing the same relationship to W.S. *sceld*, *scyld* as *onsteallan* (*Daniel* 246) to W.S. *onstellan*, we may, with Blackburn, translate *dægscealdes hlēo* by 'protection of the day-shield' (cf. Bülbring, *Alteng. Elementarbuch*, §§ 247-9). The reference would then be to the pillar of cloud.

ll. 109-110. In his notes on ll. 63-134 (*Modern Language Review*, April, 1911) Napier pointed out the difficulty of rendering *behēold*: 'One expects a verb meaning "began," and, though *ongann* would be a bold emendation, it would yield good sense.... There is however great difficulty in seeing how the mistake could have arisen.' But the whole line offers difficulties, since, as Bohlen pointed out in his dissertation (*Zusammengehörige Wortgruppen*, etc., 1908), simple attributive genitives are not usually separated by the caesura from their related nouns, when these follow immediately. *Setlrāde* appears then to be accusative, governed by *behēold* (cf. *Bēowulf*, l. 667), and *scīnan* an infinitive used participially. The meaning 'setting' appears to be established for *setl* and its compounds in connection with the heavenly bodies, otherwise 'attended to its settled course' would be a satisfactory rendering of *setlrāde behēold*. Possibly, the sentence should be translated: 'Another wonder, a strange one following upon the sun, observed the sun's setting, shining over the people with flame.' If, however, Bradley is right in supposing a lacuna in or about l. 108 (*The Numbered Sections in O.E. Poetical MSS.*) the problem assumes a new aspect.

l. 399. This well-known *cruX* has given rise to many solutions, more or less plausible, e.g. 'The first murderer was not more doomed (i.e. more threatened with death) than was Isaac' (Blackburn). But neither Cain nor Isaac was *fæge* in any real sense. Bright is probably right in urging that there is no real comparison and that the line refers exclusively to Abraham. But it is not necessary to substitute *fægenra* for *fægra* in view of *Bēowulf* ll. 913 ff.:

Hē pær eallum weard,
mæg Higelāces, manna cynne,
frēondum gefægra: hine fyren onwōd.

As Klaeber has pointed out, the *Bēowulf* word can be explained by O.H.G. *gīfag* 'contented, etc.' and this meaning would satisfy the present passage.

l. 470. The *New English Dictionary* relates *nep* to the first element in *nēp-flōd* and renders it 'without power of advancing.' But it is not

necessary to assume vowel-length for the *Exodus* form, since the scansion of the half-line is exactly paralleled in *helpendra pað*, line 488. Some such meaning as 'lacking' is required and this is suggested by Ic. *hneppr* 'scant,' for which related Scandinavian forms with voiced initial consonant may be assumed. Cf. Ic. *hnjósa* alongside of Norw. *njosa*, Sw. *nysa*, Da. *nyse*. The borrowing would be a very early one.

l. 487. Neither the metre nor the sense of the first half is satisfactory. By supplying *on* at the beginning of the line we get a regular type. *Werbēamas* has been explained as 'men, warriors,' and again 'pillar of cloud' (Blackburn). Assuming vowel-length for the first element, we may render *werbēamas* by 'protecting columns.' The reference is then to the walls of water which up to now had protected the proud Egyptians. The construction of *slōh* with a following preposition is paralleled in *Christ*, ll. 1121-2.

ll. 499-500. The reading *onbugon* was suggested by Grein in place of the MS. *on bogum*. Blackburn rejects this on metrical grounds and proposes *buge*, to which he assigns *mōdwēga mæst* as subject. Bright suggests *brim-ypplinge* as the reading of the second half-line. Adopting *on bugon* in place of Grein's *onbugon* the line runs

siddan hie on bugon brūn yppinge

which may be rendered 'after the dark masses fell upon them.' The loss of the final *-e* in *brūne* may be explained by elision (cf. *Bēowulf*, l. 668): the construction of *būgan* with the preposition *on* occurs in *Bēowulf*, l. 2598. The scansion of the first half agrees with *Bēowulf*, l. 2523^b and represents a C-type. The alliteration is then *abba*, an interesting variety, paralleled by *Bēowulf*, ll. 2615, 1222, 1184, 779, *Maldon*, ll. 189, 167, 159, etc.

P. G. THOMAS.

LONDON.

ON SOME SIXTEENTH-CENTURY REFERENCES TO RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND SAINTS.

BALE'S *John, King of England*, Act I, ll. 450-70.

In addition to the explanations I have already given in the *Modern Language Review*, XI, 2, pp. 215-6 (April, 1916), I append a few further notes on this important passage in Bale's tragedy.

Ambrosians. This very ancient Congregation claimed to be founded by S. Barnabas. It was first reformed in the time of Gregory XI (1370-8) by the Archbishop of Milan, who gave it the church of S. Ambrose 'ad

Nemus extra Muros,' whence its name. In 1431 a stricter observance was introduced by three noblemen, and ten years later Eugenius IV ordered that various other minor communities and individual hermits scattered throughout Italy should be aggregated and the combined Order be termed 'Frati di San Ambrogio in Selva di Milano.' Mr Farmer's note on this Order is entirely misleading.

Stellifers, or Bethlehemites. Little is known in detail of this Order. Matthew Paris tells us that in 1257 Henry III authorized them to open a house in a suburb of Cambridge. They were very popular in England. The habit seems to have been the same as that of the Dominicans with the striking addition of a red star, whose five rays emanated from a blue centre, displayed on the breast of the scapular. This, of course, represented the Star which appeared to the Magi. The chief feast of the Order was the Epiphany. Bruin gives a picture of a brother, 'Stelliferorum Ordo monachorum astratus.' The Bethlehemites were monastic. Chevaliers de l'Ordre de l'Étoile were instituted by King Jean-le-Bon (the Second) of France, and established with further privileges by Charles VIII. Bohemian Chevaliers of the Red Star were founded in 1217.

Ensifers. Chevaliers de Porte-Glaives, or of Livonia. In 1204 Albert I founded a new Military Order, having as its primary object the subjugation of pagan Livonia. Rhorbac was first Grand Master. The rule, approved by Innocent III (1198-1216), was that of the Templars. Upon his reception into the Order the new chevalier was given a naked sword with the formula 'Accipe hunc gladium de manu mea, et pugna fortiter pro Deo et pro Mariæ terra.' Livonia had been dedicated to Our Lady. Two red swords crossed were embroidered on the white mantles of the knights. For a time incorporated into the Teutonic Order, the Ensifers were abolished in 1561, when on 28 November the Grand Master resigned at Wilna.

Indians, according to Coronelli a name given to various branches and settlements of the Benedictines in the East. These monks, says Antonio de Yepes in his *Coronica general de la orden de San Benito*, had monasteries on Mount Tabor, Mount Sinai, the Mount of Ascension, in Bethany, Galilee, and Egypt. Some were solitaries following the ascetic rule of S. Bononius. Their habit was black with a white scapular and mantle. They were shod, but the head was shaven.

Rufianes, Canons Regular of S. Rufo, founded in the year 1000 by four canons of Avignon. Their house adjoined the church of S. Rufo. They spread over France, Italy and Spain. The rule was approved by

Blessed Urban II in 1092. In 1210 they fled from the persecuting Albigenses to Valence in Dauphiny, where they built a church and monastery, which they dedicated to S. Rufo. They wore a white habit, and a white linen bauldric, which fastened low on the right side.

Lazarites, often claimed to be found in Caesarea in 370, and to have been approved by Pope S. Damasus I (366-384). Most authorities, however, are agreed that this military and equestrian order was founded at Jerusalem during the Crusades, c. 1119. The original rule was Basilian. They were hospitallers, and had charge of the numerous lazaret houses. Innocent IV in 1243 gave them a modified Augustinian rule, and Alexander IV highly favoured them in bulls, 1255 and 1257. S. Louis of France put them in charge of the lepers throughout France, and the Grand Master of the Order always resided in France. When the first objects of the Order were gone, Pius IV, by a bull of 4 May, 1563, restored and augmented it, but upon the Grand-Mastership becoming vacant in 1572 Gregory XIII united the Order in perpetuity with the crown of Savoy. Philibert III, the reigning duke, immediately amalgamated it with the newly founded Order of S. Maurice. The Lazarites are of course entirely distinct from S. Vincent de Paul's *Fathers of the Mission*, sometimes known as *Lazarists* from S. Lazare in Paris, and sometimes called *Vincentian Fathers* after S. Vincent himself.

Hungaries. A branch of the Hermits of S. Paul, founded by a Hungarian, Eusebius, in 1215, when the relics of S. Paul the Hermit were brought to Buda. Urban IV (1261-5) refused to give them a rule, but in 1308 Clement V, at the instance of Cardinal Lorenzo a Monte Fiori, Papal Legate in Hungary, gave them the Augustinian rule. This was confirmed nine years later by John XXII. The habit is white. In Hungary a white cloak was worn; in Rome the outer cloak was black.

Monks of Josaphat's Valley. In very early times a church and convent were built in the Valley of Jehoshaphat in honour of the Agony in Gethsemane. A body of Regular Canons is said to have been placed there, but as Surius tells us that they followed the Benedictine rule, they would appear to have been monks rather than canons. Ludolphus de Saxonia the Carthusian, an author highly approved for his scrupulous accuracy by Bellarmine, describes their dress as an ample red cuculla (cowl), a distinctively monastic garment, and a red capuce (shoulder-cape and hood). The beard was allowed to flow free to a great length. When the Turks gained possession of Jerusalem they destroyed the church and massacred the religious.

Dimisines. A name given in Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Udine, to congregations of noble women, matrons and maidens, who, although bound by no strict vows and not cloistered, led mortified and secluded lives in their own homes. They were called 'Dimesse' because they had renounced (dimitto) the world. At the beginning of the 17th century regulations were introduced, such as the observances given by the Venerable Maria Alberghetti, who became a Dimessa 1 November, 1600.

Canons of Saint Mark were founded in 1194 during the pontificate of Celestine III by Alberto Spinola, a priest of Mantua, where was the motherhouse and S. Mark's Church. The rule was most severe. The religious fasted frequently in the week, and observed perpetual silence. Innocent III approved their constitutions in 1204, and they were finally confirmed by Honorius III in 1218. Some short time after the reign of Nicholas III (1277-1281) owing to a dearth of religious the order ceased, and their Mantuan monastery of S. Mark was given to the Camaldolese. The habit of the Canons of S. Mark was white with a white berretta. An almuce of lamb's wool was worn on the arm. These Canons have no connection with San Marco at Venice as Mr Farmer erroneously suggests.

Vestals and Monials. Monials (monialis) are nuns of those Orders whose statutes permitted widows as well as maidens to take the vows. Bale distinguishes them from Vestals, nuns of those Orders who only admitted maidens.

Fulgines. In addition to the disciples of Blessed Angela of Foligno, there was an obscure reform of the Cistercian Order, monks and nuns, who adopted this name. It is perhaps to these rather than to the mystic Franciscans that Bale refers.

Augustines. It may be worth remarking that Mr Farmer in his note very erroneously says that they were known as *Black Friars*. The Black Friars are, of course, the Dominicans.

Act II, l. 823.

Prick up your candles before Saint Loy. Not S. Louis of France as Mr Farmer suggests in his note p. 338, but S. Eligius (*Fr. Eloi*).

See Skeat's note on Chaucer, *Prologue*, l. 120.

Impatient Poverty, l. 874.

'By Saint Hugh, that holy bishop!'—In his note on this line Mr Farmer enumerates no less than five Saints Hugh, who were

bishops in the sixth and two following centuries. This is all beside the point. He does not give the correct reference which is, of course, to S. Hugh the Carthusian, Bishop of Lincoln. S. Hugh, who was born at the castle of Avalon (near Pontcharra, Burgundy) c. 1135, died at London, 16 November, 1200. He exercised the greatest influence over Henry II and Richard I, and when he died King John assisted in carrying the coffin to its resting-place in the north-east transept of Lincoln Cathedral. In 1220 he was canonized by Honorius III, and his relics were translated in 1280 to a conspicuous place in the great south transept. His magnificent golden shrine, which became for centuries the most celebrated centre of pilgrimage in the north of England, was plundered of its wealth and jewels by Henry VIII. S. Hugh's feast is kept 17 November. His emblem is a white swan.

Gammer Gurton's Needle, Act IV, Sc. 2, l. 40.

'For God's sake and Saint Charity!'—Saint Charity was the youngest daughter of the Roman matron Sophia. With her mother and two elder sisters, Fides and Spes, she underwent martyrdom in the reign of Hadrian. Their bodies were interred in the crypt of a church dedicated to S. Pancras, which stood on the Aurelian Way. This shrine was a place for pilgrimage as late as the seventh and eighth centuries. The body of S. Charity is now venerated in San Silvestro in Capite. The *Martyrologium Romanum* names on 1 August 'the holy Virgins, Faith, Hope, and Charity, who won the crown of martyrdom under the Emperor Hadrian,' and again on 30 Sept., 'S. Sophia, widow, mother of the holy Virgins, Faith, Hope, and Charity.' It may be mentioned that late in the second, or perhaps at the beginning of the third century, there was another band of martyrs, Sapientia and her three companions (not her daughters), Spes, Fides, and Caritas. Their bodies were buried near the tomb of S. Cecilia on the Appian Way, but their history is confessedly obscure. With the present passage cf. Ophelia's song in *Hamlet* IV, 5, l. 59, 'By Gis and by Saint Charity!' The Shakespearean commentators, knowing nothing of S. Charity, content themselves with quoting Steevens' stupid note, 'This is a known saint among the Roman Catholics.' Cf. also Spenser *Eclogue* v, 247, 'Ah, dear Lord, and sweet Saint Charity.' In pre-Reformation days the little maiden Charity was one of the most popular Saints in England.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

TWICKENHAM.

SHAKESPEARE'S WILD IRISHMAN.

To *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* the Right Hon. Mr Justice Madden contributes an article in which he sets forth a theory that Shakespeare derived the character of his Irish captain, Mackmorrice, from Stanyhurst's *Description of Ireland*. No doubt Shakespeare may have accepted some hints from Stanyhurst, but it is not unlikely that the character and name of Mackmorrice were well known in London long before *The Life of Henry the Fifth* was written. On page 100 of the *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, A.D. 1573-1580 (Camden Society, 1884), I find the following passage:

In the nexte seate to thes hexameters, adonickes, and iambicks, I sett those that stand upon the number, not in meter, sutch as my lorde of Surrey is sayde first to have putt forth in prynte, and my lorde Buckhurste, and M. Norton in the Tragedye of Gorboduc, M. Gascoynes Steele Glasse, an uncertayne autor in certayne cantions agaynst the wyld Irishe, and namelye Mack Morrise, an invective agaynst Simmias Rhodius, a folishe idle phantasticall poett that first devised this odd riminge with many other triflinge and childishe toyes to make verses, that shoulde in proportion represente the form and figure of an egg, an ape, a winge, and sutch ridiculous and madd gugawes and crockchettes, and of late foolishly revivid by sum, otherwise not unlernid, as Pierius, Scaliger, Crispin, and the rest of that crue.

Whatever we may make of the rest of this overgrown sentence, the meaning of one clause stands out clearly: an author, whose name was unknown to Harvey, had written some satirical songs against the wild Irish, and in particular against Mack Morrise. Possibly 'Mack Morrise' was not really the name of an individual, but rather the common nickname of the typical wild Irishman. If so, Shakespeare may well have regarded it as a fitting title for his own slightly-sketched caricature, and it is easily conceivable that he may even have adopted the character, in outline, from the 'cantions' of the 'uncertayne autor.'

J. LE GAY BRERETON.

SYDNEY, NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE TEXT OF BEN JONSON.

Prior to the criticisms of Van Dam (*Anglia*, Neue Folge, 1903), the 1616 Folio was generally considered to be the highest authority for the text of all works of Ben Jonson dating before 1617. The assertion that it received the benefit of his corrections may, I think, be suspected to rest on a statement of Whalley's (probably a mere conjecture): 'a folio volume of Jonson's works was printed in his lifetime, and under his own inspection' (*Ben Jonson's Works*, ed. Whalley, I, p. ii). The

belief, however, that this folio 'has come down to us one of the correctest works that ever issued from the English press,' at any rate, the belief in Jonson's 'careful revision,' can hardly be said to have died hard, for it flourishes still.

Gifford, it is true, criticised his predecessor for puerile references to the folio; and professed to follow in his own edition, the plan he had adopted in editing Massinger, which was a simple collation of all the first editions he could procure, as the 'basis of his work.' (*Ben Jonson's Works*, I, p. ccxxxix; *Plays of Philip Massinger*, I, p. lxxx.) As a result he observed that the folio and quarto sometimes differ, and that 'parts of the impression' frequently differ in the case of individual quartos. I think he was the first to notice this characteristic of 16th and 17th century 'printing, to which attention has been prominently drawn more recently in the *Transactions* of the Bibliographical Society. But Gifford's text remains virtually that of the folio, nor does he refer to such manuscripts as have survived their author's day, and the fiery disaster to his library. All succeeding editions so far published rest upon Gifford, or Cunningham's edition of Gifford, and therefore mainly on the folios of 1616 and 1640. It was the former whose value Van Dam challenged, for the very good reason that it was believed to have benefited by Ben Jonson's own supervision,—a contention which he disputed by pointing out the discrepancies and errors in the folio text of *Every Man Out Of His Humour*, errors not exceptional, he remarked, in other portions of the folio.

In working upon the English Masques, I found a passage in the *Masque of Blackness* which strongly confirms this criticism. The passage, both in quarto and folio, and in succeeding editions to our day, is nonsense as it stands, unnoted indeed by Whalley, Gifford, and their followers, but incompatible with any probability of Jonson's careful corrections, particularly as the MS. contains an intelligible version, supplying the passage which has dropped out in the printed editions.

The latter read 'The attire of the Masquers was alike, in all, without difference: the colours, Azure, and Siluer; *but returned on the top with a scrole and antique dressing of Feathers*, etc.,' the italicised portion having no relevant connection with what precedes.

In the MS. (B.M. Royal MSS. 17B, xxxi) the passage runs: 'The attire of y^e Masquers is alyke in all wthout difference. Their cullo^{rs} azure and siluer; *their hayre thicke, and curled up right in tresses lyke Pyramids, but retoorning*, etc.'—which is intelligible.

This is one example, in addition to Van Dam's, which serves to show

how much the at present accepted text requires the correction which would be given by less reliance upon the folio, and by a collation of the printed editions with all accessible manuscripts.

There may be more of these in existence than have been suspected, and so I give an experience of my own. Some time ago, I noted the following entry among the Duke of Devonshire's MSS., as catalogued in Report III, Appendix p. 43, of the Historical Manuscripts Commission: 'A 12mo volume, paper, 16th century. Plenum reconciled to Kulum (A masque, 12 leaves),—an entry which promised novelty. But there follow a description of and a quotation from the masque, which prove it without doubt to be Jonson's 161 $\frac{5}{8}$ masque of 'Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue!'

Now this MS. would be particularly valuable, since for this masque no quarto edition is known, and the 1640 folio in which it appears has no defenders of its 'correctness.' Unfortunately, I have not been able to see it, and if it formed part of the Kemble Collection it has already passed to America. It is not too much to hope, however, that other unsuspected treasures may still exist in private libraries. Their value would be incontestable, for the authority of a MS. as compared with the printed edition, varies inversely with that supervision of the printer which, in the case of the 1616 folio, too probably replaced the supposed supervision of the author.

EDITH S. HOOPER.

LONDON.

GRAY AND THOMSON.

We are indebted to the Rev. Norton Nicholls for the preservation of Gray's beautiful couplet

There pipes the woodlark, and the song-thrush there
Scatters his loose notes in the waste of air.

Nicholls when giving the lines in his *Reminiscences* calls them 'two verses made by Mr Gray as we were walking in the spring in the neighbourhood of Cambridge' (Gray's *Poems*, ed. Tovey, p. 280.) Mr Tovey does not point out that the lines seem to owe something to some lines of Thomson's (*Spring*, ll. 21–25):

scarce

The bittern knows his time, with bill engulfed
To shake the sounding marsh; or from the shore
The plovers when to scatter o'er the heath,
And sing their wild notes to the listening waste.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

COLERIDGE AND THOMAS PRINGLE.

The following letter from Coleridge to Thomas Pringle, which has been in my possession for some years, has not, I think, been published in any collection of either writer's remains.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your messenger disappeared right quickly, & was out of Call and Recall, before our little Cook, Sarah, returned to the Door to give him the Note that accompanies this—and which had been written before your paquet arrived.

I prefer '*Lightheartednesses*' to *Levities*, and the more so for the out-of-the-wayness of the new minted former—as better suiting both the verses, and their perpetrator.

I sadly quarrel with our modern Printers for their levelling spirit of antipathy to all initial Capitals, thus¹ ruin'd well for ruin'd Well. I greatly approve of the German Rule of distinguishing all Noun Substantives by a Capital: & at least all *Personifications* should¹ be in small Capitals—as HOPE.

Good night. I hope you are asleep, for it is on the stroke of Midnight.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

P.S.—The Asps of the sand-deserts ancient(ly) named *Dipsads*.

T. PRINGLE, Esqre.

The reference in the second paragraph is to the group of four poems published (with others) under Pringle's editorship in *Friendship's Offering* (1834), under the title of '*Lightheartednesses in Rhyme*.' Coleridge died on July 25 of the same year, and Pringle on December 5; so this must be one of the last records of an acquaintanceship of which we have very little definite information, although its existence is well substantiated. It is strange that even so indefatigable a student of Coleridge's life as the late Mr Dykes Campbell makes no mention of Pringle in his Memoir, although the biographer of the latter in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, following Leitch Ritchie (1838), states that 'in 1831 he [Pringle] was largely instrumental in enabling Coleridge to retain his government annuity², Coleridge afterwards subscribing himself, in a grateful letter, as his "sincere friend and thorough esteemer."' Coleridge's extravagant eulogy of Pringle's poem, '*Afar in the Desert*' (Ritchie, *Memoirs*, p. 142), is well known. It would be very desirable to be able to piece together from any other surviving correspondence the full story of their relations.

¹ For 'thus,' 'should,' we should possibly read 'their,' 'shall.' The handwriting is feeble, and occasionally uncertain.

² This is in part inaccurate. He did not retain it, but a bounty of £300 was ultimately granted to him in lieu of it. When Scott was at Malta in Nov.-Dec. 1831 he learnt from J. Hookham Frere that the latter 'had made up to Mr Coleridge the pension of £200 from the Board of Literature out of his own fortune.' In those last sad days Scott's memory was failing, and he is in error both as to the amount (100 guineas) of the original pension and its provenance, which was from the privy purse through the Royal Society of Literature. But there seems no reason to doubt that Frere did actually come to Coleridge's assistance, at any rate until the Treasury grant was forthcoming.

The mysterious postscript to the above-quoted letter has reference to a passage in 'Love's Apparition and Evanishment,' another of the poems published in *Friendship's Offering* for 1834. This is the poem which, in Mr E. H. Coleridge's edition of 1912 (pp. 488-9), begins:

Like a lone Arab, old and blind,
Some caravan had left behind,
Who sits beside a ruin'd well,
Where the shy sand-asps bask and swell;

and which may have been in Francis Thompson's memory when he wrote the well-known passage in *Sister Songs*,

As an Arab journeyeth
Through a sand of Ayaman,
Lean Thirst, lolling its cracked tongue,
Lagging by his side along ;...

In the version given in *Friendship's Offering*, the fourth line runs

Where basking Dipsads hiss and swell:

and Pringle adds Coleridge's postscript as a foot-note. In an early draft of the same poem, published in the appendix to Mr Coleridge's edition (Vol. II, pp. 1087-8), the sand-asps or Dipsads do not appear, but the ruin'd Well preserves, as Coleridge desired, its initial capital.

JOHN PURVES.

PRETORIA.

DIALECT OF SUTTON, BEDS.

The following words, which are not to be found in Dr Wright's *Dialect Dictionary*, or are cited there with some other shade of meaning or from parts of England distant from Bedfordshire, were collected between 1900 and 1908 in the parish of Sutton, in the east of that county, and in its immediate neighbourhood. Those which Dr Wright does not seem to have noted are marked with an asterisk.

**aby*: nigh and aby = near.

**baker*: both the long-tailed tit and the chifffchaff.

**bettle*: beetle; horse-bettle, cockchafer.

bloodwall: wallflower.

**bullpig*: boar.

buzzly: bushy.

**champkin*: champion. It is used as equivalent to the surname Champion, even when written in the latter form. 'Bedfordshire

champkin' onions and champkin potatoes are in constant use.

Cf. Pepys' *Diary*, 24 July, 1667, tomkins = tompions.

corn: any kind of dry grain, e.g. peas.

cot: rick of corn.

*cowpeggling: turning yellow, of unhealthy corn.

cradle: of a scythe.

crow onion: wild onion.

crumble: crumb.

cuckoo flower: blue speedwell.

*cut throat: white throat.

dishwasher: wagtail.

felt: fieldfare.

firetail: redstart.

*fleck: fur; rabbit's fleck.

*footling: footprint.

frank: heron.

gaffer: master, whether old or young.

*good lord John: arum (lords and ladies).

*grace: alms. 'I thank you for your grace.'

*granny's bonnet, or granny's cap: columbine.

*hardenshaw: heron.

harrywig: earwig.

hunching: a push.

huxes: husks.

jackadaw: jackdaw; always trisyllabic.

jet: pour (generally; not only from a ladle).

*Joe Bennett: the great tit.

*kindle: sprout; potatoes are kindling.

*ladybird: wagtail.

legwood: small timber, used for firewood.

mizamoz: a muddle [mizmaze in the *Dialect Dictionary*].

moulter: to moult, of fowls.

*murmurified: discontented.

night hawk: night jar.

*nunting: gathering alms. Throughout the neighbourhood the widows go 'nunting' to the principal houses in their parishes on St Thomas' day.

nunty: pretty, neat.

pecker: bill, of a bird.

pig, piggy: woodlouse.

**poor man's friend*: meadow saxifrage.

robin cushion: rose-gall.

**rook*: the young rook, the adult bird being 'crow'; crowgrove = rookery.

**sad*: sod of turf.

**scraming thrush*: missel thrush.

scratchgrass: cleavers.

**scrumpy*: crisp, of snow.

**shadow-trees*: thorn bushes.

**shank of the evening*: dusk.

**shit*: germ of a seed, wheat, etc.

**slipe*: strip of ground.

**slutter*: mud.

snivel up: shrivel up.

stam: branch of a tree, not its bole.

toot: weep, of a child.

twywill: twybill, mattock.

**ume*: hymn.

**under grandchild*: great grandchild.

**unplunge*: unpleasantness.

**wage*: heavy.

**webbird*: flycatcher.

In the terrier of the rectory, dated 1708, the strips in the common fields and meadows are called *olyards*. The word has escaped the *Oxford Dictionary*.

In regard to grammatical forms, *friz* and *wed* are the participles of freeze and weed; *fleg* and *flew* (rhyming with 'new') mean fledged and flown, of young birds. *Trowel* rhymes with jewel, and *sad* takes the place of sod. The hard forms, *carlock* and *thack*, must here find almost their southern limit. Perhaps the general affinities are rather with the dialect of Northamptonshire than with Cambridgeshire, the nearer neighbour. The only resemblance to Wessex seems to be the fairly frequent use of the superfluous 'do' in the present tense.

E. W. WATSON.

OXFORD.

'MEALY-MOUTHED.'

This form is recorded by the *N.E.D.* for 1572 and explained as 'soft-spoken; not outspoken; afraid to speak one's mind or to use plain terms.' *Meal-mouthed* is recorded for 1576, and *meal-mouth*, = mealy-mouthed person, for 1546. The *N.E.D.* derivation, from *meal*, farina, has no probability. The earliest sense is evidently flatterer, 'flatterers and *meal-mouthed* merchants,' and the first element means honey (cf. *mellifluous*, *honey-tongued*). Cf. *mildew*, lit. honey-dew, OE. *meledēaw*, OTeut. **melip* (Goth. *miliþ*), as in OHG. *milittou*, MHG. *miltou*, now *mehltau*, assimilated, like *meal-mouth*, by folk-etymology, to *mehl*, meal. *Meal-mouth* as a nickname is three centuries older than the earliest *N.E.D.* record. *Henry Millemuth* is mentioned in the *Northumberland Assize Roll* for 1279 (Surtees Soc., vol. 88). The same volume contains the name of *Robert Pusekat* (1256), three centuries earlier than the first *N.E.D.* record for *puss(y)-cat* (1565).

P.S.—I find that the accepted etymology of *meale-mouthed* is as old as Minsheu, who gives the meaning 'faire spoken,' quasi 'qui farinam loqueretur, cujus verba blanda sunt, & mollia instar farinae.'

ERNEST WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

GONÇALO RODRIGUEZ, ARCHDEACON OF TORO.

Beyond the extraordinarily interesting fact that even as late as the fifteenth century certain lyric poets in Spain continued to write in Galician, the later Galician poets are not of vast importance. Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino had a great reputation among his contemporaries, whom the more gifted Garci Ferrandez de Gerena shocked by his dissipation and apostasy, while the name of Macias remained for centuries the pattern of true lovers. But the poet among them who is the most personally attractive is the jovial Archdeacon of Toro who in three remarkable poems, written when his end was drawing near, gives us a foretaste of the Bishop ordering his tomb at St Praxed's:

Mui pouco de tempo durou meu prazer,
E maldito seja quen me o fez perder.

He could not, even at the approach of death, lose the gaiety which, he tells, had always been his:

A mui gran lidece que eu senpre ei;

and having enjoyed life, love, friendship and poetry (*O meu mui lindo*

cantar, a minha boa arte de lindo trovar) he laid him down with a will. It is thus a real pleasure to know his name, which, although it was contained in that of one of his executors, no doubt a cousin, given in the last verse of his burlesque testament, and recorded by one of the most famous of the world's chroniclers, has hitherto escaped notice. He is *ein unbekannter Geistlicher* (Dona Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, *Grundriss* (1894), p. 241); *el arcediano de Toro, diestro humorista cuyo nombre ignoramos* (Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Historia de la Literatura Española, Segunda Edición, Corregida*, (1916) p. 63); *el Arcediano de Toro, whose name is as yet unknown* (Professor Henry R. Lang, *Cancioneiro Gallego-Castelhano* (1902), p. 169).

The passage in which his name appears shows clearly that he was a personage of importance, being one of the signatories at Salvatierra in 1383 of the treaty between Castille and Portugal on the occasion of the marriage of King Juan I and the daughter of King Ferdinand of Portugal: 'Onde sapei que quando estas cousas foram publicadas na camara del Rei, dentro em seus paços, eram presentes D. Martinho, Bispo de Lisboa, e D. João, Bispo de Coimbra, e D. Afonso, Bispo de Guarda, e Fernam Perez Calvilho, Deão de Tarçona, e Gonçalo Rodriguez, Arcediago de Toro, e D. João Fernandez, Conde d'Ourem, e Gonçalo Vasquez d'Azevedo, e outros fidalgos e escudeiros, assim portugueses como castelhanos' (Fernam Lopez, *Cronica del Rei D. Fernando*, cap. 159).

We may perhaps go a step further and say that if the Archdeacon of Toro wrote in Galician he did so because he was a Galician. In the humorous poem in which he makes his will he names his 'good cousin, Pedro de Valcacer' (or Valcarcel), one of whose poems, written in Galician, we possess (*Canc. Gal.-Cast.* No. 15); and in the same poem *Gonçalo Rodriguez, aquel de Sousa* is mentioned as one of the Archdeacon's executors. Passages in another chronicle of Fernam Lopez, prince of chroniclers, seem to throw a faint light on the relationship of these three. We read that Gonçalo Rodriguez de Sousa, at that time *Alcaide* of the town of Monsaraz, was appointed to the command of the fleet which in 1384 was to co-operate for the Master of Aviz against a Galician force which had invaded Portugal (*Cronica del Rei D. Joam*, Pt I, cap. 111). Among the captains of the Galician force (*capitães gallegos*) was Garçia Rodriguez do Vallcarçe (*ib.* cap. 117); and at the approach of this force Gonçalo Rodriguez de Sousa was suspected of treachery and deprived of the command of the fleet: 'todos foram mal contentes dizendo que non andava lealmente no serviço do Mestre mas que queria

vender as galees e a frota a el Rei de Castella; por a qual razão foi grande alvoroço na cidade e elle quasi reteudo; e por esto nom fiam delle cousa que seja nem ha d'hir por capitam nem outro titulo nenhuñ d'honra' (*ib.* cap. 123). One cannot help suspecting that García Rodriguez do Vallcarçe was a cousin of Gonçalo Rodriguez de Sousa and of Gonçalo Rodriguez the poet and Church dignitary, who perhaps at that time was back in León, reading the *Livro de Buen Amor* of the no less merry Spanish Archpriest, Juan Ruíz, or inditing his delightful lyric

A Deus Amor, a Deus el Rei
Que eu ben servi.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL.

THE LAURENTIAN TEXT OF DANTE'S LETTER TO
A PISTOJAN EXILE (*Epist.* IV).

POSTSCRIPT.

Since my article on the above letter was published (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* XII, 37-44) my attention has been drawn to a brief communication by Remigio Sabbadini ('Per il testo della lettera di Dante a Cino') printed in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* for March 1915 (N.S. XXII, 62), in which he proposes a certain number of emendations in the text of this letter. I regret that this communication escaped my notice, and that consequently I did not take it into account in my article. It is a satisfaction to find among Sabbadini's proposed emendations that of *caperent* for *carent* in l. 15, which confirms the emendation proposed independently in my article in ignorance of the fact that it had already been suggested.

For the puzzling *cognitum* of the MS. (*congnitum*) in l. 12 (where the Oxford and other printed texts read *jucundum*) Sabbadini proposes to read *congruum*, which supplies a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. The difference between the two words in MSS. would be very slight, as a reference to *De Vulgari Eloquentia* ii, 6, ll. 17-28 (where *congrua* and *incongrua* each occurs twice) in the photographic reproduction of the Trivulzian MS. will show, so that *congruum* might easily have been misread as *cognitum* by a careless copyist. The meaning would be 'how agreeable,' 'how much to my liking.' The *cursus*—quam *cóngruum*, quam *accéptum* (*velox*)—would be unaffected.

In ll. 18-22, instead of 'more poetico signetur, intentum amorem

hujus posse torpescere...,' the reading of the printed texts, Sabbadini proposes to read 'more poetico signetur intentum, amorem h. p. t....,' making *intentum* (in the sense of 'meaning') the subject of *signetur*, instead of an adjective qualifying *amorem*. The rendering of the passage, as modified by this emendation, would be: 'Behold, there is given below a treatise in the diction of Calliope, wherein the Muse declares in set phrase (though, as poets use, the meaning is conveyed under a figure), that love for one object may languish, etc.' This seems a decided improvement. It is satisfactory also from the point of view of the *cursus*—more poético (*tardus*) signetur inténtum (*planus*)—, and renders superfluous Parodi's proposed substitution of *designetur* for *signetur* (which I adopted in my emended text) in order to rectify into a *velox* (poético dèsignetur) the former clausula (poetico signetur), which violated the *cursus*. The only doubt is as to the neuter *intentum* in the sense of 'meaning.' In the only instance of the word registered by Du Cange the meaning is 'intention,' 'object,' which is the sense in which Dante uses it (or the masculine *intentus*—for the word is in the accusative) in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii, 2, l. 64). In view, however, of our imperfect knowledge of the vocabulary of mediaeval Latin this can hardly be regarded as a fatal objection to a very plausible emendation.

The other emendations proposed by Sabbadini are not equally convincing. For the MS. reading *super ut intueare* in l. 43 he proposes to read *sequitur ut intueare*, or as an alternative *superest ut intueare*. The former of these, which is the reading adopted by Muzzi, hardly gives a satisfactory sense; while, as regards the latter, the natural construction would be *superest intueri*, which is the reading adopted in my text (see *M. L. R.* xii, 41, n. 2). For the hopelessly corrupt MS. reading *subtrahit aut equidem* in ll. 43-4, Sabbadini proposes *sub transitu; ait equidem*, thus reconstructing the whole passage (ll. 40-51) as follows: 'Auctoritatem vero Nasonis...sequitur ut (or 'superest ut') intueare sub transitu; ait equidem in fabula, etc.' On the whole, however, the ingenious conjecture of Witte adopted in my text seems preferable. For the MS. *ad prootentiam quam* in ll. 50-1 Sabbadini proposes *ad providentiam, qua*, which again seems less acceptable than Witte's *ad potentiam, quod*.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.
10 May, 1917.

REVIEWS.

ENGLISH HEXAMETERS.

Ibant Obscuri. An experiment in the classical hexameter. By ROBERT BRIDGES. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1916. 4to. 158 pp.

The principles and practice of the Hexameter as a form of versification in English have engaged the interest and attention of not a few writers. It is not wonderful that opinions differ widely as to the principles. Not less striking is the astounding difference of the results of experimental use of this metre by English poets and others. It is enough to point out here that the main distinction to be drawn is between two schools—first, that by which the English words are treated as possessed of quantity like Latin words, and the line accordingly built up rigidly by feet: second, that depending on the accent or emphasis proper to each word by English usage, a plan by which the feet bear only a faint resemblance to the dactyls and spondees of the Latin hexameter. The danger of the first school is the strong tendency to arbitrary stiffness uncongenial to a language in which inflexions are not present to ease the motion of rigid feet. It is hardly too much to say that the more perfect the hexameters produced on this plan the less they deserve to be called English. I need hardly illustrate this from the crude experiments of early writers, Sir Philip Sidney and others. The specimens cited by Southey are enough; yet the recognition of previous failure did not deter that Poet-laureate from an attempt to succeed better on improved principles in his *Vision of Judgement*. Southey, though refusing to argue that ‘because the hexameter has been successfully introduced in the German language, it can be naturalized as well in English,’ still declared himself satisfied ‘that the English hexameter is a legitimate and good measure, with which our literature ought to be enriched.’ But, while he clearly saw that the task was much harder in English than in German, owing to the prevalence of monosyllables, he produced a measure closely akin to the German one, and utterly different from the Latin one, not to mention the Greek. He could not help himself. English offered him few genuine dactyls: in his own opinion it did not ‘afford a single instance of a genuine native spondee.’ Hence for spondees he, after the Germans, substitutes trochees. The dearth of dactyls drives him to such endings as

. Mansfield the just and intrepid.
giving then to mankind what party too long had diverted.
. like Davy, disarming destruction.

In short he makes up a line out of feet arbitrarily formed by what he calls emphasis. This plan may produce an English effect in so far as it avoids distorting the true pronunciation of English words. But the six-foot line thus produced is certainly not the quantitative hexameter.

From this dull and clumsy attempt of Southey we may turn to the larger experiments of Longfellow, whose lines are rhythmically less distressing, though suffering from monotony. Here are two from *Evangeline*.

Loud from its rocky caverns, the deep-voiced neighbouring ocean
Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

The strain put upon English pronunciation in the first line is surely unbearable, whether we read it as 'röckȳ cävĕrns' or 'röckȳ cävĕrns.' And the second line bumps along in five dactyls of the German model and faints away from sheer exhaustion. The 'accents disconsolate' remove all resemblance to a quantitative hexameter. It is a wholly different measure, and cannot fairly be judged by quantitative standards. But the degree of success attained by Longfellow, and his manifest liking for the measure, suggest that it has some special attraction. We may remark that it avoids the necessity of rime without engaging the writer to maintain the classic dignity of heroic blank verse. The cadences of the long six-foot line may tend to become monotonous, but there is no mistaking them for prose, even if prosaic. As the feet cannot be truly quantitative, the versifier enjoys great freedom in the use of language. Hence the poet who wants to set down his thoughts easily, without dwelling too long on the refinements of expression, may well see in the 'English hexameter' a medium ready to his hand. Nor is he to be blamed.

By far the most readable of the English hexametrists is Clough. Having something really human to say, he sticks at no metrical licenses, in haste to express his thoughts while still fresh. The liberties he takes can offend no reader who is not devoted to metrical formalism. His spondaic lines alone are enough to illustrate the boldness with which he handles the metre. For instance

He is not far from home, said Arthur from the water,
He will be with us tomorrow at latest, or the next day.

The easy undress of the reading-party life as depicted in the *Bothie* is fittingly rendered by the English hexameter at its very loosest. It is hard to see how the poet could have found a more suitable vehicle for his purpose. A strict quantitative hexameter would surely have spoilt the whole effect.

In Kingsley's *Andromeda* the atmosphere of ancient mythology calls for a more finished and artificial form of expression. There is no hurry. In the *Odyssey* a source of inspiration is at hand, and Kingsley was not the man to neglect it. The Greek influence¹ is strong throughout, and the cadence of the hexameter is sensibly

¹ Even Greek forms, the accusatives *Andromeden* and *Persea*, occur in line 423.

affected thereby. As an English measure, we see it here at its best. But the feet are made up by the English pronunciation with all its laxity. It is no more a quantitative hexameter than the shirt-sleeved measure of Clough. And Kingsley's songs and ballads, some of them perfect classics, remind us that, when his own self spoke, it was not in hexameters.

Passing from this very slight review of experiments made by previous writers, I come to the extraordinary work of the present Poet-laureate, published in an edition de luxe by the Clarendon Press. The title page describes it as an 'experiment in the classical hexameter.' The preface says 'This book has grown up round a paper on Virgil's Hexameter' by Mr Desmond MacCarthy. The book itself opens with the passage 'Whether quantitative¹ hexameters can be made congenial to English speech I do not inquire: I have experimented in writing them; and as such an attempt will certainly be judged by current notions of Latin verse, I would guard mine with a prefatory consideration of the Virgilian hexameter.' Now surely the one point on which the author declines inquiry is the very one which is of literary importance. If the question be answered in the negative, the consideration of the Virgilian hexameter will be of interest to Latin scholars alone. And those who give an affirmative answer will judge the measure according as it succeeds in satisfying the requirements of an English ear. If it fail in this respect, no argument however delicate or learned will serve to reverse an unfavourable judgment. A poet does not draft a set of rules and then proceed to compose in verse by those rules. He composes, and then revises. And this revision may, and often does, include a dainty and subtle remodelling of lines until they satisfy a fastidious ear. Out of the result thus achieved the scholarly critic arrives by analysis at certain laws, on the observance of which he conceives the poet's music to depend. But the laws are inferred from the phenomena inductively: the phenomena are not conclusions deduced from pre-existent laws.

Let me not be thought to imply that the Poet-laureate would have a poet sit down to write verse by rules. But I do plainly suggest that in the case of all new forms of verse composition—English hexameters as much as any—the first step is to experiment in production, guided by ear. The next is to improve and by degrees to perfect the new measure till it becomes a supple and harmonious vehicle of thoughts. Once become readable, the inquiring critic may find occupation, and perhaps profit, in endeavouring to discover its laws. Rightly therefore does Dr Bridges give us specimens of the 'classical' or 'quantitative' English hexameter in his translations from the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad*. But neither their merit simply as translations, nor their relation to the rules inferred from Virgil's practice in Latin, is of any interest from my point of view. The question is a threefold one (1) are they truly English, (2) are they truly hexameters, (3) are they English hexameters.

¹ Dr Bridges prefers this form. I do not. See Murray's *Dictionary*.

Let me quote a few lines of his version taken at random,—*Aeneid* VI 699–709 *sic memorans*, etc.

Speaking, awhile in tears his feeling mutinied, and when
For the longing contact of mortal affection, he out-held
His strong arms, the figure sustained them not: 'twas as empty
E'en as a windworn cloud, or a phantom of irrelevant sleep.

On the level bosom of this vale more thickly the tall trees
Grow, an' aneath quivering poplars and whispering alders
Lethe's dreamy river throu' peaceful scenery windeth.
Whereby now flitted in vast swarms many people of all lands,
As when in early summer 'honey-bees on a flowery pasture
Pill the blossoms, hurrying to' an' fro,—innumerable are they,
Revisiting the ravish'd lily cups, while all the meadow hums.

With the merits of these lines as a rendering of the Latin I am not here concerned. But what of the language? Is *mutinied* a natural expression, and what exactly does it mean or suggest? Does *longing* mean 'longed-for'? In *pill* we seem to have the archaic word = 'rob, despoil.' I do not wish to carp at these three words. It may be merely my earthy grossness that stumbles over them. But not one of the three is called for by the original: and I think we may fairly expect to find them justified by some of the various considerations that allow liberty to a translator in verse. I can see no such justification. If *irrelevant sleep* is to be excused, it must surely be as a convenient means of getting an ending to the line: as an English expression it is abominable. Yet the violations of English accent in order to produce a 'quantitive' type of hexameter are so flagrant that one is tempted to see in them an even worse defect. Why strain the meaning of words, or employ an unusual vocabulary, merely to build up lines with such false accents as *longing*, *level bosom*, *dreamy river* [or *dreamy river*], *early summer*, *blossoms*, *ravished*, *meadow*? Is it the sacrifice of language to prosody, and prosody to metre, that is the secret of writing the 'English hexameter' on 'quantitive' principles?

It seems to me that in the specimens now published by Dr Bridges we have simply an attempt to revive a method of versification¹, which was a failure in the hands of Elizabethans. In his lectures *On Translating Homer*, Matthew Arnold dealt with this method and showed the impossibility of reconciling it with the conditions of living English speech. Not to quote at length from that work, in which there are admirable passages bearing on this subject, I would note his sound rule, that the translator must 'have no lines which will not read themselves.' That is, if you expect the English reader to read your lines, and to go on reading them, you must not be constantly requiring of him an effort—an effort never pleasant, the repetition of which soon generates disgust. Now I maintain that in reading the translation from the *Aeneid*, of which I have quoted a few average lines, a quite painful effort is required. If the translation is not offered to the English reader, for whom is it

¹ In the life of Spenser prefixed to the Globe edition of his works, pages xxvii to xxix, is a short account of the controversy at the time on this matter.

designed? Certainly not for the Latin scholar. And the English reader is not likely to enjoy poetry in a metre only achieved at the cost of cruel torture of his native tongue.

Whether it is at all possible to represent the subtle flavour of Virgil in an English poetic form, I cannot tell. As yet it has not been done. The Homeric question, to which Matthew Arnold confined himself, is on rather a different footing. We need not bind ourselves to accept all that critic's remarks in characterization of Homer. But when he says that Homer 'is not only rapid in movement, simple in style, plain in language, natural in thought: he is also, and above all, *noble*,' I do not think that we need take much exception to the judgment. Ease and directness are Homeric qualities, no doubt. And they are not Virgilian. I think I can find reasons why, but they would be out of place here. It is however not out of place to remark that to render Homer in English verse may be a less hopeless task than to render Virgil. The claims of the English hexameter are powerfully urged by Matthew Arnold. Himself a poet, he backs up his contention by offering specimens of his own composition. But they are in the English-accentual hexameter, not 'quantitative.' I think we must admit that they are good specimens of their kind, though the author's pains in justifying some of his expressions betray an uneasiness not altogether groundless. And, when we apply the test of lines 'reading themselves' or not, there is room for some hesitation before approval. Thus at the end of Hector's famous speech to Andromache:

So some man will say; and then thy grief will redouble
At thy want of a man like me, to save thee from bondage.
But let me be dead, and the earth be mounded above me,
Ere I hear thy cries, and thy captivity told of.

Of course the lines are English, and they scan: but do they convey to an Englishman the manly pathos of the Greek with stirring directness and natural ease? Would an English reader feel drawn on to read poetry of this model book after book, loth to lay it by and go to bed? I cannot say Yes with confidence. Yet I cannot presume to challenge the opinion of so noble a critic as to the suitability of the English-accentual hexameter for the purpose he had in view.

I pass on to the Laureate's version of a passage of the *Iliad* in 'quantitative' hexameters—XXIV, 448–56 will serve for a specimen.

So full soon they arriv'd at Achilles' lofty pavilion,
That high house which for their king his folk had erected,
Hewing pines o' the hill for timbering, & for a roof-thatch
Harvesting the rushes that grew i' the lowland pastures;
And had around the dwelling fenc'd for their chieftain a wide court
With thick stakes, and one huge bar clos'd its carriage-entry,
Made of a pine, which three men of his servants, pulling all three
All together, would shift back or forwards, so immense was
His gate-bar, but Peleïdes would handle it himself.

On this one remark may safely be made: it is not prose. I suppose it is poetry. The words are English. The measure is our old 'quantitative'

friend, at his old game of tormenting our mother-tongue with uncouth stresses and strains. How precisely the fifth and eighth lines are meant to scan, I am not quite sure. But I am quite sure that verse-work of this model cannot be made to 'read itself,' and so pass into English literature. Therefore I see no merit in it, even as an exercise; and the painfully inadequate rendering of the last four lines stands unredeemed.

It is necessary to quote certain words of Dr Bridges from which it may be argued that my criticisms of his method are irrelevant, if not a sheer impertinence. He says (p. 13) 'I am not contending, nor shall I, nor did I ever contend that quantitative classical verse should be written in English, nor have I pretended that any one but myself could be advantaged thereby.' He goes on to explain how he came to experiment in it, and how experimenting led him to certain conclusions. Again (p. 16) 'My verse may not attract many readers: that is another matter; I can honestly say that I am truly sorry; but that I have not sought to please any prevalent taste.' All this is well enough, and doubtless the dissertation on the Virgilian hexameter, with all its sincerity and refinement, is the core of the work. But I cannot discover that, in the vast difference between Latin and English, this treatise is really helpful as furnishing a working standard for the production of English hexameter verse. When I turn to the actual experiments, this impression is deepened. Therefore I feel that I have a right, perhaps a duty, to examine these experiments from a literary point of view. Do the experiments afford in their language and rhythm any reasonable hope that in 'quantitative' hexameters we have a propitious vehicle for conveying thoughts to English minds through English ears? What the future may have in store, we cannot tell. For the present, it seems to me that the prospects of the metre in English are in no way bettered by these experiments. One cannot treat otherwise than seriously any verse-work that comes from the present wearer of the bays. Indeed one is almost challenged to criticize these versions as literary ventures by the cento of extracts from previous translations printed on the pages facing the new versions. They are a motley gathering, from Gawin Douglas, Thomas Phaer, and George Chapman, down to writers of yesterday, some in prose, most in verse. It is significant that, while several of those who translated Homer employ with various success the English-accentual hexameter, only one¹ chooses that measure for rendering Virgil. This seems to agree with an opinion that I have expressed above.

The minute scrutiny of the forms and mechanism of poetical expression, in itself a somewhat fascinating study, is perhaps not equally wholesome for all persons under all conditions. That a good workman should prefer perfect tools to imperfect, is natural and proper:

¹ Oliver Crane (New York, 1888), rather in the *Evangeline* manner. No notice is taken of R. Stanyhurst (1582-3), the hexameters of whose version are, in the specimens I have seen, so uncouth as to excuse the omission.

yet some of the finest productions of the arts have been achieved, like the early triumphs of science, with primitive appliances. The soul of art is practice, and the artist engaged in the quest of faultless appliances may pay dearly even for success. All gifted men have their happier hours, not to be recalled at will. It may be doubted whether poets gain or lose more by indulging in detailed inquiries into the mechanisms of their profession. In the present age, when the prevailing tendency is to reduce everything to a so-called science, there is no doubt a strong temptation to treat poetry like the rest: and this is a fit occupation for critics. That genial mathematician Sylvester a few years ago developed a theory of verse-composition in English, and composed on his own principles. No effect on English literature was the result, and happily his mathematics were not deranged thereby. When Dr Bridges suggests (p. 142) that his experiments may lead critics to accuse him of pedantry, I can only say that I have no such intention. But, when he is at pains to make out that he has not been wasting time, I cannot sincerely follow him. That he could have turned his talent to better account, is the conviction which his argument does not enable me to revise, and it is one not consistent with disrespect. And, when he (p. 144) concludes that 'a familiar and perfected modern verse-form must be a bad vehicle for a translation of Homer,' and gives reasons for applying the same doctrine, though less rigidly, to the case of Virgil, I doubt the conclusion. It all depends on the degree of success that we conceive to be within a translator's reach: and his scorn for the work of those who have used the 'accentual Hexameter' seems to me needlessly severe.

A point that can hardly be passed over in considering any metre, is its capacity for harmonizing sound and sense. This is especially important in the case of epic poetry. The length of such poems, running on in a single form of verse, needs every aid to avoid monotony, and the need is perhaps extreme in our uninflected English. I need not quote specimens of success and failure in this kind, occurring in ordinary English metres. But I may remark that the hexameter is under no peculiar disability in this respect. In sympathetic hands it is, as M. Arnold saw, capable of much. Take the case of the chained Andromeda, helpless amid the fury of the elements:

Over the mountain aloft ran a rush and a roll and a roaring;
Downward the breeze came indignant, and leapt with a howl to the water,
Roaring in cranny and crag, till the pillars and clefts of the basalt
Rang like a god-swept lyre, and her brain grew mad with the noises;
Crashing and lapping of waters, and sighing and tossing of weed-beds,
Gurgle and whisper and hiss of the foam, while thundering surges
Boomed in the wave-worn halls, as they champed at the roots of the mountain.

I must be careful in judging these lines, for Dr Bridges warns us that critics are often biassed by prepossessions of their own. But I must say that to me Kingsley is presenting a lifelike picture in verses that fit the scene admirably. Such work is, to say the least, readable. In particular, it exhibits the resources of the English accentual dactyl. In unskilled

hands the dancing dactylic line easily becomes grotesque, as when a poet describing the force of a New Zealand hurricane wrote :

Little you know till you try what it is to attempt locomotion.

For the point was the difficulty of struggling against the wind. Slowness, not speed, called for expression in a straining laborious rhythm.

Does the 'quantitive' hexameter contribute anything towards this harmonizing of sound and sense? Nothing, so far as can be gathered from experiments made hitherto. And I submit that there is no prospect of help from this method, so long as it implies the torture of the English tongue. That the other type of hexameter may become a regular English verse-form is possible enough. The instances of its casual occurrence in the Authorized Version of the Bible are familiar to all readers. It is the management of it in a continuous poem that calls for the craft of a master. And here I feel bound to make some reference to the hexameter version of the *Odyssey* published by Mr H. B. Cotterill. To me this seems a distinct advance on former versions. It may be that I am prejudiced in its favour, but I feel that it is readable,—a rare merit in translations. It has manifestly been to the translator a work of love, and the Introduction shows the searchings of heart through which he went in choosing a metre. With his argument in general I cordially agree; and I admit that in respect of the choice of metre what suits the *Odyssey* need not be the most suitable metre for the *Iliad*. Nevertheless I am still inclined to think that the hexameter is even more suitable to the *Iliad* than to the *Odyssey*. Surely it was no mere whim that led Chapman to translate the two poems in different metres, and to use the calmer measure for the *Odyssey*.

Mr Cotterill maintains that quantity does exist in English words, and I am not prepared to contest this. But I feel a sense of relief when he adds that in verse beauty depends mainly on coincidence of quantity and accent. This is very true, and it points to the real reason why there is all this difficulty about the English hexameter. The two feet most readily at the disposal of English verse-workers are the iambus [v-] and the trochee [-v], for the true spondee [--] is very rare, and words that seem to be true dactyls [-vv] have by the accentual usage of centuries often come to differ little if at all from tribrachs [vvv], and *vice versa*. Such words as *mariner*, *memory*, *misery*, *reverence*, *gradual*, *sorrowful*, *merrily*, and hundreds more, have too much of the tribrach about them to make vigorous dactyls. Such words are freely used in English verse as substitutes for iambic or trochaic ones, and with pleasing effect. But you cannot have it both ways: if our accent thus helps the composer to give a welcome variety of rhythm to iambic or trochaic metres, it inevitably reduces the stock of unmistakably dactylic words. And this is, and seems likely to remain, a real difficulty in the way of those who, wishing to write naturally for English readers, have the courage to employ the hexameter.

W. E. HEITLAND.

The Historical Background of Chaucer's Knight. The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron. By A. S. COOK. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences. February and December, 1916. Svo. 144 and 80 pp.

These elaborate monographs are of real value to the Chaucer student. A hypercritic might complain of them as a little too elaborate; but even hypercriticism would admit this to be a fault on the right side. Prof. Cook covers a great deal of ground; therefore, after doing full justice to the exhaustive nature of his work and its value as a contribution to the Chaucerian background, we may do the reader most service by indicating points where we venture to differ from him.

We must not quarrel with his assumption that the future Henry IV rode past Chaucer's door at Greenwich in 1393, and that Chaucer utilized his portrait for that of Emetreus; for any working theory is a gain, and this one gives occasion for a considerable collection of illustrative details which we could ill spare. Still more interesting is the suggestion that Chaucer spent the years 1360-6 in Ireland with Lionel of Clarence; but we think Prof. Cook weakens his case by harping too much on the wicker houses (which Chaucer might just as well describe from hearsay as from sight) and on the 'Irish woman' of *Rom. Rose*, 3809-14, who comes in as naturally as the Irish priest in *P. Plowman*, and the Irish clerks in the *Pleas to Parliament*. Again, multitudinous references to St Augustine are so common in medieval theology that we cannot possibly infer from the frequency of Chaucer's references any personal interest in the saint's reputed tomb at Pavia (p. 196). The suggestion on p. 200 that Chaucer's forestership of N. Petherton bore any resemblance to the yeoman's forestership in the *Prologue* is as unhistorical as the assumption that *yeoman* and *archer* are practically convertible terms (pp. 200, 201). A quart of beer daily for an able-bodied man is incredibly scanty for the Middle Ages; not only is the case quoted by Prof. Cook from Miss Bateson exceptional, but the figures must be doubled even there; for Miss Bateson had made the slip of calculating only two quarts to the gallon!

In the second monograph, we cannot think that Prof. Cook makes out so good a case for Chaucer's presence at Lionel's wedding as he had done for the poet's stay in Ireland. His argument from Chaucer's 'alaunts' seems especially weak: by his own showing, the poet might have seen these dogs in Paris; nor again is there the slightest evidence that none of Lionel's six alaunts were ever brought to England; and, thirdly, Chaucer was quite capable of describing such a dog correctly from the report of others who were at the wedding. Is it true that 'no plan of the Hôtel de St-Paul has come down to us'? There is an illustration in Duruy's *Petite Histoire de France* which seems taken from an authentic drawing. The *jubbe* of Chaucer would not be correctly translated by *Krug* or *Fläschchen*; it was always a large vessel, and

seems to have been standardized in monasteries at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons; see *Abingdon Chronicle* R.S. I, 346 and II, 399, 400. At Abingdon (as by Levins) it was also called *scyphus*. Is not the Sir Edward *Contenaim* of p. 73 a Courtenay? On p. 86 there seems no valid reason for emending Azarius; his words do not really exclude the fact that Alba was in Piedmont; and the emendation of Hardyng's *wynes* to *wyues* (p. 88) is still less justifiable: the wines of southern countries frequently played havoc with English constitutions in the Middle Ages. There are one or two rather serious slips in the translation of Lionel's will. Sir John of Capella on p. 99 should be Sir John of the Chapel, so called just as Chaucer's probable wife was Philippa of the Pantry. The *par vestimentorum*, etc. was not 'a pair of vestments [trousers?], striped white and red,' which no medieval cleric could legally have worn, but simply a set of mass-vestments; the phrase occurs in Latin or English on every page of the Edwardian inventories. Note 6 on page 102 thus becomes absurd. The *monile*, etc. was not a necklace (p. 102), but a locket formed of two clasped hands. The *infantem ragazium* of p. 108^s would not be 'a little lad,' but a common groom, *infans* here, as commonly in medieval Italian or Spanish Latin, being used in the sense which has passed into *infantry*. These criticisms, it will be seen, touch only a few points among the mass of information which Prof. Cook has collected from so many sources; it is to be hoped that the gradual labours of many students may finally illustrate Chaucer's life and works as fully as these two monographs illustrate part of this great subject.

G. G. COULTON.

GREAT SHELFORD, CAMBRIDGE.

Henry Tubbe. By G. C. MOORE SMITH. (Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, Vol. 5.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. 8vo. 120 pp.

This is the latest of Prof. Moore Smith's valuable studies in by-paths of Tudor and Stewart literature. He doubtless, as a Johnian, felt it a pious labour to call the attention of students to the writings of a member of his own College, whose name had been so completely forgotten that he has no place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and is not mentioned in *The Cambridge History of English Literature*¹. This is partly due to the fact that only one short poem by Tubbe, on Bishop Hall of Norwich, was printed during his lifetime, and that the

¹ In *Notes and Queries* for 2 November, 1861, Mr W. J. Thoms, who was the Editor of that periodical, had urged the publication of Tubbe's literary remains. For more than fifty years his appeal has been fruitless, but by one of the coincidences that so often happen in literary research an American scholar, Mr W. D. Briggs, called attention to Tubbe on the eve of the publication of Dr Moore Smith's monograph. In a series of *Studies in Ben Jonson*, which appeared in *Anglia*, Mr Briggs included a section on Jonson's 'Influence upon Henry Tubbe' (xxxix, pp. 19-28). He gave a brief account of Tubbe, based upon his letters and poems, and compared his style with that of Jonson, with special reference to some *Epigrams* in which Tubbe followed Ben's model. But Dr Moore Smith is the first editor of a selection of Tubbe's writings.

first (apparently unauthorised) edition of his prose *Meditations*, issued in 1659, four years after his death, bore only his initials. Yet Tubbe certainly looked forward to posthumous reputation, when he copied out and affixed dedications to his various writings (including letters to friends and patrons), now preserved in two folio volumes¹. And considering that he was only 37 when he died, that he had to earn his living by secretarial or tutorial duties, and that he was a sufferer from a 'scurvy cold,' deafness, and lung troubles, he left behind him a remarkably varied mass of work.

In the present volume Dr Moore Smith gives us selections from Tubbe's poetry and prose, prefaced by a biographical and critical Introduction, into which are woven, in whole or in part, a number of the letters mentioned above. It cannot be said (nor does Dr Moore Smith make this claim) that 'Tubbe is a 'complete letter-writer.' His epistolary style is somewhat heavy-gaited and formal. He might have learnt something in the art of correspondence from his godmother and patron, Penelope Lady Spencer, whose appeal to the authorities of St John's to make Tubbe a Fellow is a sprightly exercise in (unsuccessful) 'jobbing.'

'I must confesse that I have noe particuler relacion to your Colledge being both a stranger & a Woman. But, since a Royall Rady [*sic*] was your Foundresse you shall give me leave to wish well to any that live within her Walles. And though I have noe intimate acquaintance there, yet in regard that my deare father that was², & my brother that now is, Earle of Southhamton were both incorporated in the same place I think I may without any prejudice challenge a little influence of power over you. Besides I dare professe myself a friend in generall to all Schollars & can heartily pray for there happines in this dismall time of the world.'

But though Tubbe's own letters lack this lightness and grace of touch, they are interesting in many ways. They reveal his strong affections, his fervent Royalism, his shrewd and keen observation often expressed in picturesque or 'conceited' phrase. He was evidently a lover of the country. Writing from Essex House in the Strand in April, 1648, after a visit to Lord Southampton at Titchfield House, near Fareham, he declares that 'All the varietie of Colours in Cheape-side could not please mee so well, as that blew Appearance of the Hills in the Isle of Wight; besides other pleasures of the flowrie Feilds and Medowes.' After his removal to Hothfield near Ashford, where he was tutor to the sons of the Earl of Thanet, he sends a description of the Weald of Kent to Mr Thomas Spencer, and adds, 'You see, Sir, what a

¹ One of these MS. volumes contains a single work, *Meditations in Three Centuries*. It is now in private hands. In 1659, as already mentioned, these *Meditations*, reduced in number to one hundred and rearranged, were published by Robert Gibbes, probably without authorisation. They were reissued, with a new title-page, in 1682. The other volume is Harleian MS. 4126 in the British Museum. Its contents are very miscellaneous, including Epistles in verse, Elegies, Satires, Epigrams and other poems; and prose Letters (English and Latin), Devotions, and Characters.

² The third Earl, Shakespeare's patron.

Husbandman I am grown by living here amongst our Kentish Long-tailes. of which though some are but meer Muck-worms, yet there are many good Hospitable Creatures. in whose Houses a man may yet find that old English Humanitie, which made men welcome without the least signe of any secret grudge or discontent.'

But whether in town or country he was troubled by his physical infirmities, which he seldom mentions without a reflection on the ills in the body-politic. Thus of his deafness he writes, 'Nothing but Drums & Thunder, & such like Noises, the Larum of a Scold, or the Oaths of a Ruffian, or the Cries of our oppressed Commons, which are loud enough, can peirce my obdurate Eares.' And in his last pathetic letter to his cousin William Cole he calls his disease of the lungs, that was so soon to prove fatal, 'an inveterate Sicknesse like the incurable malice of a *Roundhead*, not to be abated with any physick.'

The prose 'Character' of 'A Rebell' printed among the selections in this volume, is a commentary upon the above text. 'He is the Canker of the State, the Bane of the Clergy, the Cavalier's Purgatorie, the People's Mountebank, the Country's terrour, the City's darling, the Devill's freind and the Plauge of all Honest Men.' So, in a sense, is the astonishing poem 'On the Dominical Nose of O[liver] C[romwell].' Was ever even an Irish rat, so berhymed?

A Repetition Nose! a Nose! a Nose!
 A bonny Nose! a Nose for sweet Pig-Wiggin!
 An eloquent Nose! a Nose for Oratour Higgin!
 A ranting Nose! a Nose for *Radamanthus*!
 A Nose that like the Tower-Guns doth dant us!
 A terrible Nose! a Nose that will affright us!
 A sharpe-set Nose! a Nose, with Teeth, to bite us!

Through 220 lines Tubbe holds on his merciless way. Epithet, metaphor, simile, learned or popular allusion crowd upon one another in breathless sequence. There is much that is humorous, ingenious, and telling. But the thing is overdone; there is no light and shade, and little 'composition'; there is no reason but exhaustion why Tubbe should ever bring the piece to an end.

His praise is as unmeasured as his abuse, and his *Elegy on the Royall Martyr*, which Dr Moore Smith does not include in this volume, probably on account of its length, is in the most high pitched strain of Cavalier adulation. Incidentally Tubbe (though Jonson was apparently his favourite dramatist) transfers with slight change to Charles I the lines in which Hamlet draws the majestic picture of his father. A much shorter poem on the same subject, *Carolus*, is included among the selections, and is a favourable example of Tubbe's style. Its six-lined stanzas are sonorous and trenchant, as witness the following:

The fatall Axe, the surly Frown,
 The rugged Buffe, & rufing Gown,
 These Signes of Pride shall ne're put down
 The brightnes of his high Renown.
 Hee is the Hieroglyphik of Eternall Joy,
 Which no faint Stroaks of Witchcraft can destroy.

I am less attracted than Dr Moore Smith seems to be by *The Gray-Friars of Ashford* and *The Engagement*, in which Tubbe 'draws an Hogarthian picture of the religious fanatics of his own time.' But his praise of the happy ingenuity of the lines *On the Silke-Worme* is well merited, and I wish he had given us a fuller selection of these 'mock-serious poems,' though a volume in a Series had doubtless to conform to certain limitations of space. I also wish that he had included a few short specimens of Tubbe's adaptations of poems by Randolph, Suckling and others¹. It would have been interesting to compare them with the originals, especially in the case of Randolph. Tubbe's extensive debt to this Cambridge dramatist and poet is a fresh testimony to his popularity and influence in the middle of the seventeenth century.

Tubbe will probably not win as much popularity with readers of to-day as Traherne. But like him he was a Stewart worthy, who fully deserved to be recalled to the notice of students of literature and of the Civil War period generally. If he has had to wait unduly long for recognition, he is at any rate fortunate in being re-introduced to the world by an editor who brings so much sympathy, discrimination, and specialised learning to his task.

F. S. BOAS.

LONDON.

Literature in Ireland. By THOMAS MACDONAGH. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1916. 8vo. xxii + 241 pp.

The author of this book was one of the leaders in the Irish Volunteer Rising of Easter, 1916, and was shot later by sentence of court martial. Like nearly all the leaders he had marked literary talents, he wrote distinguished English verse, had written on English metrics, and was an enthusiast for the revival of the Irish language and the study of its literature from the earliest times to the present day. He was therefore well qualified to write such a book as the above, the theme of which (p. 58) is that Anglo-Irish literature has a distinct individuality of its own, due to the fact that English is a comparatively new language in Ireland in the sense that it is only in the last hundred years that it has spread over the whole island. He argues that this literature is still affected by the rapidly dying Irish language, the idioms and imagery of which still colour the talk of the people, which itself is much closer to the virgin English of the sixteenth century than modern English is. Further Anglo-Irish literature will show important differences from that of England, inasmuch as the ways of life and the ways of thought of the Irish people are and will continue to be other than those prevailing in the sister country.

¹ After the publication of his volume Dr Moore Smith found that the first poem included in it, 'When thou and I must part,' was a paraphrase of Henry Vaughan's lines 'To my ingenuous friend R.W.' in the *Poems* of 1646. The first five of Tubbe's second series of *Elegies* (not printed by Dr Moore Smith) are also versions of poems by Vaughan. See *Notes and Queries*, 11th Series, vol. xii, p. 438.

This is an interesting theme and makes a book, which, though the prose does not flow as convincingly as it might, is well written and very readable. The information and thoughts contained in it will well repay the general reader, but those who know something of modern Anglo-Irish literature, as well as that of the old and modern Irish, will probably dispute many of the assertions and conclusions. MacDonagh rejects Goldsmith and Sheridan in the eighteenth century and Bernard Shaw in the nineteenth-twentieth as Irish writers, though one might argue that the 'Deserted Village' has a wistful melancholy characteristic of Ireland, and that Shaw on the other hand displays a clarity and realism equally native to the Irish intellect (or 'the Anglo-Irish' as Shaw would claim). But MacDonagh would have his list confined to exponents of the 'Irish Mode,' a phrase which he substitutes for the more nebulous 'Celtic Note,' popularised by Matthew Arnold. He gives a list of such, and yet of his most honoured names W. B. Yeats without doubt derives his characteristic note in poetry and prose from such sources as Pater, Morris, and Maeterlinck, with of course an Irish landscape and lingering musical Irish names, while George Russell (Æ) owes much to his being early steeped in Buddhism and Indian literature. It has been pointed out that the 'Celtic Note,' of Yeats and other modern poets, like that of the cloudy Ossian of Macpherson, is essentially unakin to the main features of the real old Irish (Gaelic) literature which displays clarity, a perfect absence of sentimental incoherence, and a positive gem-like hardness and colour which make its nature poetry and lyric pieces much more classical Greek than modern Romantic. This MacDonagh himself elaborates through many pages, quoting Meyer's accurate judgment on those remarkable eighth and ninth century Irish nature-poems (translated in his *Ancient Irish Poetry*), of which he says 'they give a succession of impressionist pictures and images—the half said thing to them is dearest. They avoid the obvious, the commonplace,' to which MacDonagh rightly adds 'they avoid the devious, the out of the way, the thing of false imagination.'

In short the book has a rather unreal note, and if he had lived the author would have changed his point of view on some of his assertions. The fault is not his own; the fact is that Irishmen, with all their sincere wish to claim a distinctive literature of their own in English and with all their pride in the remarkable literary outburst of the last thirty or forty years, do not claim that there is yet so great or so eminent an output as to warrant extravagant claims. One might ask: at the end of another hundred years when the Gaelic tradition (as seems only too likely) has faded with the language, will this distinctive 'Irish Note' maintain itself, its taproot being severed, or again if a Milton, a Wordsworth, a Molière appear in Ireland will their work not be such as humanity at large will claim, as it claims all stars of the first magnitude? We fear that the 'Irish Mode' is so perceptible because modern Anglo-Irish literature is, with some exceptions, as yet hardly of more than local significance. Apart from these points, in which readers may preserve their own judgment or be persuaded to the author's view, the

book is one which should be read. Enough justice has not been done, this puts it very mildly, to the beauty and wealth of the older Irish (Gaelic) literature, and the author's best pages are devoted to it. Not only on this, but on the moderns, Yeats, Synge, Ferguson, and the rest, the reader will learn much that, if he be an Irishman, will enhance a legitimate national pride, and, if he be non-Irish, will help him to an appreciation of one of the most active and distinctive of modern European literary movements.

E. CURTIS.

DUBLIN.

Nutidssprog hos Børn og Vøxne. By OTTO JESPERSEN. Copenhagen and Christiania: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1916. 8vo. ii + 311 pp.

At the beginning of his book, Professor Jespersen points out that previous studies of child-development have been made chiefly by psychologists and pedagogues, not by linguistic experts. Hence a somewhat novel point of view in this book.

The author divides the child's linguistic development into (1) the period of shrieking, (2) the period of babbling, (3) the period of speaking. The latter is again subdivided into (*a*) the period when the child has a language of its own, (*b*) the period of language in common with other children. In No. 2 the infant produces meaningless series of sounds, which gradually become more systematic. Finally the child knows what sounds it wishes to produce and can do so with precision. Professor Jespersen points out that misconceptions may have arisen in the minds of some investigators, because the sounds uttered by the child cannot be compared with those of adults, owing to the different construction of the child's mouth. At the time when the child begins to speak, the length of the jaw does not vary greatly from that of an adult, but the vocal chamber is much smaller.

With regard to the sequence in which speech sounds are learnt, Professor Jespersen agrees in a general way with Schultze that this depends on their difficulty. He suggests that the great divergence of views on this point is due to different things being observed. One has noted the child playing with sounds by itself, another has observed the child imitating its mother. Again, sounds may be misunderstood.

Professor Jespersen agrees with most scholars that the labials are the first consonants to be learnt, but he does not attribute this to the fact that the child sees the movements of the mother's lips and imitates them, but rather to the early use of the lip muscles in imbibing milk. The fact is mentioned that the Danish child learns the glottal catch at an early period, and here there is no question of the child *seeing* how the sound is produced. Similarly, when the child begins to absorb solid food, it uses the muscles of the tongue, which is of great importance for the production of sounds requiring the use of these muscles.

In dealing with words which have double forms, the one shorter and more everyday, the other longer and more solemn, e.g. Danish *ska*, *skal* or *gi*, *give*, the author draws attention to the fact that in the case of many children, the longer forms are learnt at an early period, when the influence of the written word is impossible. Though the shorter forms are in much more common use, the child soon learns the longer forms, because it seizes on what is said with special emphasis or distinctness.

Professor Jespersen lays stress on the importance of intonation. Even before a child can understand the exact meaning of the words used, the intonation may suggest what the speaker wishes to convey. The stumbling-blocks in the way of the child, e.g. words used figuratively or words with more than one meaning are also dealt with.

Incidentally, the question of the size of the adult's vocabulary is also touched on. Max Müller's statement that the English agricultural labourer's vocabulary consists only of 300 words; which is accepted unreservedly by the great German psychologist Wundt, is laughed to scorn by Professor Jespersen. Danish children in the first year of their instruction in English learn 700 words and the language of the uncivilised Patagonians contains 30,000 words. Moreover, a great authority on Swedish dialects, Smedberg, believed after careful investigation that the Swedish peasant's vocabulary contained at least 26,000 words. This does not conflict with the fact that Shakespeare uses about 20,000 and Milton 8,000 words, for there is obviously an immense difference between the words *used* and the words *known*. Milton's lofty theme makes many everyday words impossible.

Coming to the question of children's power of creating new words, Professor Jespersen refuses to admit the view of Wundt and other psychologists that the child does not invent words of its own. Equally interesting is the discussion of the influence of the mother on a child's speech. The author is of opinion that the mother may affect the child at the period when its capacity for imitation is least developed, but when it perceives and imitates sounds with precision, it has come into contact with other children, and their influence is now the more important.

With reference to bilingualism, Professor Jespersen believes that the bilingual child is at a disadvantage. Even if to all appearances the child speaks each language like a native, it will be found on investigation that it lacks the complete command of all the niceties possessed by a monoglot. This view will doubtless be disputed by some, but those with experience of absolutely bilingual children, will confirm Professor Jespersen's opinion.

Leaving aside certain interesting pedagogical questions discussed here, we come to important considerations of the influence of children's speech on language in general. Speaking of sound change, Professor Jespersen admits that in certain cases of assimilation, dropping of consonants in difficult combinations, etc., a co-operation of child and adult is possible. Children may likewise influence language by contracting words, their method being to reproduce only the last syllable, whereas

adults seize on the first syllable. Again they may alter the meaning of words and bring about syntactical changes. Through adults imitating their language, children may likewise bring new forms of words into use, or even new words. Professor Jespersen also attributes to children sudden sound changes, where the new and the old produce a similar effect on the ear, but differ as regards the position of the vocal organs and the manner of articulation, e.g., Latin *aqua*, Rumanian *apa*.

But Professor Jespersen refuses to accept the view that gradual sound change is due to the faulty transmission of sounds from one generation to another. Referring to the capriciousness of sound change, the author says that if a man has a hundred pieces of wood to saw, and must measure No. 2 by No. 1, No. 3 by No. 2, etc., he may saw larger pieces each time, until No. 100 is considerably larger than No. 1, or he may steadily saw smaller pieces, until No. 100 is much smaller than No. 1, or finally he may saw a certain number too large and another series too small. Thus Professor Jespersen cannot see his way to accept the opinion, which has been current of late years, as to the influence of children on sound change. This will in itself give rise to discussion, and we should, in any case, have been glad to hear from an authority like Professor Jespersen why an impulse apparently so arbitrary, should come to affect such large communities as it does. The usual effect of the speech-community is to level individual peculiarities, and it seems to us that the phenomenon of sound change still awaits its final explanation.

Concerning the more rapid change of languages at some periods than at others, Professor Jespersen throws out an interesting suggestion. Whilst the great change in the Scandinavian languages during the Viking period is generally attributed to an improvement in the mode of life and the way of thinking, Professor Jespersen believes, that owing to the men being away, the women had more work to do, especially in the fields, and the children, thus left to themselves, did not have their faults corrected to the same extent. In other words, more rapid linguistic change was facilitated.

Under very special conditions, Professor Jespersen believes that children can produce such far-reaching modifications, that practically a new language results. This was the explanation given by the American scholar Hale of the immense variety of languages, apparently unconnected, in Oregon and Brazil. He suggested that it was quite possible for the children of a family, dependent on hunting for a livelihood, to be deprived of their parents by one of the many accidents of the wilds. In a harsher climate such children would have perished, but under the more favourable climatic conditions of Oregon and Brazil, they lived on and developed a language of their own, afterwards transmitted to their descendants. In Australia, where thirst would soon put an end to the existence of such orphans, the languages spoken are all recognizable as forms of one original language.

Professor Jespersen supplements Hale's examples by the case of the Eskimo languages, which are spoken with little difference from the east

coast of Greenland over to Alaska. An Icelandic girl is also mentioned who, about the middle of the nineteenth century, produced a language of her own, so that when she was confirmed, her elder brother had to translate the catechism for her and to act as interpreter between his sister and the priest. In 1903, Professor Jespersen himself investigated the case of two children in North Zealand, who had been much neglected by their mother and had developed a language of their own. Under suitable conditions, such children's languages may develop into separate tongues, and hence the languages of Oregon and Brazil have had a different development from the regular and steady growth with which we are familiar in Europe.

Nutidssprog is throughout singularly fresh and suggestive. Numerous humorous incidents save it from that solemn verbosity, against which the author speaks early in the book. Where others have revelled in vague and learned terms, Professor Jespersen expresses himself in a clear and intelligible manner. The book throws new light on what was known before and adds a wealth of new information, the result of many years of acute and painstaking observation, sifted by a mature and discriminating judgment. *Nutidssprog* contains matter which appeals to psychologist, pedagogue, phonetician and philologist alike.

We have noticed the following slight errors: p. 44 lines 10-11, instead of 'j for l,' read 'l for j,' and p. 192 instead of 'dam,' read 'damn.'

HERBERT WRIGHT.

BANGOR.

Surnames. By ERNEST WEEKLEY. London: John Murray. 1916. 8vo. pp. xxii + 364.

Professor Weekley has long since made the study of names and surnames his own special province, and in the present volume he takes one step further towards that *Dictionary of English Surnames* which he has in preparation. Such a dictionary is in itself a vast undertaking, and its completion must necessarily be delayed by the very imperfect survey that has hitherto been taken of the place-names from which so many surnames are derived. Recognising the difficulties which such names offer, Mr Weekley has to a large extent avoided any discussion of those names which may be presumed to be of local origin, and concerns himself rather with the other three great groups into which names naturally divide themselves, viz. baptismal, occupative, and nicknames.

In his treatment of these three classes, Mr Weekley has originated, or in some cases developed, certain important points of general interest. We may mention:

(i) The importance of local distribution in settling vexed questions of origin. Some names are surprisingly local, at least in their original distribution, and can only be interpreted by a knowledge of local conditions whether topographical or social.

(ii) Frank recognition of the fact that one surname may arise from several different sources, and that in many cases you cannot tell Mr A what his name means unless he can give you the whole history of his family right back to the Middle Ages.

(iii) Surnames—and in this they resemble place-names—often do not follow the strict laws of phonetic-development. Folk-etymology, spelling-pronunciations, vulgarisms, sheer blunders have all played their part in the development of an infinite variety of name-forms, and there is no norm of speech by which such developments can be checked in the way that the vagaries of ordinary speech are corrected.

(iv) The strength of the French element in M.E. nomenclature. Bilingualism must have been much more common than we often imagine, otherwise a vast number of the nicknames in common use would have been quite unintelligible to the populace at large.

(v) The importance of the study of names for English lexicography. Again and again surnames give us examples of the use of words, both of native and of foreign origin, some two or three hundred years earlier than the earliest examples given in the *N.E.D.*

The only chapter with which serious fault must be found is that on the Teutonic name-system. Here, largely owing to an unscientific use of Searle's *Onomasticon* many names are given as Anglo-Saxon which are not A.S. at all, and there are other mistakes also for which Searle is not responsible. We may note a few points.

P. 33, *Roscytel* is not A.S. but O.N. If it were A.S. the first element would be *Hors-*; so also *Aslac* is O.N. *Aslaker*, not A.S. *Ūslac*. P. 37, *Gunhild*, *Gundwine*; p. 43, *Gundberht*; p. 61, *Gundred* cannot be A.S.; they would begin with *Gup-* in A.S. Forms in *Gun-* or *Gund-* are either O.N. or Continental in origin. P. 37, *Bodwig* is an impossible name in A.S., *Bōtwīg* is more probable. P. 38, A.S. names in *Fær-* are not connected with *fær*, an attack, but with *faran-*, to go, and have numerous parallels in the other Teutonic languages. P. 39, *Gislbrand* is a very unlikely A.S. name, as *brand* is never found as an element in A.S. names. P. 41, names in *Amal-* are purely Continental, and there is no reason for taking the name *Dingolf* found in Piper (p. 40) as an O.E. name at all. P. 40, the common occurrence of the name *Lawman* is readily explained when we remember that there were twelve 'lawmen' in every Scandinavian borough; the name is really an occupative one. P. 43, the A.S. name was *Coenred* or *Cenred*, not *Cenered*. P. 44, *Healfdene* is simply an anglicised form of O.N. *Halfdanr*, while the names *Ricweald*, *Ricwine* and indeed all names with initial *Ric-* are Continental rather than English. The meaning of the element *Rægen-* in A.S. names is better explained by reference to O.N. *reginn*, divine powers, than the cognate Goth. *ragin*, counsel. Such a first element has an exact parallel in the use of A.S. *Ōs-*, O.N. *Ás-*.

The rest of the book is marked by that scholarly accuracy which we have learned to expect from Professor Weekley, and it is very seldom that one finds oneself in disagreement with him. The following may be of interest. P. 54, the name *Nighenbinkes*, *Neynbenkes* is not 'nigh

banks,' but Ninebanks in Allendale, so called from a series of switchbacks on an ancient road. P. 62, the suggestion that *eale* is a dialectal form of *haugh*, *hale* is a repetition of a heresy propounded by Dr Sedgefield in a previous volume of *M.L.R.* *Eale* is only found in Northumberland and means 'a small island,' a diminutive of Angl. *ēg*, island. The only forms that develop from A.S. *healh*, *hēale* in Northumberland are *haugh*, *hale*. P. 73, it is very doubtful if *-set(t)* in place-names goes back to A.S. *geset*, seat. It certainly does not in Somerset (A.S. *Sumorsæte*) and no example of *-(ge)set* is given by Middendorff, while he has plenty for *-sæte*. P. 95, *Snook*, if found in Kent may go back to *Sevenoaks*, but if found in Northumberland it would derive from Dial. *snook*, spit of land. P. 126, *Tate* < A.S. *Tāta*, is cognate with, but not derived from O.N. *teitr*. *Tāta* gives *Tate*, *Teitr* gives *Tait*. P. 137, *Whitwam* is, as Mr Weekley suspects, local. There is a Whitwham in S. Tyndale. P. 138, *Tyndiheved* is probably not for Tynehead. No such place is known in ancient or modern times, and, even if it were, this would not explain the *nd*. Probably the first element is M.E. *tynde*, tine or prong found in Tinely, Northumberland, earlier *Tyndeley*. In this name it probably refers to the shape of the field, and in *Tyndeheved* the reference may be to some forked-hill.

A word of protest must be raised against the author's constant use of the form *dithemetic* in speaking of names of two elements. Why use so unscholarly a perversion of the normal *dithematic*?

The book is intended for the general reader as well as for the student, and contains chapters on French and German names which are full of interesting parallels to English names, showing on what curiously similar lines nomenclature develops in the most diverse lands. There is not a dull page in the book, and one can only hope that its reception by the larger public may encourage its author to carry through to the end the big task which he has in hand.

ALLEN MAWER.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

Studi sul Canzoniere di Dante, con nuove Indagini sulle Raccolte Manoscritte e a Stampa di Antiche Rime Italiane. By MICHELE BARBI. Florence: G. C. Sansoni. 1915. 8vo. xvi + 542 pp.

In this substantial volume Professor Michele Barbi prints what may be regarded as the second instalment of his material for the critical edition of the *Canzoniere* of Dante, upon which he has been engaged for some years, and which is intended to form part of the complete edition of the works of Dante promised by the Società Dantesca Italiana for the sixth centenary of the death of the poet (September, 1921). The first-fruits of Professor Barbi's work on the *Canzoniere* were embodied in his comprehensive and masterly critical edition of the *Vita Nuova* published by the Società Dantesca ten years ago, for the

purposes of which he collated and described not only all the MSS. (some forty in number) containing the text, prose and verse, of Dante's earliest work, but also thirty-six MSS. in which have been preserved more or less complete collections of Dante's *rime*, including those belonging to the *Vita Nuova*.

The present volume comprises five principal *Studi*, together with four minor articles printed as appendices. In his preface Professor Barbi states his reasons for publishing these *Studi* in advance of the projected critical edition. His reasons are two-fold. In the first place by so doing he relieves the volume of the critical edition of the *Canzoniere* (which will consist of four volumes) assigned to the prolegomena of some part of the mass of material which he has accumulated in the course of his labours, and which could not be withheld without weakening the foundations upon which the critical edition is based. In the second place he is desirous of placing at the disposal of students the by-products, as it were, of his researches, inasmuch as their results bear not alone upon the poems of Dante, but upon those of many other *rimatori* of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, such, for instance, as Guido Cavalcanti, Lapo Gianni, Dino Frescobaldi, and Cino da Pistoia. As one outcome of his researches Professor Barbi notes the emergence of an interesting and important fact in Italian literary history, namely, that of the existence throughout the sixteenth century among men of letters—not only the more distinguished, such as Bembo and Trissino, but also among the lesser lights—of a passion, as it may almost be termed, for the collection and study of 'le rime antiche,' the early lyrical poetry of Italy. The collections thus formed are in certain instances of exceptional value, as representing MSS. and sources which have since disappeared.

Professor Barbi emphasises the pressing need for a new edition of Dante's minor poems, and it is a matter for congratulation on the part of students of Dante, in whom his sound critical judgment, scholarly instincts, and proved patience and perseverance, as exhibited in his edition of the *Vita Nuova*, and in his conduct for more than twelve years of the *Bullettino* of the Società Dantesca, have inspired the most complete confidence as to his qualifications for this delicate and arduous piece of work, that to him has been entrusted the task of removing what he himself does not hesitate to describe as a reproach to Italian letters—'toglier via da noi questa vergogna che di un' opera fra le più importanti del grande poeta nostro non avessimo da offrire agli studiosi ed ammiratori di lui sparsi per ogni parte del mondo un' edizione decente.' The existing editions, including the text printed in the *Oxford Dante*, are all based more or less on that of Fraticelli, whose meritorious labours as editor of the works of Dante are universally recognised, but whose discretion in this particular department was less conspicuous than his zeal. For instance, on the strength of a remark of Trissino, which he misunderstood, he at one time classed among lost poems of Dante one beginning 'In quella parte del giovinetto anno,' that is to say, the first fifteen lines of the twenty-fourth canto of the *Inferno*! Again, he

confidently asserted that one of the sonnets of the *tenzone* (which exists in fourteenth century MSS.) between Dante and Forese Donati, was the composition 'd'alcuno di quei servili ed insipidi rimatori del secolo xv, i quali disonorarono il parnaso italiano col poetare alla burchiellesca'; while another he positively assigns to Burchiello himself. To this day, as the result of his uncritical methods, poems demonstrably not by Dante are included among the poet's authentic works—instances are the *ballata* 'Fresca rosa novella' (which is by Guido Cavalcanti), and the *canzone* 'O patria degna di trionfal fama' (probably by Albertino della Piagentina), both of which figure in the *Oxford Dante*.

Professor Barbi's first article, which is entitled 'Una ballata da restituirsi a Dante,' and which originally appeared in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca* (N.S. xix, 1-75), deals with the *ballata* 'In abito di saggia messaggiera' (*Ball. v* in the *Oxford Dante*). The attribution to Dante of this *ballata*, which is included by Fraticelli and Giuliani among the poems associated with the *Vita Nuova*, and was unhesitatingly accepted as genuine by Witte (see *Dantes Lyrische Gedichte*, Leipzig, 1856, pp. lxx, 175; and *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Dante-Gesellschaft*, iii, 290), was questioned by Carducci in his notes to D'Ancona's edition of the *Vita Nuova* (Pisa, 1872; second ed. 1884, pp. 245-6), as it had been five and twenty years before by the Dante bibliographer Colomb de Batines in an article in *Ricordi Filologici e Letterari* (Pistoia, 1847). Carducci rejected it on critical grounds, as being unworthy of Dante in point of style, and further as being assigned to Nuccio Piacenti in the early collection of *Canzoni d'Amore e Madrigali*, published at Venice in 1518¹, as well as in a MS. mentioned by De Batines. Carducci's verdict has been accepted without further discussion by recent editors of the *Vita Nuova*, as also by Professor Zingarelli in his exhaustive work upon Dante in the *Storia Letteraria d'Italia* (Milan, 1903, p. 359)². Professor Barbi, however, examines Carducci's arguments in detail and has no difficulty in showing that the defects of style objected to by the latter, as well as the attribution to Nuccio Piacenti, are by no means so fatal as Carducci was inclined to believe. He indicates three MSS.³ in which the poem is assigned to Dante, and he discusses the relationship and describes the contents of these MSS. at length. His conclusion, as may be gathered from the title of his article, is in favour of Dante's authorship.

¹ This is an exceedingly rare book, of which only three or four copies are known, one of which is in the British Museum. Another edition, an exact reprint, was published at Milan in the same year (1518), of which there is a copy in the Fiske Collection in the Cornell University Library. A reproduction of the original Venice edition (in a limited edition of eighty copies only) was issued at Florence in 1899. The poem in question is printed on p. 109, the author's name being given as 'Ruccio Piacente da Siena.'

² In the *Temple Classics* edition of Dante's *Canzoniere* (London, 1906) this *ballata* is classed (on the authority of Mr Edmund Gardner) among the 'probably authentic' poems (pp. 314-15).

³ In his original article in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca* Professor Barbi mentioned four MSS., the fourth being the so-called 'Codice Bardera'; but he has since convinced himself that this last is quite a modern forgery, of the end of 1884 or beginning of 1885. The grounds of his conviction are set out in full in an appendix ('Il Codice Bardera è una falsificazione') to the present article.

So far as the MS. evidence is concerned, however, he has since seen reason to reconsider this opinion, owing to the recent discovery of an important MS., which throws a new light on the whole question. This MS. curiously enough, as in the case of one of the most important MSS. of the *Vita Nuova*, which was unearthed by Professor Mario Schiff in the chapter library at Toledo, comes also from Spain, this time from the Escorial Library. It is of earlier date than any of those examined by Professor Barbi in his article, and is in all probability the ultimate source from which they were derived. It appears to have formed part of the library (which passed to the Escorial) of the famous canonist, Antonio Agustin, who was Bishop of Lérida from 1556 to 1576, and Archbishop of Tarragona from 1576 till his death in 1586, and it was doubtless acquired by him during one of his lengthened periods of residence in Italy. Unfortunately it is only a fragment, containing but 184 poems, but among them are not a few of Dante, of some of which no other MS. text is now known, though they are included in the famous Giunta collection of *Sonetti e Canzoni* of 1527. A careful description of the MS., with a list of the *rime* contained in it, communicated to Professor Barbi by Dr Mario Casella, is printed in a final appendix ('Un nuovo Codice di Rime Antiche molto importante') to the present volume. The change of view imposed by the evidence furnished by this MS., though it invalidates Professor Barbi's previous conclusion ('ormai che la ballata in questione si possa attribuire con certezza, o almeno con una certa probabilità, a Dante, non mi par più possibile, se nuove testimonianze non vengono in soccorso'), and naturally necessitates a change of title, does not impair the essential value of his main article, in which he has dealt at length with the MSS. containing the disputed *ballata*, as well as with several others which appear to belong to the same family.

The other four articles in the volume are concerned respectively with the 'Raccolta Bartoliniana' and its sources, the 'Raccolta Aragonesa,' the 'Codice Casanatense' and its congeners, and with a sonnet attributed to Dante, and two MSS. which contain it. The sonnet in question in the last article is that beginning 'Jacopo, i' fui, nelle neviccate Alpi,' the first six lines of which were printed originally by Redi, from a MS. in his own possession, in the notes to his *Bacco in Toscana* (Florence, 1685), and were reprinted by Fraticelli in his *Canzoniere di Dante* among the 'rime apocrife' (5th ed., 1894, p. 322). Professor Barbi thinks it intrinsically not improbable that the sonnet was written by Dante¹, but after reviewing the MS. evidence he feels bound to record his verdict against its claim to rank among the unquestioned compositions of the poet.

The present volume is to be followed, at no long interval it may

¹ One objection urged against the Dantesque authorship is the fact that the eighth line ends with an assonance (*parti*), and not with a rhyme in *-alpi*, as does the ninth (*parole*), instead of with a rhyme in *-ore*. But Professor Barbi disposes of this objection by quoting similar instances from poems accepted as by Dante; e.g. in the *ballata* 'Per una ghirlandetta' (*Ball.* viii in the *Oxford Dante*) we find *-ile* 'rhyming' with *-ire*.

be hoped, by a second, which will contain, together with unpublished articles, reprints of three articles which were originally printed 'per nozze' or in other more or less inaccessible forms, namely those on 'Lisetta' (*Son.* XLIV), on 'Guido i' vorrei' (*Son.* XXXII), and on 'Per una ghirlandetta' (*Bull.* VIII)¹, all of which are of the first importance in connection with the establishment of the reconstituted text of the *Canzoniere* of Dante.

The book, the complicated matter of which is admirably printed², is provided with a full and excellent index of 'cose notevoli,' for which Professor Barbi is indebted to a former pupil, Professor Arturo Del Pozzo—a most welcome and necessary adjunct to a volume of this description, which is too often wanting in works of erudition issued by foreign publishers. The analytical list of *codici* is especially valuable. It might, however, be improved by the insertion of a few cross-references. For instance, the Oxford MS. in the Canonici collection in the Bodleian, which is referred to in the body of the work sometimes as 'il codice di Oxford,' or 'Ox.,' and sometimes as 'il ms. Canoniciano,' or 'Canonic. 101,' appears in the index only as 'Canoniciano 101,' whereas one's first impulse is to look for it under 'Oxford' or 'Bodleiana,' neither of which entries is given.

We take leave of Professor Barbi for the present with feelings of admiration and gratitude for what he has already accomplished, and we await with renewed confidence the final result of his almost Herculean labours in this vast and long-neglected field of research—'Se tanto lavoro in bene assommi!'

PAGET TOYNBEE.

BURNHAM, BUCKS.

The Literary History of Spanish America. By ALFRED COESTER. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1916. xii + 495 pp.

It is a significant fact that the first history of Spanish-American literature appears in English. The isolation of the Spanish-American Republics for long years after their break with the mother country partially accounts for this apparent anomaly. The communication between many of the South American States is more rapid through New York or London than along what might be called the natural ways of approach. One hears in Buenos Aires of recent French or English authors before becoming acquainted with contemporary writers of the sister Republics. And in like wise the literary criticism of Spanish America dwells preferably on European books and authors. History does not hasten there to record the names of considerable writers or to explain their activities. One at least of the best known and deservedly

¹ An appreciation by the present writer of this last article was published in the *Bulletin Italien* for April—June, 1910 (Tom. x, pp. 93-4).

² We have noticed one misprint—'quanto' for 'quando' on page xii.

admired South American authors, Rafael Pombo, left a copious production behind him, scattered over periodicals, anthologies, or school books, but never collected his writings in a single volume¹. 'Histories of the literatures of the several countries,' says Mr Coester in the preface to his work, 'have been written by natives only of Argentina, Venezuela and Uruguay, and these are defective in many ways.' He refers later (p. 290) to the *Historia de la Literatura en Nueva Granada* by José María Vergara y Vergara (1867), a conscientious and agreeably written book, which, unfortunately, brings us down no further than the year 1820. The second volume promised by the author was never issued. A general review, embodying the whole literary movement in Spanish America from the time of the colonial *régime* to the present day, has not yet been published by any Spaniard or Spanish-American. The most trustworthy information, so far as dates and biographies of poets are concerned, is to be found in the prefaces of Menéndez y Pelayo to his anthology of Spanish-American poets, which does not include authors living at the time of publication (1893-95). Juan Valera's *Cartas Americanas* must be read with all kinds of reservations. Valera never took Spanish-American literature very seriously, and he would be surprised to find that Mr Coester accepts at their face value the capricious views strewn about the *Cartas*. Mr Coester, be it said to his credit, has tilled a virgin soil. He deserves much praise. The task is enormous. It covers more than three centuries and includes eighteen different countries, some of which have absolutely no commercial intercourse with many of the continental republics, and in several cases have but slight intellectual relations.

The plan of Mr Coester's work is not uniform. For the period extending from the beginning of the Spanish occupation to the end of the War of Independence he has treated the subject *en bloc*, considering the colonies as receiving inspiration and mental impulse from the mother country. He has followed the same plan when reviewing the last and most interesting phase of the literary movement in Spanish America; a movement which has given him occasion to write perhaps the best chapter in his book. His analysis (pp. 450-3) of Darío's work and alleged innovations, though keen and sympathetic, is not exaggerated. He has approached José A. Silva's and Valencia's temperaments with full knowledge of their works and of the subtle and refined qualities of their tendencies. Equally praiseworthy are the pages in which the author tries to convey the charm emanating from the rich, elusive and delightful spirit of Gutiérrez Nájera, whom he ranks with Silva² as anticipating Rubén Darío. Yet in the analysis of one of Silva's best poems he has been misled by the loud-voiced authority of the laity. Mr Coester says: 'Metrically these [*Los Nocturnos*] display Silva's originality in the

¹ Since the above was written, an edition of Pombo's writings has been issued in four volumes, by Sr. D. Antonio Gómez Restrepo (Bogotá, 1916-17).

² The dates against Silva's name should be (1865-96), and not—as Mr Coester gives them (p. 455)—'(1860-96)': see Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse* (London, 1913). The birth-date is not without importance in connexion with the question of the 'influences' undergone by Silva.

handling of long and short lines in an attempt to adjust the rhythm of the verse to the inward rhythm of the thought. One of his methods was the repetition of words or lines assisted by the mode of printing' (p. 456). On this point the author follows a popular opinion. The originality in the best *Nocturno* is not in the short and long lines combined. Silva did not pretend to use a new form of verse when he wrote it. He acknowledged that he was following there the lead of a great versifier, Tomás de Iriarte, in one of his best fables, written in verse of four syllables. The repetitions which occur in Silva's poem cannot be called mannerisms or method as Mr Coester puts it, because Silva only used the device once with a view to enhancing a specific effect.

The delicate, magic thread which Mr Coester followed when analysing the budding of Spanish-American literature and when studying its gorgeous blossom during the epoch of the symbolist renewal, could not be found by him in the study of the other periods of our literary life. Possibly the thread does not exist. Perhaps it may be there, but to find it and follow it in all its engaging tangles is impossible with such scanty material as we have at hand. The French romantic movement, either directly or through the Spanish authors who had fallen a victim to that sentimental inversion, caused a renaissance of forms and emotions in Spanish-American letters, and its influence, of course, was felt in other spheres of mental activity. Yet the author has not chosen to follow this influence, which might have enabled him to treat literature in Spanish America as a whole. He has confined himself to displaying this current of thought acting on the individual, and has preferred (taking politics as the background) to give us a separate delineation of each country for the period intervening between the end of the War of Independence and the beginning of the symbolist movement. 'Freedom won,' he says (p. viii), 'each country pursued its own course in literature as in politics. These two are interdependent. Literature is often meaningless without an understanding of contemporary politics.' Often, no doubt, but not always. In some cases, as in the literary history of Cuba, the close connexion between literature and politics was not the result of natural law but of the attitude of leading minds. Their example and their literary canons, perhaps, impressed on their followers the convenience of using art for the purpose of propaganda. In Colombia, on the contrary, literature and politics have often pursued paths widely remote. The political party which for thirty years has opposed the existing system has scarcely ever used a literary work of art against its opponents. The Colombian man of letters of the last generation would have thought it a degradation of his artistic aims to use poem or novel as a medium to discredit a party or to promote political ideas. *Pax*, a novel with which Mr Coester deals rather tenderly, is the work of a politician of the ruling caste who tried to burden others with the intolerable load of his own failure. And the persons he sought to portray in the most unfavourable colours were men of his own faction, men whose ephemeral or lasting superiority was for him a very thorn in the flesh. It might be maintained, perhaps, that much of the best work produced in Spanish

America after the eighties is free from political bias, which is not to say that this is desirable. Notwithstanding his masterly verbal gift, Montalvo—a forcible writer of vast general information, who carried sarcasm and invective almost to the point of genius—is gradually losing ground on account of the partisanship which became with him a kind of religion. Mr Coester says that Montalvo's political invectives 'resulted in the assassination of García Moreno in 1875' (p. 265). It is difficult to believe this to-day when we read these works free from the environment which begat them and which Montalvo did so much to expose.

There are omissions in the *Literary History of Spanish America*: it is almost inevitable that there should be. They would not be so striking did not the insertion of certain names or the pains taken to mention minor works startle our sense of proportion. No reference is made, in the chapter dealing with Colombia, to the copious works of Julio Flórez, a great lyrist, who has the singular distinction of holding aloof from both romanticism and symbolists, ignoring their quarrels or pretended innovations, always self-sufficing and always moved by a robust inspiration. Yet this omission would not be felt so keenly had the author not gone out of his way to describe (p. 296) José María Pinzón Rico as 'a poet who knew how to hit the popular taste.' Mr Coester is not flattering to the public. That popular taste was at the same time carried away by the prose of Isaacs and the exalted lyricism of Rafael Pombo.

To place the name of José Torres Caicedo, a good citizen, an able diplomatist and, incidentally, a fearless swordsman, but scarcely a writer in Spanish, between José Manuel Restrepo and Rufino José Cuervo, is a freak of judgment all the more noticeable since uncommon care must have been exercised to overlook Santiago Pérez Triana, who made valuable contributions to the literature of the New World and won repute as a writer and an orator in more than one language.

There are inexplicable omissions in the chapter on Cuba. It must suffice to mention three instances: Bobadilla the critic, the *chroniqueur*, the novelist and poet who is admitted to a place in Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Historia de la Literatura Española*:

Aunque D. Emilio Bobadilla (n. 1867) sea cubano de nación, puede ser considerado como literato español: poeta, novelista, crítico mordaz, bien conocido por el seudónimo de 'Fray Candil,' ha publicado recientemente *Viajando por España* (1912), volumen de impresiones delicadas y sagaces, expuestas con brillante intensidad;

José de Armas, a scholar who loves his themes and knows how to make them attractive; Gabriel Zéndegui who has published a volume of poems, markedly personal—a volume that reveals no common mastery of Castilian form and a refined vision of life.

Scarcely two pages are assigned to the literary movement of Bolivia, where, according to the best judges, the Spanish language survives in greater purity than in any other Spanish-American state. Franz Tamayo, the author of *Proverbios*, an excellent prose writer and an authentic thinker, might have occupied a few more pages had Mr Coester

dreamed of looking for a modified Chamfort or for a modern Gracián in the bleak solitudes of the Southern Andes. Vaca Guzmán, a novelist and a critic, and Arguedas, the author of *Pueblo enfermo*, might have offered appropriate subjects for the studies of a historian of Spanish-American literature. The list of omissions might easily be extended, but it is fair to remember that Mr Coester's space was limited.

Though the work has been prepared with some care, occasional signs of haste are not wanting. For instance, on page 168 we read: 'The latest novels to win praise are *La Gloria de Don Ramírez*, 1911, by Enrique Rodríguez Larreta, which in most excellent style, reconstructs a historical epoch of the Middle Ages in Spain; and *La Novela de Torquato Méndez* by Martín Aldéo, 1912.' The hero of Larreta's novel is not *Ramírez*, but *Ramiro*; the characters in the novel develop their activity or flaunt their indolence under Philip II, who lived some little time after the Middle Ages; and the name of the author, however it may figure in the civil register, appears on the title-page of the novel as Enrique Larreta. *Torquato* is not the right form of this name in the title of Aldáo's (not Aldéo's) novel: the Spanish equivalent is *Torcuato*. On page 264 it is recorded that 'Bolívar succeeded in uniting Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela into one republic under the name of Nueva Granada'; in this statement the names of Colombia and Nueva Granada are interchanged by mistake. The case is the stranger because ten pages further on the same fact is brought to light in a less equivocal way. On page 264 we are told that Guayaquil 'lies...directly under the equator,' and on page 273 we read of the plateau on which Bogotá is situated: 'Though directly under the equator the region enjoys a mild and agreeable climate.' More than six degrees of latitude separate Guayaquil from Bogotá and neither of the two cities is 'directly under the equator.'

But I must not dwell on these omissions and inexactitudes: omissions are inevitable when breaking new ground. Mr Coester's book is an excellent beginning. Whoever may undertake in the future the enormous and ungrateful task to which Mr Coester has so earnestly set his hand cannot ignore the existence of this useful contribution. Many points are made clear in the pages of this *Literary History of Spanish America*, the clearest, perhaps, being how the book ought not to have been planned.

B. SANÍN CANO.

LONDON.

Medieval Spanish Allegory. By CHANDLER RATHFON POST. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Volume IV.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1915. xii + 331 pp.

Within the limits he has set himself Professor Post has, on the whole, performed his task extremely well. We are full of admiration for the industry which has not shrunk before a mass of literature by

no means always interesting in itself, to say nothing of the books and articles that have gathered round the subject. And yet the volume does not deal with its theme in a manner approaching finality. Had its title been *The Origins of Medieval Spanish Allegory* this object would have been more nearly achieved. But even so the great truth that the letter killeth has not been grasped by the learned professor. In allegory, of all forms of literature, it is the spirit that giveth life, and a book of criticism that fails to grasp this fact cannot be successful.

The arrangement of the treatise is excellent, especially the idea of dividing it into two parts—one general, the other particular. But the execution is not always equal to the primary conception, and the first part is often too full of details; however, it contains some excellent definitions, and the two main *genres* which the author regards (rightly, we think) as specifically Spanish are carefully dealt with. The method followed throughout lends itself to few actual errors of fact. We are given accurate inventories—that is the only word—of all the poems, while the various points of agreement with or disagreement from the works that are or might be regarded as models are carefully ticked off. Here, indeed, there appears to be only one case in which the Professor's treatment calls for serious criticism—and that is the question of Dante's influence. This has undoubtedly been greatly exaggerated by certain writers on Spanish literature; but that is no reason for underestimating it. Our author seems to realise that Dante was too sublime and difficult a poet for any save the most gifted to imitate with success; and even the men who are here called 'the Great Masters of the Fifteenth Century'—the Marquis of Santillana and Juan de Mena—are after all only relatively 'great.' To take another point of many that suggest themselves, sufficient stress is not laid on the fact that there would probably have been no *Amorosa Visione* and no *Trionfi* had there been no *Commedia*. One has only to read the treatment of Francisco Imperial, where Dante's influence was undoubted, to realise how grudgingly this influence is admitted.

But the main fault of this book is that, save in the two *genres* above mentioned, which the writer calls the *Panegyric* and the *Erotic Hell*, and where it is again largely a matter of outward form, no attempt has been made to disentangle the national spirit and the individuality of the Spanish writers from those of their models. We fear that our author belongs to the school of critics who would deny Molière the credit of having produced a masterpiece in *Amphitryon* on the ground that he was acquainted with the works of Plautus and Rotrou on the same theme. Granted that not one of the Spanish authors concerned is the equal of Molière, yet it is unjust and uncritical to deny the best of them their share of originality and of the national genius. On one occasion the Professor speaks of the Chauvinism of critics; but surely a Frenchman is not necessarily a Chauvinist who sees traces of the *Roland* in the *Poema del Cid*, any more than is the Spaniard who maintains that the latter poem contains at the same time traces, at least equally marked, of the country that gave it birth. We

would recommend Professor Post the study of books like Leighton's Addresses delivered to students of the Royal Academy. We are reminded of this work, and especially of the sixth address dealing with Spain, not merely because the final chapter of the book under review treats of 'The Relation between Allegorical Art and Literature,' but because this chapter, in common with the rest of the study, lacks precisely those qualities in which Lord Leighton excelled, and which are essential to the satisfactory performance of a task such as this. Professor Post is amply endowed with precise learning and painstaking scholarship, and we are grateful to him for what he has achieved. What we miss is the grand manner, the wide survey, the ability to distinguish between the general and the particular, the various types of the universal and of the national, and above all, as we said at the outset, between the letter and the spirit.

H. OELSNER.

LONDON.

Shakspeare och hans tid. By HENRIK SCHÜCK. 2 vols. Stockholm: Hugo Gebers Förlag. 1916. Large 8vo. viii + 412 and 408 pp.

Any new book by the most eminent of Swedish literary critics is sure to command attention, and Professor Schück's special qualifications for dealing with Shakespeare and his time are already attested. His life of Shakespeare, published in 1883, has been characterised by Professor J. G. Robertson as 'admirable' and by Sir Sidney Lee as 'valuable.' To the present work both epithets may be applied.

In the preface to this new book Professor Schück tells us that he was prompted to write it by a desire to recant certain views set forth in his earlier work, and the wealth of new material accumulated in the intervening thirty-three years obviously lent an additional stimulus.

The author is well aware that it is no light task to write a biography of Shakespeare. It demands not only the learning of the philologist, the historian and the literary scholar, but the outlook and intuition of a poet,—qualities, which, as Professor Schück rightly remarks, are seldom united in one person. He likewise emphasises the need for honesty of judgment, by which he understands 'a natural opinion, both historically correct and uninfluenced by traditional estimates.' Nor should the laudable desire to write something new lead to eccentricity and unreliable, though perhaps brilliant, speculation.

The great merit of Professor Schück's work lies in this essentially sane and natural outlook. Again and again he ridicules those who would strive to erect some elaborate structure on a basis of airy conjecture. His book is therefore characterised by its reliableness, for which Professor Schück's wide and accurate reading is a further guarantee. Another feature of the book is the singular felicity with which æsthetic appreciation, biographical facts and bibliographical details are blended. The whole is presented in an attractive style, illuminated by an occasional flash of humour.

The first volume deals with the state of Elizabethan England and life in London, followed by a scholarly account of foreign influence on English literature in Shakespeare's time and a description of the English Renaissance. The pre-Shakespearean drama, the theatres, the conditions under which authors and actors worked, Shakespeare's youth and his early works are all duly considered. The second volume is devoted to the later works and Shakespeare's closing years.

Considerations of space make it only possible for us to touch on one or two points. With regard to the influence of the Reformation in checking the Renaissance movement, it seems to us that this may be over-emphasised. Apart from other reasons, it must be borne in mind that the same stifling of Greek by Latin studies took place in France in the course of the sixteenth century. In *Hamlet*, Professor Schück sees the hesitating philosopher, who is revealed in the soliloquies. He contends that in the rest of the play Shakespeare was fettered by the plot of the older *Hamlet*, and hence he regards as unhistorical any criticism which bases a view of Hamlet's character on this derived plot. In Professor Schück's account of Ophelia, scant justice is done to her poetic figure in the later scenes of the play. In the chapter on the Sonnets, Professor Schück's aversion to fantastic theories is particularly evident and he arrives on the whole at the same conclusions as Sir Sidney Lee, to whose investigations he repeatedly pays tribute. The criticism of *Richard III* is refreshing and instructive, whilst the analyses of *As You Like It*, *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* are entirely admirable. In his account of *Macbeth*, Professor Schück conveys with singular skill the intense horror and weirdness of the play. But the book contains so many excellent and suggestive points, that it is invidious to pick and choose.

In covering such an immense field, Professor Schück has thought it best to omit a detailed bibliography, though some guide, at least to the interaction of foreign and English literature, of which Professor Schück has so elaborate a knowledge, would have been acceptable.

We have however no hesitation in classing this work amongst the most important foreign biographies of Shakespeare and the most stimulating contributions called forth by the Shakespeare tercentenary.

HERBERT WRIGHT.

BANGOR.

MINOR NOTICES.

In his paper, *Shakespeare's Pastorals* (reprinted from *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XIII, no. 2), Mr Edwin Greenlaw expresses the view that the pastoral element in Shakespeare's plays has been underrated, and endeavours to rectify the error by an elaborate investigation of the possible debts owed by *As You Like It*, *Cymbeline*, and the *Winter's Tale* to earlier pastoral works. The dispute is a good deal a matter of terms, since Shakespeare's debts to recognized pastoral romances has

always been acknowledged; while, if by pastoral element we mean the reproduction of the distinctive atmosphere in virtue of which we recognize these works as pastoral, it is as good as non-existent in Shakespeare's plays outside *As You Like It*. However, Mr Greenlaw has a good deal that is new and interesting to say regarding the sources of that piece: his treatment of *Cymbeline* is much less convincing. The section which attempts to bring Shakespeare's alleged pastoralism into relation to Renaissance thought in general was perhaps hardly worth while.

W. W. G.

On one of the pages of *Tennyson's Use of the Bible* (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1917), the author, Miss E. M. Robinson, mentions the name of Henry Van Dyke, yet, as far as I can discover, she makes no reference to that author's valuable work on Tennyson, one Chapter in which bears the title, 'The Bible in Tennyson.' To this Chapter or Essay of 34 pages is appended a list of biblical quotations or allusions. Both Essay and Appendix are admirable, and I cannot honestly say that the treatise now under consideration shows such an advance on its predecessor as to justify its existence.

Apart from this, the author's main contention, that the successive changes made by Tennyson in his dealings with the Bible are strictly artistic, is repeatedly abandoned for the more plausible and well recognized theory that these changes were mostly due to the poet's varying religious convictions; that is to say, the less he was disposed to believe his Bible, the more he idealised its material.

Nor, as I think, is the writer more fortunate in her attempt to discriminate between Shakespeare and Tennyson in regard to their use of the Bible. Like the devil, each poet could cite Scripture for his purpose, and this purpose was, primarily, artistic; but each at times (and the one about as often as the other) allowed an ethical impulse to modify or supersede the artistic. Nor is Shakespeare more definite in his Scriptural allusions than Tennyson. The real distinction between the two poets is this, that while Tennyson's attitude towards the Bible varied considerably from time to time, Shakespeare's attitude was less variable. Nevertheless, the long mental experience of each poet bore its fruit of wisdom, and added a more serious element to his later work.

As to details, I note that 'Tennyson intensified Scriptural expressions by...more vivid colouring. Jacob's ladder reached to heaven, but Tennyson hangs it upon a single star. (*By an Evolutionist, Old Age*, 2; *Genesis* xxviii. 12.)' On another page the writer, under this head of *Genesis* xxviii. 12, refers only to the poem just cited, and is evidently unaware of the following incomparable image (*Early Spring*):

Opens a door in Heaven;
From skies of glass
A Jacob's ladder falls
On greening grass,
And o'er the mountain walls
Young angels pass.

M. L.

HAMLET'S HALLUCINATION¹.

SOMEBODY has doubtless written a comprehensive study of the supernatural in Shakespeare, but I must confess that I do not know the work. I regret this, since I should like an authoritative statement of what Shakespeare thought about ghosts. I feel that if one wishes to discuss an author's treatment of any particular matter, one should take into consideration his general attitude towards the subject, or what I may call his habitual manner of approach. Consequently, having in mind certain questions relating to the ghost of Hamlet's father, I should like to be told what Shakespeare's views were of ghosts in general. Failing this I am forced to turn to Shakespeare's other plays for suggestions as to how he represented these phenomena. Did he offer them to his audience in all naïveté? or are they to be taken as having their existence merely in the brains of their beholders? Or does Shakespeare here again elude us and escape committal?

Besides *Hamlet*, three plays of Shakespeare's are usually quoted as affording ghosts: *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, and *Julius Caesar*. The first of these offers no difficulty. The eleven ghosts who, appearing between the sleeping armies, address the rival claimants on Bosworth Field (v, iii. 118), are admittedly but dream phantoms, and neither Richard nor Richmond supposes them to be anything else. They have in fact no greater objective validity than, let us say, the six spirits who dance round the dying Katharine in *Henry VIII* (iv, ii. 82), nor am I aware that any weight of critical opinion has ever pretended the contrary.

The ghost of Banquo at the feast in *Macbeth* (III, iv. 40, 92) has roused more debate. Yet, though it has been freely questioned whether

¹ This essay was originally drafted some years ago and laid aside as unsatisfactory. As there appeared to be no immediate prospect of refashioning it, I published a brief statement of the problem in *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* in 1916. An enforced holiday of convalescence has since afforded an opportunity for attempting a more complete exposition. In this venture I have enjoyed the sceptical criticism of several friends. Of these none has been more acute or more helpful than Mr A. W. Pollard, who must in a manner, I feel, stand sponsor to a changeling he by no means approves.

the ghost should be represented upon the stage or not, the suggestion that it is anything but the creation of Macbeth's conscience has never found much favour with English critics. And rightly so. It is visible to Macbeth alone. It is conjured up each time by Macbeth's own reference to Banquo's absence. It vanishes whenever Macbeth braces himself to defy it. Macbeth himself treats it as an illusion when, at the end of the scene, he says: 'My strange and self-abuse Is the initiate fear that wants hard use.' It is impossible to regard this ghost of Banquo as any more objective than the dagger which haunted Macbeth on a previous occasion¹.

The appearance of Caesar's ghost to Brutus has been less discussed, and I suppose that most critics have accepted it as genuine. Yet this view is hardly forced upon us, or indeed borne out, by an examination of the scene in question (IV, iii. 274). True, we have not here to do with an avowed dream as in *Richard III*, and Caesar's ghost, unlike Banquo's, speaks. But it is Brutus alone who sees or hears it. The only other persons present, Lucius, Varro, Claudius, are asleep. And Brutus? He is supposed to be watching, but the song, over which the boy dozed, was soporific to him likewise: 'This is a sleepy time,' he declared. He tries to read, but his drowsy brain wanders vaguely in search of the place. Nodding over the page he complains of the dim light. The ghost appears, and his address to it is perfectly coherent; but all the ghost has to say to him is that it will appear again at Philippi². The dialogue proceeds:

Brutus. Well; then I shall see thee again?

Ghost. Ay, at Philippi.

Brutus. Why, I will see thee at Philippi, then.

Do not these dazed replies, coming after the previous speech, suggest a

¹ The fullest and most cogent analysis of Macbeth's hallucination is that worked out by Bucknill (*The Mad Folk of Shakespeare*, 1867, p. 27, *apud* Furness' Variorum, *Macbeth*, 1873, p. 171). The external evidence is well summed up by A. C. Bradley (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1904, p. 492). He concludes: 'On the whole, and with some doubt, I think that Shakespeare (1) meant the judicious to take the Ghost for an hallucination, but (2) knew that the bulk of his audience would take it for a reality. And I am more sure of (2) than of (1).' But he can hardly have had any doubt when he wrote: 'The deed [Banquo's murder] is done: but, instead of peace descending on him [Macbeth], from the depth of his nature his half-murdered conscience rises; his deed confronts him in the apparition of Banquo's Ghost, and the horror of the night of his first murder returns' (p. 361). That the ghost was, and should be, represented on the stage is certain. But that is no criterion. As Professor Wilson says: 'Shakespeare and his audience had no difficulty... about the bodily representation of Thoughts—the inward by the outward' (*Macbeth*, ed. H. Cunningham, 1912, p. xliv). As regards the other apparitions in *Macbeth*, I think it will be admitted that they are not *in pari materia*; moreover it is very doubtful whether they are Shakespeare's.

² Bradley (*ut supra*, p. 493) remarks that 'Caesar's Ghost says nothing that Brutus' own forebodings might not have conjured up.'

mind just struggling out of dreams? Brutus now pulls himself together—and the ghost vanishes (just as Banquo's vanished on Macbeth's defying it):

Now I have taken heart thou vanishest.
Ill spirit, I would hold more talk with thee.

Then still half dazed, and wondering whether the vision were real or fancy, he rouses his companions, accuses them of disturbing him with their cries, questions them as to whether they have seen anything. Upon their denial he sets about giving orders as though the night were over and the business of a new day begun. Clearly, he is merely awaking from a bad dream. This is at Sardis. The ghost appears to him again at Philippi (*see* v, v. 19), but we are not allowed to see it. Unquestionably Brutus took the ghost for real (*see* v, v. 50), but that is not to the purpose. Shakespeare did not.

Leaving *Hamlet* out of consideration, therefore, Shakespeare's attitude towards ghosts may be described as frankly sceptical. That is to say, those he represents in his plays are either confessedly the illusions of sleep or distemper, or may be readily explained as such¹. This is an important fact, but it is one, the relevance of which must not be unduly pressed. There is no reason why, however sceptical he may have shown himself elsewhere, Shakespeare should not have introduced a genuine objective ghost as a fundamental element in the plot of *Hamlet*. But his practice elsewhere does justify a very close inquiry whether he *has* done so, and, if he has, whether he has shown himself conscious of a departure from his habitual attitude.

Belief in the genuineness and objectivity of the Ghost in *Hamlet* has been almost universal. It is the natural view, based on the obvious and naïve interpretation of the text. Any other view supposes a considerable amount of subtlety on the part of the author in hinting that statements, and even apparent action, are not to be taken at their face value; a kind of subtlety which may, indeed, possess high dramatic value, but

¹ Whence we may infer his *intention*, whatever may have been his *expectation* of the interpretation that would generally be placed upon them. Against the view advanced above I may quote a recent opinion of W. Creizenach: 'It cannot be correct to attribute a belief in spirits to the poet who speaks of "the undiscover'd country from whose bourne No traveller returns."' But it is equally certain that the ghostly apparitions in *Richard III*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Macbeth* are not meant merely to be subjective visions conjured up by a heated imagination, as some critics opine; they are genuine and authentic ghosts, of the same race as the ghost in *Hamlet*' (*The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare*, 1916, p. 114). These two assertions appear to me equally ill founded. But I do not think that the view is representative of modern criticism, and it is pretty clear that in Creizenach's case, as possibly in others, it is mainly the evidence of *Hamlet* that induces a belief in the reality of the ghosts in the other plays. That they are, in fact, 'of the same race as the ghost in *Hamlet*' is the thesis of the present essay.

is not of a kind commonly credited to Shakespeare, and certainly not to be presumed without cogent reasons.

Now the claim of the naïve view to be obviously correct is based, it seems to me, upon two considerations : the elaborate external evidence for the reality of the Ghost, and the fact that the Ghost reveals to *Hamlet* true information which he could not otherwise have acquired. But observe that these two arguments are not of equal importance. For should the second, upon examination, break down (through the information proving false), its collapse would leave the orthodox view a chaotic mass of ruins ; whereas, so long as it holds, it is of itself ample to support the conclusion, no matter how weak the other may prove to be. We may as well, therefore, consider the more important point first.

Familiar as is the action of the play, its outline has been so blurred by comment that I will venture to state baldly the main points relevant to our discussion as they appear to the naïve view. Hamlet the elder, King of Denmark, has died suddenly, and his widow, with somewhat unseemly haste, has remarried with his brother Claudius. Whether by right of some relic of matriarchal custom, or merely by that of the strong man on the spot, Claudius has assumed the style and function of king, to the exclusion of his nephew, prince Hamlet the younger. The latter, shocked rather at the scant respect shown to the memory of his father than resentful at the ignoring of his own claims, has lately returned to the palace, a moody and discontented courtier. To him word is brought that the ghost of his father has been seen walking the battlements at Elsinore. He at once seeks an encounter with the Ghost, who reveals to him the secret of his death. This, it seems, was not due to accident, as had been made to appear, but was the deed of his own brother Claudius, who, while he slumbered in his orchard, poured poison into his ears. The murderer had previously, we are told, seduced to his will the royal consort whom he afterwards married. Armed with this knowledge, Hamlet turns his thoughts to revenge, and keeps watch upon his uncle. But he desires confirmation of the Ghost's story ; the king shall be led, if possible, to betray his own guilt. With this object Hamlet arranges a play—the 'Mouse-Trap,' as he facetiously calls it. He will have the actors play 'something like' the murder of his father. In fact he has them play a minutely accurate representation of the whole story as told by the Ghost. The player king and queen—Gonzago and Baptista—appear in a garden, where the latter, after passionately protesting her love and faith, leaves her lord asleep upon a bank of flowers. To him enters a man—his nephew Lucius—who by his actions clearly manifests

his desire to possess the kingly crown. He pours poison into the ears of the sleeping king, and departs, only to re-appear shortly, make lament, woo and finally win the love of the queen, and of course thereby secure the object of his ambition. This we know to have been the plot of the play. But the action does not reach its conclusion, for, when Claudius sees his own deed of murder reproduced in its minutest details, not only before his own eyes but before those of the assembled court, his nerve gives way, he rises, and rushes, terror and conscience stricken, from the hall.

Such is the orthodox, and the obvious, interpretation of the action; it remains to see whether, upon a closer examination, it agrees with the data afforded by the text of the play itself.

There is a curious feature of the action which exponents of *Hamlet* commonly ignore, and the purpose of which has never been discovered. If we turn to the text we shall find that the regular performance of the *Murder of Gonzago*¹, the piece acted by the players, is preceded by a dumb-show. The direction runs as follows :

Enter a King and Queene, very louingly; the Queene embracing him. She kneeles, and makes shew of Protestation vnto him. He takes her vp, and declines his head vpon her neck. Lays him downe vpon a Banke of Flowers. She seeing him a-sleepe, leaues him. Anon comes in a Fellow, takes off his Crowne, kisses it, and powres poyson in the Kings eares, and Exits. The Queene returnes, findes the King dead, and makes passionate Action. The Poysoner, with some two or three Mutes comes in againe, seeming to lament with her. The dead body is carried away: The Poysoner Wooes the Queene with Gifts, she seemes loath and vnwilling awhile, but in the end, accepts his loue².

The full significance of this dumb-show has never been appreciated. Here and there a critic has dimly apprehended what it involved, but the vast majority have passed by with obstinate blindness. Yet the difficulty it raises is obvious enough. The King, we have seen, when he beholds his secret crime reproduced before the assembled court, loses his nerve, and retires in evident agitation. How comes it then that he sat unmoved through the representation of the same action in equal detail in the dumb-show? It is impossible that, seeing that show, he could fail to understand that his secret was betrayed. Crown, poison, queen,

¹ The play may possibly have an historical foundation. 'In 1538 the Duke of Urbino, married to a Gonzaga, was murdered by Luigi Gonzaga, who dropped poison into his ear' (*Hamlet*, ed. Dowden, 1899, p. 122).

² So the direction stands in the Folio (1623). As a rule I quote from the Cambridge text, but in the present instance that represents an uncritical hybrid between the folio and quarto versions. Quarto 2 (1604) presents certain verbal differences, which, however, are not material. In Quarto 1 (1603) the direction is much shorter and verbally quite different, but represents the same action. It is, indeed, a spectator's condensed account, whereas the longer version preserves the actors' directions. In the *Bestrafte Brudermord*, where the play appears in dumb-show only, the action is again substantially the same, though it breaks off, of course, at the poisoning.

these might conceivably be coincidences; not so the almost unique method by which the poison is administered. That is conclusive. If the king could sit unmoved through the representation in pantomime of these events there is no imaginable reason why they should move him when acted with words. For the language of the play adds nothing to the pointedness of the allusion: the side glances at the Danish court are all aimed at the marriage of the queen, not at the crime of the usurper. The actual speech of the murderer, which is interrupted by the King's rising, is mere bombast that could not possibly discompose the tenderest criminal. The only explanation, upon the usual view, of the king's outburst is the fact *and manner* of the poisoning, and these are just as clearly represented in the show. Thus to assume that it is the representation of his own crime that breaks down the King's reserve is to involve the plot in a hopeless contradiction. On the orthodox theory the dramatic logic of the scene goes utterly to pieces¹.

There are several things to be observed about this dumb-show. To begin with, there is no getting rid of it. Not only is the textual tradition unassailable, but the show is actually the subject of comment by Ophelia and Hamlet, a fact that proves it to be no mere oversight, no intrusion accidentally foisted into the text, but an integral, and presumably rational, part of the scene in which it occurs. And there is a further and exceedingly important point to be noticed. The dumb-show is not, as one might be tempted to suppose, a fossilized relic of the original *Hamlet*. It is indeed, very possible that, in the pre-Shakespearian piece, the player's play was represented in dumb-show only, as it is in the *Bestrafte Brudermord*². But of one thing we can be absolutely certain: if the play was shown in pantomime only it broke off with the poisoning. The

¹ So far as I am aware, the only critic who clearly recognized the difficulty involved in the dumb-show was Pye, who remarked that it 'appears to contain every circumstance of the murder of Hamlet's father. There is no apparent reason why the Usurper should not be as much affected by this mute representation of his crimes as he is afterwards when the same action is accompanied by words. The subsequent conversation between Hamlet and Ophelia precludes the possibility of its having been a kind of direction to the players only' (*Comments on the Commentators*, 1807, *apud* Furness' Variorum, *Hamlet*, i, 241). But he did not pursue the matter.

I must here mention a theory (dubbed by a friend the 'second tooth' theory) which would explain, not, indeed, the presence of the dumb-show, but at least the behaviour of the King, by supposing that the latter's nerves were able to stand the shock of the first representation of his crime, but were unable to endure a repetition of it. Now this *may* be psychologically sound—I should not like to say—but it is dramatically inadmissible. Shakespeare *might* have represented the scene in accordance with this theory, but in fact he has not done so. We are bound to explain the action of characters through analysis of the text; we are not at liberty to invent motives in the abstract. And the text clearly shows that the King, though disquieted by the play as it proceeds, does not recognize in the dumb-show a representation of his own act (see below, p. 405).

² The early German play, based on some version acted by the English companies touring in Germany.

fact that in both versions¹ of the play, as we have it, the action is carried beyond this point, proves conclusively that the extant dumb-show is not the survival of an original pantomime play. It follows that the dumb-show was actually designed for its present position, and was intentionally made to anticipate the representation of the spoken play. And no theory of *Hamlet* is tolerable that does not face this fact and offer a rational explanation of it.

Critics have vaguely tried to explain the presence of the dumb-show by dwelling on the frequency with which such machinery was used in the Elizabethan drama, especially of the earlier period, and by representing Shakespeare as here in a manner bowing to a fashionable custom. Some more judicious, however, have realized that this is not the case, and that the dumb-show in *Hamlet*, far from being a concession to conventionality, is in its nature unique in the English drama². That the dumb-show was a favourite device of the sixteenth-century drama is true, and it took many forms and was put to many uses. But the mere duplication of the action of the play was not among these forms, and in the present instance it is put to no use that the ingenuity of critics has been able to discover. We cannot take seriously the suggestion that Shakespeare was in this peculiarity reproducing an actual custom of the Danish or German stage³. One or two commentators have wondered why Hamlet should have risked the success of his play by anticipating the action in the dumb-show. It has been suggested that, in order to avoid the possibility of failure through an accidental wandering of the King's attention, Hamlet presented the situation twice over, and that there should be a direction to the effect that during the dumb-show the King and Queen are absorbed in close conversation and pay no attention to the stage. The explanation is, indeed, a lame one, but such as it is it has had to serve, for no other has been forthcoming⁴.

¹ That is Quarto 1 (1603), probably representing a surreptitious text of the acting version of the play as originally re-written by Shakespeare, and the version contained in Quarto 2 (1604) and, with certain variations, in Folio 1 (1623), representing the authoritative text of a later revision.

² I need only cite Creizenach, whose wide range of observation renders his judgement particularly valuable. 'The most famous of all these pantomimic representations,' he writes, 'is that at the beginning of the play inset in *Hamlet*. This occupies a place apart, in that it is neither an essential part of the action, nor an allegorical presentment of what is to follow, but simply a silent performance of the same scenes which are afterwards acted over again with words' (Creizenach, *ut supra*, p. 390). So too Dowden notes that 'Shakespeare's use of it here is singular' (*Hamlet*, p. 116). 'See also Hunter's remarks (*apud* Furness, *Hamlet*, i, 242). It should be observed that we must not assume that the dumb-show represents the whole play. It may represent one act only. The play presumably included revenge as well as crime.

³ See Furness, *Hamlet*, i, 242; Creizenach, *ut supra*, p. 390.

⁴ See Caldecott and Halliwell (*apud* Furness' Variorum, *Hamlet*, i, 242). The commentators have made their usual mistake of criticizing drama as history. They have

We are now in a position to appreciate the extraordinary nature of this intrusive dumb-show. It is an integral and intentional factor of the scene, deliberately designed for the position it now occupies. It is unique in type, unparalleled by anything to be found elsewhere in the Elizabethan drama. It serves no discovered purpose of the plot. And, on the accepted interpretation of the action, it not merely threatens the logical structure of one of the most crucial scenes of the play, but reduces it to meaningless confusion. How are we to account for its presence? Is it true that Shakespeare sometimes does queer things, dramatically. He can be thoughtless and unobservant to a surprising extent; he can be culpably lazy and careless as regards both composition and construction; he can be awkward, unexpected, perverse even. But there can here be no question of laziness or want of thought—the whole difficulty arises through the elaborately calculated insertion of a superfluous piece of business—while as to perversity, we are surely asked to believe something beyond the bounds of ordinary probability. If logic means anything in dramatic construction the orthodox interpretation stands self-refuted and must go. We have to choose between giving up Shakespeare as a rational playwright, and giving up our inherited beliefs regarding the story of *Hamlet*.

And, if only we will look at the matter with our minds freed from certain prepossessions, we shall soon, I think, perceive a possible line of advance. Since there appears to be a contradiction between the dumb-show and the subsequent conduct of the King, and since the former is a hard fact which cannot be explained away, it is worth while to consider whether our view of the latter may not be at fault.

Let us for the moment suppose (what I hope later to show is the case) that the King's action in breaking up the court has nothing directly to do with either the plot or the words of the play. The gross contradiction we have been considering will then be removed, and, although we shall be no nearer explaining the motive for the dumb-show, the scene should be at least logically coherent. On examination, however, we shall find that we have only removed a glaring absurdity to be faced with a more subtle obstacle. We are bound to believe that, as soon as the dumb-show has been performed, the King is aware that the story of his crime down to its minutest details is known, and known to Hamlet.

inquired why Hamlet behaved in a ridiculous way, when the question they should have asked was why Shakespeare did—or whether he did. In spite of his many acute observations this tendency is particularly prominent in the work of A. C. Bradley. For instance he is seriously exercised by the question: 'Why has the Ghost waited nearly a month since the marriage before showing itself?' (*ut supra*, p. 401).

There can be no possible doubt on that head. But how does his subsequent behaviour (even upon our revised hypothesis, and basing ourselves solely upon the actual text of the play) square with this fundamental assumption? The answer is that it does not square at all. The King, it will be observed, gives not the smallest sign of disturbance during or after the all-important dumb-show, and yet when the play comes to be acted his uneasiness quickly makes itself apparent. Moreover, thus perplexed and harassed, he turns for reassurance, with a simplicity and confidence that is really pathetic, to Hamlet of all people¹! I propose to develop this point further in a moment; but any unprejudiced reading of the text will, I think, make it at once apparent that the only hypothesis consistent with the King's behaviour is that in the dumb-show he actually fails to recognize the representation of his own crime. This, however, on the ordinary assumptions, is impossible. The manner in which the poison is administered makes even the shadow of a doubt absurd. There is but one rational conclusion: *Claudius did not murder his brother by pouring poison into his ears.*

This inference appears to be as certain as anything in criticism can be. But a far more important inference follows immediately, and as certainly, from it. If the facts of King Hamlet's death were not as represented in the players' play, then the Ghost was no honest ghost, but a liar. In other words, *the Ghost's story was not a revelation, but a mere figment of Hamlet's brain.*

Such a suggestion, though not altogether novel², will naturally provoke protest even from those who feel the difficulty of the dumb-show. Objections must at once occur to the reader, the weight of which

¹ It has been suggested to me that the King in his comments on the play purposely fixes on the allusions to the Queen, passing over the subject of the murder, and purposely appeals to Hamlet, in order to allay the latter's suspicions. But certain considerations appear fatal to this view: namely, (1) that in such a case we ought to be given some hint that the King is acting a part, (2) that it is far too subtle a line for Claudius to take, and (3) that he can have no hope of allaying Hamlet's suspicions, since he cannot possibly know that they are suspicions merely, and that he is being put to the test, but must necessarily suppose on Hamlet's part definite and absolute knowledge of the facts.

² So far as I am aware only one critic has elaborated the hallucinatory hypothesis. This is Heinrich von Struve, who wrote (*Hamlet, Eine Charakterstudie*, 1876, p. 52, apud Furness, *Hamlet*, ii, 391): 'How are we to regard the Ghost? It is self-evident that it can be regarded in no other light than as an hallucination.' But he did not really meet the difficulties of the position. Apparently he accepted the Ghost's story as true, and supposed that Hamlet subconsciously pieced it together out of current gossip. 'Hamlet's talk with his father,' he continues, 'is a mere soliloquy. If it were necessary, this could be proved down to the smallest particular, for everything that Hamlet's father says corresponds to a hair with the known traits of Hamlet's character; it contains nothing individual, nothing novel, nothing peculiar to a character of a different mould, but everything bears the stamp of Hamlet's inmost nature,—it is the mere reflection of himself.' But the writer makes no attempt to demonstrate this in detail, nor does he face the coincidence of the *Murder of Gonzago*.

I do not seek to deny. They are, I think, in the main two : (1) that we know from the earlier scenes that the Ghost is an objective reality and no mere hallucination ; and (2) that, as a fact, the King, whatever his behaviour during the dumb-show, does break down ' upon the talk of the poisoning.' The first of these is our old friend, the external evidence for the reality of the Ghost, the consideration of which still awaits us. Meanwhile we will complete our investigation of the ' Mouse-Trap ' by attending to the second objection. For if we are to re-establish the play-scene upon a new and logical basis, it behoves us to show that it can be rationally interpreted throughout on the assumptions which consideration of one point in it have forced upon us, and in particular it will be necessary for us to offer a satisfactory explanation of the King's behaviour. I believe not only that this is perfectly possible, but that a careful examination of the whole scene will tend to confirm the conclusion at which we have arrived.

To begin with, let us consider the inserted play, chosen by Hamlet as being ' something like the murder of my father.' We have already observed that this is hardly an adequate description of the *Murder of Gonzago* as actually performed : it is, indeed, a minutely applicable representation of the affairs of the Danish court, and of the alleged murder of the late King. The strangeness of this coincidence has been hidden from critics by a vague idea that Hamlet had considerably altered the play in order to make it serve his purpose. But for this belief there is no warrant. We know that, to bring home the situation, Hamlet proposed to insert in the play an original ' speech of some dozen or sixteen lines ' : he says nothing to justify our supposing that he intended to, or in fact did, in any way interfere with the action. It is one ' speech ' which he asks the players to study. Later on he bids them ' Speak the speech...trippingly on the tongue.' When he talks with Horatio just before the play, it is still ' one speech ' in which he expects the King to betray himself. Now commentators have never been able to agree as to where this speech of Hamlet's is to be found¹, and it seems probable

¹ For the interminable discussion on the ' dozen or sixteen lines,' see Furness, *Hamlet*, i, 247, &c. There are of course not a few lines which seem written to suit the actual circumstances ; for instance the queen's exclamation :

In second husband let me be accurst !

None wed the second but who kill'd the first.

But there is no one speech so satisfying the necessary requirements as to enable us to say : ' This must be Hamlet's insertion. Sievers in 1851 was the first to suggest the poisoner's speech at the point at which the King's guilt appears to unkenel itself. This is the obvious view and has found sturdy supporters, Bradley, among others, accepting it as self-evident (*ut supra*, pp. 96, 133). Nevertheless it is inadmissible, for that speech is clearly an integral part of the play, and does not particularly point at Claudius. On the other hand the Cowden Clarkes maintained that the speech of the player king (iii, ii. 198-223)

that all Shakespeare wished to do was to prepare his audience for the striking relevance of the *language* of the play to the known circumstances of the Danish court, noticeably to the marriage of the Queen. There is no allusion to the hidden matter of the King's guilt. The only relevance here is in the *action*, and of this, startling as it is, Shakespeare gives us no hint beforehand. Indeed, he has rather gone out of his way to imply, by laying stress on the language, that the action has been left undisturbed. We are bound, on the evidence to assume that the plot of the play is untouched, and that the words alone have been altered.

But, this being so, it must strike the reader that, if Claudius really poisoned his brother in the manner described by the Ghost, it is unbelievable that the players should chance to have in stock a play, which not only reproduced so closely the general situation¹, but in which the murderer adopted just this exceptional method by which to dispatch his victim. A dramatist is, no doubt, entitled to draw in some measure upon coincidence, but to draw to this extent for a mere piece of theatrical machinery, which could quite easily have been otherwise supplied, is to make impossible demands upon the credulity of his audience. Once again the orthodox interpretation of the play breaks down lamentably, and can only hope to escape ridicule itself by shifting it on to the shoulders of the author whose work it pretends to explain. I hasten to add that any theory which would supersede the orthodox view is equally bound to supply a reasonable explanation of the problem. But we are not yet quite in a position to discuss the point.

Now for the performance of the play. The court is assembled, the King and Queen take their places, the players are ready for their parts. Earlier in the scene Hamlet has been his own self, calm and collected; his humorous and pregnant discourse to the players, his noble and manly words to Horatio, show him at his best. But with the concurrence of

was the one criticism was in search of. These meditative lines might well be an insertion (they do not appear in Quarto 1) but they are wholly irrelevant to Hamlet's purpose. Furness' own summing up is worth quoting: 'It is to task the credulity of an audience too severely to represent the possibility of Hamlet's finding an old play exactly fitted to Claudius's crime, not only in the plot, but in all the accessories, even to a single speech which should tint the criminal to the quick. In order, therefore, to give an air of probability to what everyone would feel to be thus highly improbable, Shakespeare represents Hamlet as adapting an old play to his present needs by inserting some pointed lines. Not that such lines were actually inserted, but, mindful of this proposal of Hamlet's, the spectator is prepared to listen to a play which is to unkenel the King's occulted guilt in a certain speech; the verisimilitude of all the circumstances is thus maintained.' All of which is true as regards the language of the play, but not as regards the action.

¹ Down to so minute a particular as that the murderer seduced the Queen with gifts, see I, v. 44.

many people he begins to grow excited, and, as always, tries to hide the turmoil of his mind behind a mask of strange behaviour¹. He fences with the King, jeers at Polonius, strains Ophelia's modesty, spits venom at the Queen. Then the dumb-show enters. Was Hamlet expecting it? We cannot be certain whether he had ever seen the play acted before. Presumably he had, but if so it may have been by some other company, since he asked the Wittenberg players whether they could perform it. His comment on the show affords no indication that it was part of his plan. 'What means this, my lord?' asks Ophelia. 'Marry,' returns Hamlet, 'this is miching mallecho; it means mischief.' The reply is intentionally cryptic: if anything it suggests that the show was a surprise.

Now if the dumb-show was unexpected on Hamlet's part, it must have been singularly unwelcome. The plot has been prematurely divulged, and the King has shown no symptom of alarm. Is the trap going to prove a failure after all? Of course, Hamlet ought to begin to suspect that the Ghost was, indeed, no messenger of truth; but his growing excitement and the shock of the unexpected turn of events have put his critical purpose from his mind; his attention is bent on tripping the King, he forgets the object with which he desires to trip him. At first Hamlet hardly counted on any public outbreak—such as actually occurs—'if he but blench, I know my course.' But will he even achieve this much? If the King is really endowed with such iron nerves as to watch unmoved the dumb-show, will he not be equally able to sit and smile on the play, and betray no sign of guilt? Or, if Hamlet still counts on the efficacy of his 'speech,' there is another danger. Will that speech ever be spoken? Warned by the unfortunate dumb-show, will not the King make some excuse for stopping the performance? He knows not what public exposure may be in store. However firm his nerves, can he afford to run the risk? To Hamlet the doubt and suspense must be torture. He now assumes the King's guilt, and sets himself to ensure that the play itself shall not fail as the dumb-show failed. Moreover, it is no longer some slight tremor that Hamlet looks for—he is now playing for a full and open betrayal. If only he can break down the King's defences, if only he can frighten him sufficiently, he *must* give himself away by some manifest and public act. This change in Hamlet's intention is, of course, not the work of a moment, but takes place gradually and subconsciously, as his excitement grows with the progress of the play. Small wonder that under the suspense it rises to

¹ Concerning this assumed 'antic disposition' of Hamlet's see below, p. 417.

a dangerous pitch. His brain whirls and strikes sparks from any thought that crosses it. Ophelia can only wonder at his strange mood. 'You are merry...you are naught.' And again, 'You are keen, my lord, you are keen.' Hamlet caps it. 'Still better, and worse!' The prologue is spoken, brief indeed—as a posy, says ^{Ophelia} ~~Ophelia~~ Hamlet. 'As woman's love,' snaps Hamlet, his mind on the Queen.

The play begins. It is strange stuff, with its childish crudity and directness, strange in its passionate rhetoric, strangest of all in its harping on the idea of remarriage. It is such a play as Hamlet might have dreamed. The protests of the lady are certainly too much: they are extravagant, irrational. The effect on the audience may be imagined. Whatever else the performance may be, it is a coarse insult to the Queen—gross, open, palpable. And Hamlet's question: 'Madam, how like you the play?' is a slap in the face before the whole court. The King is naturally disturbed. It is impossible to feign blindness. Can it be mere coincidence? For assurance he turns to Hamlet. To Hamlet! whom, on the usual assumptions, he must by this time know for his deadly enemy. How far is this unseemly matter to be pursued? 'Have you heard the argument? *Is there no offence in't?*' No offence in the public representation of his own crime¹! Were there still room for doubt in Hamlet's mind, this remark of the King's ought surely to shake his confidence in the Ghost. But he is now too excited to notice anything. 'No, no,' he replies eagerly, 'they do but jest, poison in jest; no offence i' the world.' Of course, as the context shows, it was of the Queen, not of the poison, that the King was thinking. 'What do you call the play?' 'The Mouse-trap. Marry, how? Tropically.' Hamlet seems bent on warning his antagonist. After all he must be sufficiently on his guard already. Hamlet's only chance is actually to frighten him into self-betrayal. His original purpose is long forgotten. In his excitement he lashes out all round: he insults Ophelia, outrages the Queen, jibes at the King and taunts him before the assembled court. In fine, he behaves like a madman; there is no telling what he may say or do next. When the poisoner appears he can hardly contain himself. Delay is torture. 'Begin, murderer; pox, leave thy damnable faces, and begin. Come: the croaking raven doth bellow for revenge².' He shouts the words across the hall at the actor on the stage. Revenge! There is no

¹ This, to my mind, emphatically disposes of the 'second tooth' theory.

² In this absurd exclamation, which Collier divined to be a quotation, Hamlet rolls into one two lines from the *True Tragedy of Richard III*:

The screeking raven sits croaking for revenge,

Whole herds of beasts comes bellowing for revenge.

The source was pointed out by Simpson in 1874 (see Furness, *Hamlet*, i, 257).

question of revenge in the play; as yet there is nothing to revenge¹. But it is not of the play that Hamlet is thinking. The word must fall ominously on the ears of the assembled courtiers, who behold the dispossessed heir first insult the Queen, and now covertly threaten the usurper. We can see them exchange looks². But Hamlet heeds them not. His excitement rises to an agony of suspense as the critical moment—to his thinking—approaches. The poisoner speaks:

Thoughts black, hands apt, drugs fit, and time agreeing;
Confederate season, else no creature seeing;
Thou mixture rank, of midnight weeds collected,
With Hecate's ban thrice blasted, thrice infected,
Thy natural magic and dire property,
On wholesome life usurp immediately.

It would be difficult to imagine more stilted commonplace, a speech less calculated to unnerve a guilty spectator. But for Hamlet the supreme moment, so long anxiously expected, has arrived. The murderer empties his poison into the sleeper's ears, and—the King rises? Not a bit of it. Hamlet is unable to restrain himself any longer; he breaks out, hurling the crude facts of the story in the King's face, shouting, gesticulating, past reason and control³. It seems as though the next moment he must spring at his throat. Naturally the court breaks up, the King rises, calls for lights, and retires to his private apartments, convinced—not that his guilt has been discovered, but that Hamlet is a dangerous madman, who has designs on his life, and must, at all costs, be got quietly out of the country, and, if possible, out of the world. It is true that his conscience is touched, and that in the next scene we see its final wriggles; but, though he knows the danger he runs from Hamlet's hatred⁴, and though

¹ Dyce saw this point, and did his best for the orthodox interpretation in his note: 'Hamlet seems to mean: "Begin without delay; for the raven, prescient of the deed, is already croaking, and, as it were, calling for the revenge which must ensue"' (see Furness, *Hamlet*, i, 257). A well-intentioned effort worthy of Humpty-Dumpty.

² Bradley had a glimmering of the truth when he wrote that Hamlet's 'choice of the *Murder of Gonzago*, and perhaps *his conduct during the performance*, have shown a spirit of exaggerated hostility against the King which has excited general alarm' (*ut supra*, p. 136).

³ This is really the only legitimate interpretation of the text. Hamlet has time for a speech of four lines before Ophelia says: 'The King rises.' Note too that Hamlet's words, 'you shall see anon,' assume that the play is going forward. As the scene is usually acted the court is already in an uproar when these words are spoken, and Ophelia's observation comes ludicrously belated.

⁴ I like him not, nor stands it safe with us
To let his madness range...
The terms of our estate may not endure
Hazard so near us as doth hourly grow
Out of his lunacies...

...we will fetters put about this fear,

Which now goes too free-footed. (III, iii. 1, 5, 25.)

Throughout this scene, as indeed elsewhere, it is tacitly assumed that it was Hamlet's behaviour, not the King's, that broke up the court.

he justly fears the doom of heaven, he gives, throughout his soliloquy, no indication that his secret has been discovered, he shows no anxiety as to the judgement of his fellow-men¹.

We have now concluded our examination of the players' play and of the scene in which it appears. We have (1) found evidence that the circumstances of King Hamlet's death were not as represented by the Ghost, and (2) we have further discovered that the action of the scene is perfectly consistent with this hypothesis, and in particular that the behaviour of Claudius, which seemed at first sight to confirm the Ghost's story, is readily explained in another manner. It remains, therefore, to consider what I have called the external evidence for the genuineness of the Ghost.

And here it becomes necessary to distinguish two matters essentially and logically distinct, though closely related: namely, the communications of the Ghost to Hamlet, and his appearances to other characters. If the theory advanced above is to be made good, it will be necessary to maintain that the Ghost's communications to Hamlet are no more than hallucinations of Hamlet's own mind, and we shall expect to find internal evidence of this in the text. But we are not bound to maintain that the appearances of the Ghost to Horatio and the rest are mere illusion. If we are satisfied that the Ghost's narrative is mere imagination, we shall doubtless be inclined to regard him as altogether unreal; but we shall not be forced to do so. It would in no way invalidate the thesis of this essay to admit that the dumb ghost of the murdered king did actually haunt the scenes of his earthly life. I must, therefore, beg my readers to bear in mind this distinction in the discussion that follows.

At the opening of the play Marcellus and Bernardo have twice already seen the apparition, and have invited Horatio, the scholar and friend of the Prince, to come and share their watch, in the belief that it will manifest itself again. He does so, sees the Ghost, and speaks to it. The account he subsequently gives to Hamlet is very circumstantial. 'A figure like your father, Armed at point exactly, cap-a-pie.—I knew your father; These hands are not more like.—He wore his beaver up.—A countenance more in sorrow than in anger...very pale.—His beard... was, as I have seen it in his life, A sable silver'd.' All this is very

¹ In describing the play-scene I have, of course, drawn on my fancy for appropriate detail and action. Orthodox commentary and acting lays the stress otherwise and interprets differently—and, I submit, less reasonably. But it must be remembered that I am not seeking to prove a theory from my interpretation of the scene. I merely wish to show that the scene can be logically interpreted upon a theory which other considerations have forced upon us. If, as I believe, my interpretation agrees better with the data of the text than that usually current, the fact is additional evidence in favour of the theory.

satisfactory, and these details, if they can be accepted as the direct result of observation, are conclusive of an apparition so clear and definite that we shall probably be content to accept it as genuine. But they are given some hours after the occurrence; there is time for imagination to have been at work. How much of the description is due to observation, how much, possibly, to suggestion? It will be noticed that from the first the two soldiers have made up their minds that the Ghost is none other than the late King. This is clear from Bernardo's first remark when it re-appears 'In the same figure, like the king that's dead.' He is not making a fresh observation, but confirming a previous conviction. As to the grounds of his belief we are in the dark. On the other hand Horatio is cheerfully sceptical. According to him it is mere fantasy; a sober brain will see nothing: 'Tush, tush, 'twill not appear.' Hence the shock when something does appear, sufficiently plausible to account for his companions' belief. He is harrowed 'with fear and wonder.' The greater his scepticism before, the greater will be his tendency to succumb to suggestion now that he can no longer laugh away the whole story. Horatio is a simple, honest, and healthy, but not a critical, soul. He is overwhelmed by the unexpectedness of his experience, and his abnormal agitation may be traced in the words he utters at the time. We do not here find the lucid and orderly evidence he gives later on. 'Is it not like the king?' asks Marcellus, seeking confirmation of his own belief. 'As thou art to thyself,' replies Horatio, now but a mirror of the others' thoughts; and he proceeds:

Such was the very armour he had on
When he the ambitious Norway combated;
So frown'd he once, when, in an angry parle,
He smote the sledded Polacks on the ice.

Now, we have very good reason to believe that Horatio, the fellow student of Hamlet, can have been at most a baby in arms at the time of the Norwegian contest, and although we know nothing as to the date of the 'angry parle,' it seems unlikely that the Wittenberg scholar should have witnessed it¹. In short, Horatio here is not giving personal evidence of value, but indulging in mere imaginative rhetoric, and incidentally sowing the seed of the suggestion that bears fruit in his subsequent interview with the Prince. Observe, likewise, that both here and in that interview he constantly speaks as though he were intimately familiar with the appearance of the late King of Denmark. Yet incidentally he lets out that, so far from this being the case, he had only set eyes on him

¹ It is possible that we ought to read 'sledded pole-ax', i.e. a pole-ax like a sledge-hammer, in which case the allusion would probably be again to the war with Norway.

on a single occasion: 'I saw him *once*; he was a goodly king!' It is also to be noticed that, in spite of all this pretended certainty, Horatio does not in the least persuade himself that the apparition really is the spirit of the dead King, for on its re-appearance he hails it with the exclamation: 'Stay, illusion!'

So much for the first scene. In the watchers' interview with Hamlet the suggestion advances a stage—the first hurried impressions gain shape and conviction—and passes from Horatio to the already brooding and suspicious Prince. We can observe it working and the pace at which it works. 'I will watch to-night,' says Hamlet, '*Perchance* 'twill walk again.' 'I warrant it will,' rejoins Horatio. '*If* it assume my noble father's person, I'll speak to it,' pursues Hamlet. His mind is still possessed by rational and critical doubt. He may see nothing; if he sees anything it may not, after all, resemble his father; and he hints that even if it does that will not prove its nature. Yet by the end of the scene the suggestion has already begun to work, and his doubts have vanished:

My father's spirit in arms! all is not well;
I doubt some foul play: would the night were come!

The second Ghost scene is not in itself very important. The chief point to observe is how Hamlet's scepticism has, by this, re-asserted itself. His mind appears quite detached as he comments on the swinish customs of the Danish court. Thus, whatever his expectations may have been, the actual appearance of the Ghost must have come as a mental shock. Nevertheless, he is at first cautious and critical; he sees the apparition, but knows not what it is. After one exclamation of surprise: 'Angels and ministers of grace defend us!' he addresses the Ghost: 'Be thou a spirit of health or goblin damn'd.' He will *call* it Hamlet, king, father, royal Dane. But, as so often happens, he is excited by his own ardour of eloquence—it is a speech splendidly worthy of the occasion. The suggestion of his own words quickly works on him, and by the end of the speech he tacitly assumes that it is indeed his father's spirit he beholds. The Ghost appears to beckon him, and in spite of his comrades he would follow. Their opposition chafes and excites him. At first he replies courteously, then seems not to hear, lastly he breaks out into swaggering rant about the 'Nemean lion's nerve,' and tears himself loose from their restraining arms, almost beside himself with excitement¹. His companions recognize his state: 'He waxes desperate with imagination,'

¹ The contrast of the speech beginning: 'My fate cries out,' with the invocation of the Ghost at its first entry, is very striking, and is an index of the state of Hamlet's mind.

says Horatio. Their doubts have returned as his have vanished, and whatever shape the Ghost may assume to their eyes they refuse to accept it at its face value. It is Marcellus who first misdoubts its intention and opposes Hamlet's infatuation. Horatio fears that it will tempt the Prince into danger, and then, assuming 'some *other* horrible form,' deprive him of reason or drive him to self-destruction.

How, then, does the question stand as regards the reality of the Ghost? The assumption that it is genuine certainly leads to no contradiction; we are perfectly at liberty to make it. But are we compelled to do so? No one will suggest that the apparition is pure fancy, but it is a long cry from that to the belief that it is supernatural. Further, it seems evident that there is about the appearance something to confirm the belief that it is the dead King in a mind in which the suggestion is already present. But we do not know how the belief originally arose; whether from an actually convincing resemblance, or whether through the opportune congress of some chance phenomenon with a preoccupation in the minds of the officers, Marcellus and Bernardo. From the freedom of Hamlet's discourse in their presence, we may suppose them to have been loyal followers of his father; and the events of the last few weeks must have given rise to speculation and suspicion in the minds of others than the Prince. They may or may not have been personally familiar with the late King's appearance. From them the suggestion passes to Horatio, who we know was not. To many people Horatio's evidence is conclusive regarding the genuineness of the Ghost. But on close examination we have found that, for all his honesty, he is a very bad witness indeed. From him the suggestion passes to Hamlet. And we may fancy we trace how the idea, once formed, works in diverse ways upon the belief of each. There is the appearance of mutual suggestion; the characters encourage one another to trace the likeness of the King. And yet, previous to the pretended revelation, not one of them is really persuaded that the Ghost is genuine. It is an 'illusion,' an 'imagination,' a 'horrible shape,' a 'spirit of health or goblin damn'd'; while, on a later occasion, Hamlet admits bluntly that it may be the devil. There is, it seems to me, a good deal here to shake our confidence in the supernatural character of the apparition. But it falls far short of disproof. If we please to accept the Ghost as genuine we may; at the same time Shakespeare seems clearly to leave the way open for an alternative, to hint that we may, if we will, regard it as a freak of collective suggestion, and explain it away as we should any other spook.

To continue: the Ghost disappears, and Hamlet, having shaken off his importunate friends, follows in the direction he supposes it to have taken. When we next see him he is alone with the Ghost at a distance from the battlements of Elsinore. He has presumably followed it some way, for he appears to have grown uneasy, and makes a stand with the words: 'Whither wilt thou lead me? speak; I'll go no further.' What follows, till the Ghost vanishes, is a monologue broken only by interjections of the listener. I do not know how it may strike others, but to me this narrative is one of the most astonishing things in the whole play. We have here the young Prince, the noble, fine-minded, sensitive Hamlet, in the very presence of his murdered father's spirit returned from the mystery of the 'undiscovered country' to reveal to his son the manner of his death, and to call for a just vengeance upon the adulterous usurper. The situation is one of tremendous dramatic import, fitted to call forth to the utmost the imaginative power of a romantic poet. It has, indeed, its difficult and rather disagreeable side, though how far Shakespeare was of a nature to feel this is a question upon which the subtler of his critics have been divided. At least we may credit him with the capacity of perceiving that, if he was to avoid debasing the situation by obtruding the element of personal revenge and the grotesque horror that always clings about the re-appearance of departed spirits, the scene would need to be handled with the greatest discretion and the highest poetic intensity. That it is powerful, after a fashion, is true. But what fashion? Listen:

My hour is almost come,
When I to sulphurous and tormenting flames
Must render up myself...
I am thy father's spirit;
Doom'd for a certain term to walk the night,
And for the day confined to fast in fires¹,
Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
Are burnt and purged away. But that I am forbid
To tell the secrets of my prison-house,
I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood,
Make thy two eyes, like stars, start from their spheres,
Thy knotted and combined locks to part
And each particular hair to stand an end,
Like quills upon the fretful porpentine:
But this eternal blazon must not be
To ears of flesh and blood.

The verse is smooth and capable enough; there is even a touch, in the

¹ It is significant that some of this stuff has proved too much for the stomachs even of orthodox commentators. The phrase 'to fast in fires' particularly has been the occasion of frequent though futile emendation.

'eternal blazon,' of the grand Shakespearian diction. But did the dubious influence of Seneca ever produce a more frigid piece of academic declamation? Is this the way Shakespeare writes when he is in earnest? Is this how he seeks to impress his hearers with even the cruder terrors of the after-world? No one could do the horrid business more effectively than Shakespeare when he pleased:

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling region of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendant world; or to be worse than worst
Of those that lawless and uncertain thought
Imagine howling! (*Measure for Measure*, III, i. 118.)

Can anyone with the slightest feeling for poetry read these two passages and believe that there is no difference of intention between them¹?

The monologue proceeds in the same strain to the end: it is all—or nearly all—mere rhetoric and declamation. The Ghost declaims upon his own moral and physical superiority over his rival. He reminds himself that he must be brief—and embarks on a detailed account of his murder. A very remarkable murder it was. A drug unknown to science, medieval or modern, is poured into his blood through the porches of his ears, and the symptoms of the poison are described with gloating medical detail:

a most instant tetter bark'd about,
Most lazar-like, with vile and loathsome crust,
All my smooth body.

Another outburst of denunciation and revenge, a moment's revulsion against the idea of taking vengeance on the fallen woman, a final reminder of the approach of morning—and the Ghost vanishes.

Is such really Shakespeare's conception of an adequate treatment of this tremendous situation? There is, indeed, a curious horror in the scene, but it is the horror of a painted cloth, of a grotesque fresco

¹ The character of the Ghost's narration is all the more striking, coming as it does between the fine eloquence of Hamlet's address on its first appearance and the intensity of the remarkable 'tables' speech that immediately follows. In style the narration continues the 'Nemean lion' stuff of Hamlet's violent exit. Hamlet's excitement both before and after the revelation is natural enough, and, given the state of his mind, it need not surprise us that it should manifest itself in rhetorical rant. But why, in the name of common sense, should the Ghost, if genuine, think it necessary to talk in the same style? If, on the other hand, the Ghost's speech is a coinage of Hamlet's brain, it naturally and fitly enough agrees with Hamlet's speeches that immediately precede and follow it.

—gridirons, pitchforks, sulphurous flames, decomposition and decay—a thing we ridicule even while we shudder and our gorge rises at it. The scene produces no sense of reality, there is no serious attempt to meet the situation; the only sympathetic touch is the poor Ghost's horror and astonishment at the fall of his 'most seeming-virtuous queen,' and his desire to shield her from the ultimate penalty.

Can we accept this revelation of the Ghost's seriously? This is, of course, a question that each reader must answer for himself, and will answer according to his own feeling of dramatic fitness. I can only speak for myself when I say that this Ghost leaves me sceptical and unconvinced. The alternative is to treat the Ghost as an hallucination, and its speeches as no more than the reflection of Hamlet's thoughts. The state of his mind at the end of the interview is clearly shown in the soliloquy that follows. Hamlet breaks out at once into rant; he invokes heaven and earth—'And shall I couple hell?' All is tumult 'in this distracted globe,' as he calls his seething brain. 'O most pernicious woman! O villain, villain, smiling, damned villain!' Then something snaps: he is in danger of forgetting the import of the Ghost's message unless he writes it down in his diary! And he writes 'That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain'—at least in Denmark¹.

Now, there can be no question that the revelation he has received, if genuine, was of a nature to upset a mind better balanced than Hamlet's. But we know what his state was at the beginning, and if this is the condition of his mind at the end, surely there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that his excitement was sufficiently overmastering to produce actual hallucination. The only question is whether his abnormal state of mind is the result or the cause of his supernatural experience.

I am not going to argue that the Ghost's narrative is the reflection of Hamlet's normal mind. Hamlet is a refined and cultivated gentleman in a society of barbarians, he is the courtier-scholar of Ophelia's lament. I could no more credit him with the conscious evolution of the Ghost's revelation than I can Shakespeare with its serious composition. But is there any reason to suppose that the product of suggestion and hallucination would be a reflection of the normal mind? Would it not rather represent a release of those sub-conscious feelings, memories, and almost instinctive beliefs, which have been thrust under in the process of

¹ This 'tables' speech of Hamlet's is well analyzed in Bradley's note (*ut supra*, p. 409). I think, however, that he treats Hamlet's fear of forgetting too seriously. It is not so much a sane fear that madness may drive the matter from his memory, as itself a trait of madness. Touching the state of Hamlet's mind, see below, p. 417.

education and civilization, interwoven, no doubt, with more conscious judgements and opinions? And that, it seems to me, is exactly what we have in the strange declamation of the Ghost. The secrets of the prison house are just those crude and grotesque horrors on which Hamlet's childhood in that medieval society must have been fed, and from which his maturer nature must have revolted, just as we may imagine Shakespeare's to have done. And the rest of the pretended revelation is a mere reflection, decked out with exaggerated rhetoric and fantastic detail, of Hamlet's own passions and suspicions. He already believes that his father has been murdered. When the thought first sprang in him we do not know, but as soon as he heard of the Ghost walking he jumped to the conclusion of foul play. His disgust at his mother's marriage must long ago have bred other suspicions. When the Ghost reveals to him the identity of his murderer, Hamlet as good as tells us that it is no news to him: 'O my prophetic soul! My uncle!' 'Ay,' returns the Ghost, 'Ay, that incestuous'—Hamlet has already used the word himself—'that adulterate beast'—rhetoric almost demands the second adjective. Then again, take that strange comparison:

O Hamlet, what a falling-off was there!
 From me, whose love was of that dignity
 That it went hand in hand even with the vow
 I made to her in marriage; and to decline
 Upon a wretch, whose natural gifts were poor
 To those of mine!

In the mouth of the Ghost the words make us smile. But they are not the poor Ghost's words at all; they are Hamlet's own. Long before this he had expressed the same thought: 'So excellent a King; that was, to this, Hyperion to a satyr'; while later the whole of his diatribe to the Queen is on the text, 'Look here, upon this picture, and on this... Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed, And batten on this moor?' Then again: the injunction to take no vengeance on the adulterous wife. Why should she be spared? Not, surely, that she is more worthy of pity:

virtue, as it never will be moved,
 Though lewdness court it in the shape of heaven,
 So lust, though to a radiant angel link'd,
 Will sate itself in a celestial bed
 And prey on garbage.

Indeed, it is no fond recollection of the days of her love and innocence that prompts the Ghost to spare her:

But, howsoever thou pursuest this act,
Taint not thy mind, nor let thy soul contrive
 Against thy *mother* aught;

it is the fear lest the son should incur the curse of Orestes¹. The argument moves, not along the line of the Ghost's thought, but of Hamlet's². The same characteristics mark the speech throughout: it is sufficient to have shown how the revelation is but a reflection of Hamlet's mind, how it proceeds along the natural lines of Hamlet's thought, how rhetorical and artificial it all sounds, how it lacks the stamp of reality, and on the other hand possesses all the irrelevant detail and grotesque minuteness of a dream.

The Ghost gives Hamlet one, and only one, piece of information he did not already possess. Since the death of the King could plausibly be ascribed to a serpent's bite, and since he had in fact been murdered, it is obvious that the instrument must have been poison. What is novel and strange is the administration of the poison through the ears of the sleeper. It is just this point that seems to set the seal of authenticity on the narrative, and it is just this point that we know, from subsequent events, cannot have been true. But if not true how are we to explain its presence? How should such an extravagant idea have ever found entrance into Hamlet's mind? This is a question which our theory has got to face before it can claim assent.

I have previously remarked on the extraordinary coincidence of the players' *Tragedy of Gonzago* reproducing so minutely the circumstances of King Hamlet's death, and I have pointed out that we are not at liberty to gloss over this coincidence, as is usually done, by supposing that Hamlet had altered the action of the play to suit actual events. We have now come to the conclusion that the crucial point of resemblance was not actual, but the product of Hamlet's imagination. The coincidence, however, remains just as extraordinary as ever.

But there is one other point regarding the players' play worth attention. We know, of course, that the piece was not new to Hamlet. He inquires of the players whether they can perform it; he knows that its plot will suit his purpose. But more than this. Not only has he presumably seen it acted at Wittenberg, but he knows the original Italian play or novel on which it was founded. 'The story is extant, and written in very choice Italian,' he informs the King with extraordinary irrelevance. He is familiar with the scene, and the names of the characters in the original, which do not appear in the play as represented. In short, Hamlet had bestowed attention on the story long

¹ It has not been observed that *taint* has an almost technical sense of 'infected with madness.' Shakespeare, of course, uses the phrase 'tainted in his wits,' while Beaumont and Fletcher (I think) write 'sure he's tainted,' meaning 'he is out of his mind.'

² This is the point insisted on by H. von Struve in the criticism quoted above (p. 401).

before he commanded the production of the play at court. But the ingenious reader will already have made the obvious inference. *The Ghost described this particular method of poisoning because it was already present in Hamlet's mind.* In other words it was not the Ghost's story that suggested the *Murder of Gonzago*, but the *Murder of Gonzago* that supplied the details of the Ghost's story. This simple assumption at once removes the difficulty of the coincidence, and explains the one obscure point regarding the Ghost's narrative. Our chain of evidence is complete.

We left Hamlet busy with his writing tablets. His friends, who have been seeking him during his ghostly interview, now enter. The scene that follows affords, in a way, the best evidence for the reality of the Ghost, since his underground mutterings of 'Swear' are heard by all present. At least, I think they are; though the only evidence for this is Horatio's exclamation: 'O day and night, but this is wondrous strange!' which might conceivably refer to Hamlet's strange language and behaviour. Yet at the same time this scene constitutes one of the greatest difficulties of the orthodox interpretation. Is it possible to take 'this fellow in the cellarage' seriously? I suppose that no acting, however ingenious and convinced, has ever been able to save the scene from verging on the ludicrous: after the previous tension it is hard to resist an impulse to laugh. Frankly, it seems inconceivable that Hamlet should believe that, in 'true-penny' and 'old mole,' he is really addressing the spirit with whom he late had converse. But it is by no means easy to interpret the scene upon any other assumption. Are we to regard the underground mutterings as some ventriloquistic prank of Hamlet's? One could believe a good deal of him after the 'tables' speech, but hardly this. Perhaps a more reasonable view would be that they are the chance moanings of the waves as they break in the caverns beneath the platform, that Hamlet amuses himself by pretending that they are the voice of the Ghost, and that his companions, shaken by the experiences of the night, accept his interpretation in all seriousness¹.

In considering what view we should adopt of this incident, it is important that we should bear in mind Hamlet's condition at the moment. It follows immediately upon the 'tables' speech, and there is no question that Hamlet's reason was then near breaking down. He has caught

¹ I do not pretend that this explanation is satisfactory, but merely that it is at least as satisfactory as any other I can imagine. Coleridge thought the Ghost's interference 'hardly defensible' (see Furness, *Hamlet*, i, 113). It is worth remarking, as possibly indicating some early stage tradition, that in the *Bestrafte Brudermord* the Ghost's words are 'We swear,' and that they come as the echo of those of the characters on the stage.

himself staggering upon the verge of madness, and he knows not when, or in what company, he may again give signs of derangement. In the course of the present scene he instinctively adopts an 'antic disposition' as a cloak under which signs of real madness, should they occur, may be hidden; and this cloak, towards the end of the scene, he avows and deliberately makes his own. It is impossible to say exactly how far this acting, combined with his excitement, might lead him¹.

Time passes, and Hamlet does not sweep to his revenge: on the contrary the immediate effects of the ghostly revelation begin to wear off, conviction fades and doubts arise. Was it, after all, an 'honest ghost'? He desires 'grounds more relative':

The spirit that I have seen
May be the devil; and the devil hath power
To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps
Out of my weakness and my melancholy,
As he is very potent with such spirits,
Abuses me to damn me.

Translated out of the language of medieval into that of modern psychology, this seems to be pretty much what we mean when we say that the Ghost was an hallucination produced by auto-suggestion in Hamlet's own brain. He appears to have diagnosed his own case accurately.

To satisfy himself Hamlet devises the 'Mouse-Trap' with the result we have already seen. Naturally, the effect of his experiment is to banish from his mind any suspicion of the genuineness of the Ghost's revelation, and to leave him in a state of exuberant excitement which vents itself in wild snatches of song.

Close on the play-scene follows the second communication of the Ghost, which takes place in the Queen's private chamber. Though of far less interest and importance than the revelation, it is noteworthy as affording strong confirmation of the hallucination theory, since what Hamlet sees and hears remains unperceived by the Queen². The psychological construction on this occasion complements in a remarkable

¹ Coleridge long ago remarked: 'You may, perhaps, observe Hamlet's wildness is but half false; he plays that subtle trick of pretending to act only when he is very near really being what he acts' (*see* Furness, *Hamlet*, i, 109). So too Bradley: 'That Hamlet was not far from insanity is very probable. His adoption of the pretence of madness may very well have been due in part to fear of the reality; to an instinct of self-preservation, a fore-feeling that the pretence would enable him to give utterance to the load which pressed on his heart and brain, and a fear that he would be unable altogether to repress such utterance' (*ut supra*, p. 120). I am convinced that this is the correct explanation of Hamlet's 'antic disposition,' and it makes it almost impossible to say what veins of real alienation may mingle with his assumed extravagance.

² This is not, of course, by itself conclusive: a dramatist would be quite at liberty to represent a genuine ghost as appearing to one character only. Still it undoubtedly raises a strong presumption in this scene, as it does in *Macbeth*. Some critics have, I believe, taken this view.

manner that of the earlier scene. There the illusion arose through the strange apparition—whatever it may have been—working on the suggestions already present in Hamlet's brain, and it left him in a state of excitement bordering on madness. Here the development is different. Hamlet, in his denunciation of the Queen's behaviour, works himself up to the pitch of frenzy, when suddenly his excitement produces a recurrence of the hallucination, and this acts as a *katharsis* to his emotion and leaves him calm again. Let anyone read the scene from the words: 'Look here, upon this picture, and on this,' and ask himself whether the wild crescendo is not leading up to a degree of passion beyond the bounds of sober reason. The Queen at first endures in silence, then breaks out in piteous protest, but her entreaties are borne under by the torrent of her son's reproaches. He is in full career when the appearance of the Ghost pulls him up short. He stares at it, speaks to it, and it replies. Yet the woman at his side sees and hears nothing:

how is't with you
That you do bend your eye on vacancy
And with the incorporal air do hold discourse?

Hamlet, again under the spell of the vision, and confirmed by the recent success of his trap, finds no warning in her incapacity of perception. 'Do you see nothing there?' he asks wondering. 'Nothing at all; yet all there is I see.' 'Nor did you nothing hear?' 'No, nothing but ourselves.' The Ghost himself says little—nothing new. His ostensible purpose is futile: 'This visitation Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.' Hamlet in the moment of his success and confidence, who has just slain the 'rash, intruding fool' Polonius by mistake for the King, is certainly in a keener mood for vengeance than at any other moment before the final catastrophe. The Ghost's words are nothing but the echo of Hamlet's own suggestion: 'Do you not come your tardy son to chide?' The real import of the visitation is the repetition of the command to spare the Queen:

But look, amazement on thy *mother* sits:
O, step between her and her fighting soul.

Hamlet has been forgetting himself; his natural instincts now rise up and through the Ghost's mouth accuse him. Once again the Ghost's words are but the reflection of Hamlet's thoughts¹.

¹ Bradley, though he apparently had no suspicion that the Ghost might be an illusion throughout, found it necessary to argue in favour of its reality in this scene. He points out that 'the Ghost proves, so to speak, his identity by showing the same traits as were visible on his first appearance—the same insistence on the duty of remembering, the same concern for the Queen' (*ut supra*, p. 139). Quite so!

The hallucination has acted as a purge to Hamlet's excitement; the Ghost gone he is cool again. The Queen says, with truth:

This is the very coinage of your brain:
This bodiless creation ecstasy
Is very cunning in;

and he replies, no less truly:

Ecstasy!
My pulse, as yours, doth temperately keep time,
And makes as healthful music: it is not madness
That I have utter'd: bring me to the test,
And I the matter will re-word, which madness
Would gambol from.

I am bold to think that read in this light the scene gains considerably in effect. There is fine dramatic irony in Hamlet's words:

Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,
That not your trespass but my madness speaks.

He is so mistaken, yet profoundly right.

To sum up. We have seen that the interpretation of the action of *Hamlet* that has been generally accepted, though it has been recognized as not wholly free from difficulties, upon a critical scrutiny breaks down altogether, being found to involve a definite self-contradiction. Further, we have seen that it is impossible to regard the narrative of the Ghost as a genuine revelation, but that, on the contrary, it bears internal evidence of being but a figment of Hamlet's brain, and, moreover, that this hypothesis resolves most of the difficulties that have been thought inherent in the play. It is tempting to advance a step further, and to argue that Shakespeare not only constructed his play on the basis of an hallucination on the part of his hero, but that he intended the Ghost to be an illusion throughout. The temptation is all the greater in that we should thus be enabled to bring the elaborate study of a ghost in *Hamlet* into line with the comparatively slight sketches of ghosts in his other plays. Nevertheless, for this further assumption we have no definite warrant. The view seems perfectly tenable, while on the other hand it is not inevitable. Shakespeare has not committed himself.

Let me try to make clear what I conceive to be the position. Shakespeare, it must be supposed, expected his ghost and its story to be generally taken on the stage at their face value. To the bulk of his audience *Hamlet* would just be another—and the greatest—of the Senecan revenge dramas. But may we not believe that for himself, as for other humaner minds among his contemporaries, such crude

machinery would appear as a blot upon a noble piece of work?¹ For such minds he would appear to have designed an alternative explanation, and as a warning of his real intention to have introduced the dumb-show². This piece of business does not obtrude itself on the attention when the play is acted, but in reading and upon consideration its absolute redundancy and its extraordinary results *should* immediately become apparent. It is then seen that the obvious interpretation of the action, which satisfies the generality, makes Shakespeare an astonishingly perverse bungler; while the alternative shows him not only a skilful craftsman, but likewise a considerable master of innuendo. That we are not in the habit of regarding Shakespeare in this light is true, and in the case of most of his work it might hardly be legitimate to do so. But are we not perhaps justified, in the case of *Hamlet*, in looking for subtleties we do not meet elsewhere? or need we be surprised at finding literary devices employed in that play that would miss their effect under the conditions of the Elizabethan stage? *Hamlet* stands more or less alone among its author's works. In writing it Shakespeare built upon the foundation of an earlier piece by Kyd or somebody, rewriting and revising probably more than once, and it is clear that in doing so he got carried away by his interest in the story, and allowed his work to burst the bounds of its theatrical limitations³. The length of the play is excessive; it would almost make two pieces of ordinary dimensions. As a practical dramatist Shakespeare must have known that it could never be performed in its entirety, even under the most favourable conditions of the great London theatres. We know that, in fact, it was mercilessly cut by the company for which it was written⁴. In composition Shakespeare *must* have had in mind readers as well as spectators; he must have written for the closet as well as for the stage⁵. Is it

¹ The distinction between the general and the judicious is as old as Hamlet's welcome to the players, and it has ere now been applied by Shakespearian criticism to the very matter in hand. Thus, speaking of Banquo's ghost, Hudson in his second edition remarks: 'In Shakespeare's time the *generality* of the people could not possibly conceive of a subjective ghost,' and argues that in consequence the phantom had to be materially presented though such was not Shakespeare's intention (see Furness, *Macbeth*, p. 172). Bradley in his criticism of the same incident (quoted above, p. 394) draws the same distinction. It seems to be exactly applicable to *Hamlet*.

² The immediate object of the dumb-show is to prove to a critical audience that it is Hamlet's behaviour and not the King's that breaks up the court, while at the same time leaving Hamlet himself free to believe in the success of his plot.

³ We may recall Shakespeare's constant liability to be carried away by his interest in minor characters, and to allow them to develop to the detriment of the main plot.

⁴ See Quarto 1 (1603), which is undoubtedly based on an acting version.

⁵ Cf. Swinburne, *Study of Shakespeare*, 1895, p. 163, etc. He goes so far as to maintain that 'Every change [made by Shakespeare in revising] the text of *Hamlet* has impaired its fitness for the stage and increased its value for the closet in exact and perfect proportion.'

reasonable to suppose that this knowledge had no influence on his treatment of his theme? It would be a rash assumption in the case of any professional writer: we certainly have no right to make it in the case of Shakespeare¹.

* * * * *

The current interpretation of *Hamlet* presupposes an altogether unreasonable want of dramatic capacity in the author. Shakespeare's reputation imperatively demands that an alternative should be found. As a tentative essay in this direction I submit the above to the censure of the judicious.

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¹ I would hazard the guess that Shakespeare was not altogether displeased when Nicholas Ling published a surreptitious and garbled version of his play (1603) and thereby forced the company to put forth the full and authentic text (1604). Possibly he revised the piece for the occasion. He may even have put in a good word for the pirate, since, contrary to the usual custom, he was not deprived of the book, but actually entrusted with the publication of Roberts' authorized edition!

AURELIAN TOWNSHEND.

THE poems and masks of Aurelian Townshend were for the first time collected and admirably edited by Mr E. K. Chambers ('Tudor and Stuart Library,' 1912). Mr Chambers searched a vast number of printed song-books, and manuscript verse-collections, but he seems not to have known of a manuscript-collection in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge (MS. S. 23,—in Dr James' Catalogue, 416), which contains two poems by Townshend, one of them, I believe, not found elsewhere.

I. To deal with this first.

Among the poems of Thomas Carew is one on the death of Gustavus Adolphus, entitled 'In answer of an Elegiacal Letter, upon the death of the King of Sweden from Aurelian Townshend, inviting me to write on that subject.' Mr Chambers prints Carew's lines (beginning 'Why dost thou sound, my dear Aurelian') in his Introduction, pp. xix—xxii, but says that he had been unable to find an Elegy that could be identified with Townshend's. Here, however, in the St John's College MS. we have it (article 44):

Aurelian Tounsfend to Tho: Carew vpon the death of the King of Sweden.

I had, and haue a purpose to be kind
To thee Tom Carew, for where merittes binde,
My court of confience will a right decree
To one that bringes no aduocate nor fee,
I loue thy perfonn which being large and tall,
Contains a sferitt, that full mans it all;
I loue thy witt, that choofes to be sweete
Rather then sharpe, therefore in Lirique feete
Steales to thy mistris; letting others write
Rough footed Satires that in kissing bite.
I loue thy Celia if thee did infuse
That fire into thee which begott thy Muse,
And all thy louers that with listning eares
Sipp in and relish thy Ambrosian teares,
Which as they fell like manna on the Herse
Of deuine *Donne* feeding vs all in verse
So when the windes from euery corner bringe
The too true nuse of the dead conquering king,
Lett our land waters meeting by consent
The showres defending from the firmament,

Make a new floode; one whose teares fwelling face
 Clof'd in an arke of fatall Cypriffe, place
Gustavus bodie, wound about with bayes;
 And while a constant gale of sighes conueyes
 This world of wonder to the muses hill,
 Each sacred fwann in his immortall bill
 Shall beare his name, in wittnesse of that wracke
 His snowe white plumes transforme to fable blacke.
 His sword shall like a fierie pillar stand,
 Or like that graspt in the angrie Angells hand,
 Before his Herse, needing no other light
 But what hee gaue it to make day of night.
 Prinsses ambitius of renoune shall still
 Striue for his spures to helpe them vp the hill.
 His gloryus gauntlettess shall vnquestiond lye,
 Till handes are found fitt for a monarchie.
 Minerua may without hir gorgon com
 To beare his shield, the shield of Christendom.
 And the Sunn rising to his daly talke
 Would shoue the brighter if hee wore his caske
 Lett solem silence and darke night be there
 Making a morner of the Hemisphere.
 And when vpon Pernaffus double topp
 His corpes is come lett the Profession stopp,
 And sleeping in the Muses cradell lay
 This child of Honor, till at peepe of day
 flame like a Phenix from his ashes rise
 Courting this new borne bird of Paradice,
 And when each spring to his exhausted head
 Is back retyr'd, if out of slime be bredd
 Any foule monfter ouer chargd with gall,
 One drame of his will make the Python fall;
 ffor though this Lyon can no more prescribe
 Detraction boundes, then that of Judas tribe,
 If in the toyle of tongues his feareles name
 Be caught by such as would perplex his fame
 A moufe may free him from those Aspes that lye
 Hissing in holes till they truthbitten dye.

This is followed in the MS. (art. 45) by 'Thomas Carewe his
 Answer.' I give the MS.'s variants from the text given by
 Mr Chambers (which seems identical with that in Mr Vincent's edition
 of Carew):

- Title] Thomas Carewe.
 his Answere
 l. 7. tread] trade.
 l. 13. labour] labors.
 l. 18. poems. When] poems, when.
 ll. 19, 20. Of frankford, Lipfwich, Wortfburg . of the Rhine
 The Lecke, the Danub, Tille walestine.
 l. 23. acts] deedes.
 l. 30. designment] designementes.
 l. 36. thought] though.
 l. 44. rise and] rife or.
 l. 48. obdurate] ingrattfull.
 l. 50. which] with.
 l. 52. Thy] The.

- l. 60. birds or...angel] birdes and...angells.
- l. 74. angel-like...motion] Angelicke...motions.
- l. 75. that] which.
- l. 81. mixtures] mixture.
- l. 84. perfumes] perfume.
- l. 87. reverend] reuerent.
- l. 100. airs] ayre.

II. Mr Chambers prints as No. XIII in his collection a poem entitled 'Pure Simple Love' and beginning

Hide not thy love and myne shal bee
Open and free.

He remarks:—'This is found in two versions, a longer and a shorter. Neither has, so far as I know, been printed before. The longer version, of thirteen stanzas, occurs only in Trinity College Dublin MS. G. 2. 21, f. 319, and is there ascribed to "Townesend." Another copy, on f. 472, of the same manuscript, is defective, owing to the loss of the page containing all the stanzas after the fourth, and it is therefore impossible to say how long it originally was. It is headed *To his M^{rs}. entreating her to shunn the concealement of her affection*, and is anonymous. The shorter version, consisting of the first six stanzas only, is in *Harl. MS.*: 6918, f. 19, with the title *A Sonnet*, and in *Addl. MS.* 25707, f. 149, without a title. In both manuscripts it is anonymous.'

The evidence of Aurelian Townshend's authorship being thus rather slight, it is satisfactory to find in the St John's College MS. (art. 18) another version of the poem with the attribution 'Aurelian Tounshind.' This is in eleven stanzas, one stanza taking the place of stanzas 6 and 7 in Mr Chambers' version, and stanza 12 of the latter being omitted. It has no title. I append a collation of this text with that given by Mr Chambers.

PURE SIMPLE LOVE] No title.

- St. 3, l. 4. could] should.
- l. 6. Or] Nor.
- l. 7. to thee] for me.
- St. 4, l. 4. mee...bee] and though they bee.
- l. 5. Fruit] Not.
- St. 5, l. 1. Yett hee that meanes] But they that meane.
- l. 2. Needes] Neede.
- l. 7. perfuations] example.
- l. 8. Thyne] Thy.

For Stanzas 6 and 7] Let fuch as knowe themselves to blame,
Fearing defame,
And to geet feruants, feeme demure.
They meed [*sic*] not studie to disgife
Actions, or eyes,
Whose iustifying thoughts bee pure.
Though most are mafquers now-adayes,
Wee 'le followe Natures barefast wayes.

- St. 8, 1. 2. Couples] louers.
 1. 3. Their lips and hands] Their eyes and armes.
 woulde] pleaf'd.
 1. 4] Leauing more beights [= baits?] of beautie bare
 1. 6. mifunderitood] in falſe weights peifd.
- St. 9, 1. 3. finne (*ex conjectura*)] finne.
 1. 4. that wee] (omitted).
 1. 6. our mutuall friendſhip] the Eliſium fables.
 1. 8. old loving faſhion] ould fatioud louing.
- St. 10, 1. 1. will I] I will.
 1. 2. ihalt] may't.
- St. 11, 1. 1. Befides weelee doe] Weelee doe beſide.
 ll. 4—8] For wee will make his wanton flame
 By acting in our modeſt play
 Teach Pſyche courtſhip, and ſupply
 The Veſtall nunnes, ſhould theyr fire dye;
 [a line is wanting, probably l. 4, to rime with 'flame.']
 (wanting).
- St. 12] (wanting).
- St. 13, 1. 1. her] thine.
 1. 1, 2. cleareſt and beſt | Of all the reſt] of all the reſt | Cleareſt
 and beſt,
 ll. 4—8] Let not the abuſes of this age
 Barre thee our ſtage,
 But grace vs with thy ſpotleſſe part,
 Whoſe preſence brooks no act obſeane,
 For where thou art all things are cleane.
 Aurelian Tounſhind.

Since the above was written, I have found another version of ſtan-
 zas 7 to 13 of Mr Chambers' text in Egerton MS. 2725, fo. 136 v. It is
 perhaps ſignificant that theſe ſtan-
 zas are here found apart from the ſix
 to which they are elſewhere attached and which alſo occur indepen-
 dently. The verſion has no title and is anonymous. It may be worth
 while to give a collation :

- St. 7, 1. 1. thankfull hands] hand.
 1. 7. further] farther.
- St. 8, 1. 2. lips and hands] eares and lipps.
 1. 3. haire] haire.
- St. 9, 1. 1. bee] are.
 1. 2. meane no] meanes none.
 1. 4. that] (omitted).
 ſome place] a place out.
 1. 8. loving] (omitted).
- St. 10, 1. 3. maiden] curious.
 1. 7. which] that.
- St. 11, 1. 1. Beſides weelee doe] Weelee doe beſides.
 1. 2. have] hath.
 1. 5. with] which
 1. 7. One ſpinn] Our line;
 draw] ſpin.
- St. 12, 1. 1. one] our.
 1. 3. Theyll fitt] Wee'l tempt.
 1. 4. And] But.
 1. 6. action] actions.

- St. 13, l. 1. eyes] eye.
 of all the reft | Cleareft and beft.
 l. 3. tract] (omitted).

III. Among 'Doubtful Poems' Mr Chambers prints (No. XIX) from *Wit and Drollery* (1658) 'Mr Townsends verses to Ben Johnsons, in answer to an Abusive Copie, crying down his Magnetick Lady,' but remarks that in Ashmolean MS. 38, p. 58, the poem occurs with the attribution to 'Mr Zouch Townlye' [shown by Mr Chambers to have been a Christ Church man]. The St John's College MS. has first (art. 50) the offending lines 'Vpon Ben Johnfons magnetique Lady,' beginning 'Is this thy loadstone Ben,' and next after them (art. 51) 'Zouch Tounfends reply to his friend B. J.' (but only the first twelve lines of the poem as printed by Mr Chambers). As there are some variant readings, I give a collation:

- Title] Zouch Tounfends reply to his friend B. J.
 l. 1. friend] friends.
 l. 2. rimes at] rayles on.
 l. 4. to] with.
 l. 6. delay] delayes.
 l. 7. malice . . fecond] mischiefe . . greater.
 l. 8. Unleffe he flew] Then to haue slayne.
 l. 9. Hellicon] Heauen.
 l. 11. verbes . . Cenfure] cenfures . . verdicts.
 ll. 13—18] (wanting).

The attribution to 'Zouch Tounsends' is a curious half-way stage between 'Zouch Townlye' and 'Aurelian Townshend' (no doubt originating with an abbreviation of the name as 'Zouch Town.'). It must strengthen the case against Aurelian's authorship of the lines.

IV. The poem No. II in Mr Chambers' edition, 'Victorious beauty,' appears also anonymously in Egerton MS. 2725, fo. 65 v. The reading of the last stanza in this MS.—'Shee's such a one'—seems more satisfactory than that of Mr Chambers' text.

In the Egerton MS. the poem is followed by another which is an answer to it. This is not mentioned by Mr Chambers and is worth giving. (It is not punctuated in the MS.)

Though your faire eyes, delicious dame,
 Would seeme most powrefull in an hoast
 Cause there noe women are almost,
 Yet doe not brag cause you haue tane
 Him whom each beauty would inflame.

Nor doe beleue he came soe arm'd
 With Charecters of privy Coate
 Which in an Instant could thus doate;
 ffor, had her eyes his heart well warm'd,
 Your eyes could nere haue it uncharm'd.

A meaner beauty in my mind,
 Though you are of a beauteous hue,
 May keep her servants yet from you,
 For, had you power of all mankind,
 Why then was Cupid fained blind?

Noe honour doth on you reflect
 By him, for, had his loue beene pure,
 He had not beene your Loue, Ime sure.
 What face thinke you can him protect
 That can admire and yet neglect?

He sayes that, if your fervants hover,
 Her beauty may them lure and gaine.
 Thus doth he equalize you twaine,
 And, doing soe, must needes difcover
 Himselfe a most unconftant Lover.

V. The poem No. XIV in Mr Chambers' edition, 'There is noe lover he or shee,' is found in Egerton MS. 2725, fo. 64. It is without title and anonymous. The variants are generally such as Mr Chambers has recorded for other MSS. I need only note st. 1, l. 8 'penaries' for 'penuries,' st. 5, l. 2 'entertain'd' for 'interchanged,' and l. 3 'Within each other' for 'When each in others.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

GEORGE MEREDITH'S LITERARY RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

1. *Points of Contact in general.*

GEORGE MEREDITH'S interest in Germany lasted during the whole of his literary life. He spent perhaps the most impressionable period of his development, from his fourteenth to his sixteenth year, at the Moravian school of Neuwied on the Rhine. He has told us that the religious atmosphere of the place made a deep impression upon him. The instruction, in spite of the initial difficulties of the language, seems to have succeeded in stimulating his imagination and whetting his literary curiosity. We know that he read a great deal of German when he returned to England, and right on to the end of his life his appreciation of German letters never wavered. From the allusions in his novels and letters it is clear that his reading was very extensive, and his judgment shows great insight. In knowledge and soundness of criticism he is surpassed by no English literary man of the century, not excepting either Arnold or Carlyle. But his interest was not confined to literature. German music he rated even higher. The references to it, however, in books like *Sandra Belloni*, *The Tragic Comedians*, *One of our Conquerors*, *Celt and Saxon*, are always brief, if not superficial, and occasionally tinged with irony. Speaking of her German singing-master, Sandra Belloni says naively, 'He made me know the music of the great German. I used to listen: I could not believe such music came from a German'; and a little farther on she adds, 'He ate Austrian bread, and why God gave him such a soul of music I never can think.' We nowhere find a description of a piece of music, or its influence on a character, or an enthusiastic sentence on any composer; in fact, it is quite clear that this element of German culture did not influence Meredith, as a writer of books, to anything like the same degree as the literature. He returned to Germany from time to time and derived from his travels those impressions of landscape which he turned to such good account in works like *The*

Ordeal of Richard Feverel and *Harry Richmond*. There is nothing very striking in the Rhenish landscape in *Farina*, and the six sonnets, *Pictures of the Rhine*, are a little disappointing. In later books, however, notably the two mentioned above, there are many touches which bespeak keen observation. He notices the 'blue-frocked peasant swinging behind his oxen,' the 'roe moving across a slope of sward far out of rifle-mark,' the 'gaily kerchiefed fruit-woman,' the 'large white moth flitting through the dusk of the forest' and the bridge at Limburg on the Lahn, 'where the shadow of a stone bishop is thrown by the moonlight on the water brawling over slabs of slate.' He who has written such beautiful descriptions of English sunrises and spring freshness, has also in the chapter 'Nature Speaks' painted a remarkably fine picture of a thunderstorm in Nassau. In *Harry Richmond* we feel that the district of Sarkeld in Eppenwelzen (in the direction of Hanover) is drawn largely from imagination, but here, too, some things have been seen, particularly the sun-baked landscape described in the thirtieth chapter. In later books he gives effective sketches of the Tyrol, the castles of Hohenstauffen and Hohenzollern and the Black Forest. Sometimes we find, blended with the landscape, experiences which seem to be personal memories, the journey in the stuffy diligence in *Harry Richmond*, the boys' feeling of the contrast between the rude manners and the obvious natural kindness of the peasants, and their first impression of German fairy-tales as being 'uncanny, upsetting.' In German education Meredith was evidently much interested. His art, however, does not provide him with an opportunity for direct discussion. What he does is to show us through certain characters, Professor Julius von Karsteg and others, the German view of the English attitude to education. He chiefly criticizes our materialistic and utilitarian tendencies. In 1870 he sent his boy Arthur, in whose education he took the deepest interest, to finish his studies at Stuttgart, and in connection with this episode it is interesting to note that *Harry Richmond*, which gives a picture of a small German Court, discusses German and English education at large, delineates many typical Germans and records so sympathetically the impressions of a boy suddenly plunged into the midst of a new world, was published in 1871. In later years Meredith was a keen student of German politics, and no one more clearly or at so early a date foresaw the danger of German militarism. This has undoubtedly influenced his views on national military service, the need for which he emphasizes so strongly in books like *Diana of the Crossways*, *Beauchamp's Career*, *Lord Ormont and his Aminta*, *Celt and Saxon*, and *One of our Conquerors*.

'In the face of armed Europe this great nation is living on sufferance,' is one of his pithy remarks in this connection, and another runs, 'An invasion is what they want to bring them to their senses.' He does not criticize German militarism, although he enjoys a laugh at its excesses and the 'learned entomologist, botanist, palaeontologist, philologist,' who becomes 'at sound of drum a ready regimental corporal.' He prefers armed vigour to excessive sport and military somnolence, and calls upon England to prepare against the Teuton, so as not to be simply 'helpless flesh to his beak.' From a study of the German characters in the novels—there are some dozen life-size portraits and rather more not quite so fully sketched—and from the passages in his letters where he speaks of German men and manners, we can see that Meredith held very definite views about the Germans as a whole. In general it may be said that in these sketches he shows the impartiality of the man who has no reason to dislike and no special grounds for loving them. Especially interesting is the letter to John Morley of June, 1877, in which he suggests what the latter may feel on his first visit to Germany. At the same time he has given us some charming figures, especially of German women. He rated German scholarship very high, he was impressed by the solid qualities of the Germans, their 'strengthiness' and their achievements in many fields; he had at the same time a 'sense of their spiritual flatness,' a great dislike for their manners and no taste for their cookery. 'The play of sour and sweet,' he says in *Sandra Belloni*, 'and crowning of the whole with fat, shows a people determined to go down in civilization, and try the business backwards.' He was not a missionary of German culture. What he did was to present to us the truest picture of Germany that is to be found in English fiction, or, looked at from the other point of view, Germany as he had studied it and knew it provided him with a valuable store of raw material for his work as a novelist.

2. *Meredith's Appreciation of German Literature.*

The references to German Literature in Meredith's work are not restricted to his youth, but occur with even greater frequency in later years. From first to last he had the greatest admiration for Goethe. Carlyle is mentioned as having encouraged him in the study of German and of Goethe in particular. He says in his letters that he never wrote anything critical on Goethe, because Carlyle held the field and could do it better. Carlyle certainly had more of the enthusiasm of the discoverer, he was more 'wilful in his adorings,' but Meredith himself, in later years at least, had the deeper insight and the maturer judgment.

In 1864 he mentions Goethe along with Shakespeare, Molière and Cervantes as writers to whom he bows his head. He seems to have regarded Goethe as the most abiding literary influence in his life, but readers of the *Essay on the Idea of Comedy* cannot fail to be struck with the author's remarks on Molière. Meredith's own 'comic spirit,' his irony, his peculiarly whimsical, half-detached presentation of the humours of life mark him as, on the whole, more akin to Molière than to Goethe. In a review of Lord Lytton's *Poems* in 1868 he cites Goethe in support of the view that youthful writers, who strike out on new paths, should not be frowned upon. Genius is at all times a rare phenomenon. In the same article he speaks somewhat critically of Goethe's lyrical habit: 'Goethe's songs were the fruit of a long life. He tells us how they sprang up in him, and I do not doubt of his singing as the birds sing; but without irreverence it may be said that this was merely a self-indulgent mood to which German verse allured the highest of German poets. I love the larger number of them for his sake, not for their own.' His admiration for the man, his personality and view of life, was probably greater than for the artist. He even finds something of the 'comic spirit' in him, otherwise so rare in German literature, 'enough to complete the splendid figure of the man, but no more.' He knows the poet's foibles, and claims the right, 'while worshipping the splendid stature clothed in wisdom, to smile now and then.' Like Thackeray he disliked the 'sickliness' of Werther, but he is enthusiastic when something really great appeals to him. 'I have read *Das Göttliche* this morning,' he writes to John Morley in 1877, 'and with a feeling of new strength, which is like conception in the brain. This is the very spirit of Goethe. I have many times come in contact with it and been ennobled. Fault of mine, if not more! This high discernment, this noblest of unconsidered utterance, this is the Hymn for men. This is to be really prophet-like.....After midnight I sat and thought of Goethe: and of the sage in him, and the youth. And somewhat in his manner the enclosed came of it (the poem *Mentor and Pupils*).' The *Zigeunerlied* is a favourite of Harry Richmond, which he hums when he has too little to think of or too much. In a series of letters to Lady Ulrica Baring in 1901 and 1902, Meredith confesses to the cult of Goethe and criticizes some new books which he has been reading as 'mainly summaries, a great deal of them merely radotage.' In the year 1901 he wrote, 'I know Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Geibel, Freiligrath, Lenau,' and five years later he made, in reply to Dr H. Anders, the significant confession, 'As for me, you ask of my readings of the forma-

tive kind. They were first *The Arabian Nights*, then Gibbon, Niebuhr, Walter Scott; then Molière, then the noble Goethe, the most enduring. All the poets, English, Weimar, Swabia and Austrian.' Schiller seems not to have been so congenial to him. Apart from a lengthy reference to *Fiesco* in *The Tragic Comedians*, he is seldom mentioned more than by name. Heine he calls the 'incomparable Heinrich,' but in the above novel he describes his verses as 'lucid metheglin, with here and there no dubious flavour of acid, and a lively sting in the tail of the honey.' Somewhat earlier, in 1868, he had said, 'He is the unique example of a man who made himself his constant theme, and he pursued it up to the time he was rescued from his mattress-grave. By virtue of a cunning art he caused it to be interesting while he lived. I feel the monotony of it grow upon me often now when I take up the *Buch der Lieder*, the *Neuer Frühling* and the *Romanzero*.' This criticism, coupled with the remarks on Goethe's lyrical subjectivity, shows that while Meredith admired the German lyric to a certain extent, he does not speak at all like one who would fain emulate. And, in fact, his own poetry differs not only radically from the simple, subjective song of Heine or of Goethe in his youth, but also from the traditional style and tone of the German lyric as a whole. In this sphere of Meredith's literary work there is no trace of German influence.

In addition to these references to the foremost literary names there are many allusions to men like Harnack, Mommsen, Niebuhr, Mörike, Hoffmann, Richter, Zschokke. And the way in which they are mentioned makes it clear that Meredith was familiar not only with their work, but even with their personal peculiarities, methods of composition and style. In a review of 1908 he shows himself at home in the essential differences between certain forms of English and German metre. On German literature as a whole he has only one remark, made in 1872, which seems to sum up his judgment, 'A people with so fine a literature.' In the *Essay on the Idea of Comedy*, however, he lays his finger on one of the weak spots in German letters, the lack of the 'comic spirit.' German attempts at comedy remind him of the dancing of Atta Troll. Lessing's comedy he considers dull, with too obvious a tendency. Richter's description of Siebenkäs and his Lisette is the 'best edition of the German comic.' The German literary laugh is infrequent, or rather, monstrous. Spiritual laughter they have not yet attained to; sentimentalism waylays them in the flight. Here and there a Volkslied or Märchen shows a national aptitude for stout animal laughter; and we see that the literature is built on it, which is hopeful so far.

The Germans have had no comic training, nor much of satirical. Heinrich Heine has not been enough to cause them to smart and meditate. Nationally, as well as individually, when they are excited they are in danger of the grotesque. Their irony is a missile of terrific tonnage, their sarcasm like a blast from a dragon's mouth. 'They have great gifts and sound good sense, but the discipline of the comic spirit is needful to their growth. We see what they can reach in that great figure of modern manhood, Goethe. They are a growing people: they are conversable as well; and when their men, as in France, and at intervals at Berlin tea-tables, consent to talk on equal terms with their women, and listen to them, their growth will be accelerated and be shapelier.'

3. *Meredith's Work in its Relation to German Literature.*

One of Meredith's first literary efforts was a translation of Mörike's ballad *Schön Rohtraut* for the *Leader* of 1850; the piece was included in the *Poems* published in the following year. His youthful work *Farina* is, broadly speaking, a German fairy-tale. It contains only one non-German character. It is linked on partly to the tales of knightly adventure so popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, partly to the Märchen which the German Romanticists Tieck, Brentano, Fouqué and the brothers Grimm had made so popular. It abounds in quotations from the Minnesang, but they are quotations only in the same sense as the verses in *The Shaving of Shagpat*. They reflect, however, the tone and spirit of the Minnesingers. There are snatches from the old ballad of Rotbart and an analysis of the ballad of St Ottilie. German legend, too, is drawn upon for the story of Bertha of Bohemia and Hilda of Bavaria. But even in this early work Meredith's individuality asserts itself. Not one of the Romanticists would have written the story in quite the same way. The style reminds us more of Heine than of them. We note already the author's love of aphorisms; 'A sham dragon, shamming sleep, has destroyed more virgins than all the heathen Emperors, says old Hans Aepfelmann of Düsseldorf.'

At an early stage in his career Meredith wrote the delightfully humorous story, *The Gentleman of Fifty and the Maid of Nineteen*. It did not become known, however, until it appeared in the Memorial Edition in 1896. The general idea is undoubtedly derived from Goethe's *Der Mann von fünfzig Jahren*, one of the stories in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*. This was translated by Carlyle in 1824, but Meredith

may have known it in the original. The points of resemblance are as follows:—(1) The outlines of a somewhat peculiar story, representing the estrangement of a young engaged couple through the irresistible attraction of the girl to a man past middle life; (2) Alice prefers the older man because of his scrupulous regard for dress and personal appearance—the two men in Goethe's story are contrasted in the same way; (3) Mr Pollingray has a horror of growing old and of being called old—the Major in Goethe's story has the same feeling and grasps eagerly at the opportunity of renewing his youth with the artificial aids of his actor friend; (4) The attitude of the elderly lover is similar in the two cases—Mr Pollingray lets himself drift into love, yielding to his good nature, while the Major is won over by the openly lavished affection of Hilarie; (5) In both cases the conclusion is left to the reader's imagination. With Goethe the widow was obviously intended to solve the difficulty, while the French Countess, soon to become a widow, may have been meant by Meredith to perform the same function. In both of the stories, at any rate, marriage between nineteen and fifty seems at the end to be out of the question. On the other hand, it would be unfair to Meredith to leave out of account the very considerable differences in the details of the narratives. Hilarie is swayed almost wholly by feeling, Alice is a girl of intellect and will, although her passion is equally tender and impulsive. Meredith describes with great psychological care the change in the feelings of Alice towards Mr Pollingray. In Goethe Hilarie's love is presented as a fact from the beginning, and, strange to say, she is described as the niece of the Major. The settings of the two stories have nothing in common. Meredith's is peculiarly English, while Goethe's might have been written in any language. Meredith has chosen a peculiar form, a series of chapters headed 'He' and 'She,' in which he analyses alternately the feelings of Mr Pollingray and of Alice. The humour and style of the piece are Meredith's own.

In *The Tragic Comedians*, published in 1880, Meredith has built up a novel out of the tragic events which led to the death of Ferdinand Lassalle in 1864. The sensation in Germany had somewhat died down, and Meredith may have been interested in the subject by the appearance of Georg Brandes' famous monograph on Lassalle, which appeared first in a German magazine and later as a book. It was, as its author claims, the first study of Lassalle in literary form, 'dette første og hidtil eneste literære. Porträt, der er gjort af Lassalle.' Brandes considers Lassalle as scholar, agitator and lover. To Meredith, interested though

he was in Lassalle, the psychological study of the mind of the heroine in the tragedy, Helene von Dönniges, presented the more fascinating problem. How could Helene, with her ardent love for Lassalle, throw him over under parental compulsion and marry within six months the man from whom Lassalle received his fatal wound? Meredith has followed very closely the early book of the heroine, *Meine Beziehungen zu Ferdinand Lassalle*. The dialogue is frequently almost word for word the same. Sometimes, however, the accounts vary. Occasionally this is caused by a mere slip, as where Meredith speaks of Helene consulting her aunt, while in reality it was her grandmother. The circumstances in which Helene first heard the name Lassalle and the date of their first meeting are different. Much of the conversation, in Berlin and later, is added by Meredith. He leaves out some interesting scenes, changes the locale of others, and, towards the end of the story, avails himself of material of which Helene, after being shut up by her father, knew nothing. Here he has followed the published letters and diary of Lassalle. A criticism of Helene's letter to the Countess takes the place of the letter itself. He has omitted the reproaches of Lassalle to Helene when she ruined his whole plan by precipitating matters and leaving her father's house. In the part played by Lassalle, the general picture of his character and the explanation of his fall—'He perished of his weakness, but it was a strong man that fell...If the end was unheroic, the blot does not overshadow his life...A stormy blood made wreck of a splendid intelligence'—Meredith is completely at one with Georg Brandes. One may compare Meredith (p. 256 ff., edit. of Ward, Lock, Bowden and Co., 1892) with Brandes (pp. 560 and 567, *Samlede Skrifter*, v. VII, Kjöbenhavn, 1901). Some of the details of the story, not found in Helene's book, such as Lassalle's visit to Munich, the appeal of the Countess to Bishop Kettler, the description of Lassalle's feverish activity and his despair when baffled, may have been suggested by Brandes' account. Chapter nine in Meredith may be compared with Brandes, p. 553 ff. Like Brandes, Meredith hints at the streak of Jewish blood in Helene's veins, a fact which she did not mention herself. There is not much original matter in the book. Chief interest attaches to the famous defence of light fiction put forward by Lassalle, the criticism of the English as a 'power extinct, a people gone to fat' and the appreciation of Bismarck, which, though based on Lassalle's remarks, has been greatly added to by Meredith. On the whole *The Tragic Comedians* is one of the weakest of the novels. The idealistic picture of the heroine is unconvincing in view of the course of events.

Whether Meredith was consciously idealizing her character or not may be left to speculation; those, however, who have read the subsequent adventures of Helene von Racowitza in her Autobiography will have little doubt that Meredith's representation of her as the grand tragic figure was a fatal misconception of her character and a mere beating of the air.

In Meredith's literary work there are a number of minor resemblances to German thoughts and methods, individually unimportant, but suggestive when taken together. One notes his liking for Diaries, the Pilgrim's Script, for example, in *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, or the Old Buccaneer's Book of Maxims in *The Amazing Marriage*. These things are well-known features of German fiction, introduced sometimes to help the story along, sometimes as a convenient receptacle for the author's own aphorisms. Ottilie in *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* and Clara in *Richard Feverel* are near relatives, and their diaries have much in common. In the same novel there is a famous scene where Richard learns that the wife whom he has abandoned has given him a son. It should be compared with the similar situation in *Wilhelm Meister* (Bk. VII, ch. 8), if only to see with what power, amounting to absolute genius, Meredith has surpassed his predecessor. The trenchant criticism of Horace in *The Tragic Comedians* is more German than English. There is a curious coincidence in the warning which Meredith gives to men not to confide to a woman their admiration for another woman. Women know one another too well to make reliable confidantes. Goethe makes the same remark in *Wilhelm Meister*: 'Sie kennen sich unter einander zu gut, um sich einer solchen ausschliesslichen Verehrung würdig zu halten.' The debate on Hamlet between Clotilde and Alvan reminds us of the discussion of the same theme in *Wilhelm Meister*. The reader of Meredith knows his whole-hearted appreciation of the joys of life, and his skill in setting Nature and human moods in harmony. He will frequently note his tendency to indicate symbolically what is coming, as in the picture of the withered tree in *The Tragic Comedians*. He will find that he rescues Diana from her despair by revealing to her the healing powers of Nature. To understand and take Nature as she is, Meredith said, is to get on the true divine high-road. These things could be paralleled from Goethe over and over again; but they are not confined to Goethe, although peculiarly characteristic of his art. Diana, Meredith once said, would have been appreciated by Goethe. It may be thought significant by some that Meredith's first regular novel deals with the education of a young man—perhaps the most popular

theme in German fiction since *Wilhelm Meister*. But Meredith's treatment is individual; the outlines of the picture and the detail are peculiarly English. On the point of style critics have compared Meredith with Richter—a cruel injustice to Meredith! It may certainly be pointed out that where Meredith breaks in upon the narrative to speak about the usefulness of dots, when words fail, or to discuss, as in *Sandra Belloni*, the nature of sur-excited sentiment, or where he stops to talk confidentially to the reader about his way of telling a story, he is adopting an attitude which Richter delighted in. But, again, this is no more peculiar to Richter than it is to Laurence Sterne. Meredith's individuality, in fact, was too pronounced to allow his style to be influenced very much by anyone. Meredithese is a very different thing from Jean Paulism. On the other hand, from his visits to the continent and his intimate acquaintance with its people and their literature, he undoubtedly derived a great deal. And what he could assimilate did not consist merely of casual impressions and suggestions, but of something that forms a foundation of George Meredith the writer and reformer. His mental horizon was widened, his culture expanded: he gained a keener eye for racial differences, particularly for the insular English types in whose delineation he revels. He looks at England from an eminence, and it is his study of European society and culture chiefly that has helped him to reach that height. He has a fine sense of racial temperament, as we see not only in his German characters, but in the English, Welsh and Irish ones as well. His cosmopolitanism has frequently made him critical, but it has nowhere rendered him un-English. It has pointed his irony and whetted the edge of his satire, but both are tempered by his sunny humour and natural kindliness. It is with a twinkle in his eye that he makes the priggish Mr Warwick say, 'You are to know, dear Emmy, that we English are the aristocracy of Europeans,' or puts into the mouth of Lady Watkin, innocently unconscious of the irony, the smug remark, 'She speaks excellent French—all European languages, Mr Redworth.'

JOHN LEES.

UNE SOURCE D'ANDROMAQUE.

‘HERCULE MOURANT,’ DE ROTROU.

II.

APRÈS avoir démontré la dette de Racine envers Rotrou par l'étude de ses emprunts particuliers, nous pouvons aborder un ordre d'imitations plus fuyantes. Racine s'est-il inspiré d'*Hercule mourant* pour la constitution de son intrigue ?

Les plans des deux tragédies ne s'accordent pas. *Hercule mourant* est extérieur à *Andromaque* par les souffrances, les plaintes, la mort et la vengeance d'Hercule, qui n'occupent pas moins de trois actes, les derniers. D'autre part *Andromaque* déborde *Hercule mourant* par une large partie des rôles d'Hermione et d'Oreste. Il fallait que Déjanire se décidât promptement à une vengeance dont les effets constituent la tragédie même. Au contraire, la vengeance d'Hermione ne fournit à Racine que son dénouement, et le poète a pu et dû détailler chez Hermione et chez Oreste les états de sentiment antérieurs. Les deux pièces ne se rejoignent qu'au moment où Hermione a perdu tout espoir de ramener Pyrrhus. En outre, les oscillations sentimentales qui font proprement le sujet d'*Andromaque* manquent dans *Hercule mourant*, où pas un instant Hercule ne balance entre Déjanire et Iole. Par intrigue, j'entends donc non le plan, mais les données fondamentales de l'action.

On connaît assez bien les sources antiques d'*Andromaque* pour calculer à peu près les chances qu'avait Racine d'arriver par lui-même, en les développant, à son affabulation.

Il allègue l'*Enéide* (II, 292-332) pour sa source principale. Il y a lu qu'Andromaque, restée fidèle de cœur à la mémoire d'Hector, a pourtant subi la volonté de Pyrrhus, conçu de lui un fils, et épousé Helenus; que Pyrrhus, dépris d'elle, a épousé Hermione; enfin qu'Oreste, dans un accès de fureur jalouse, a surpris Pyrrhus au pied des autels paternels et l'a tué. 'Voilà, en peu de vers, conclut-il, tout le sujet

de cette tragédie. Voilà le lieu de la scène, l'action qui s'y passe, les quatre principaux personnages, et même leurs caractères' (Préface de 1668).

Il est certain qu'il a pu lui suffire d'appliquer au texte de Virgile la formule en quelque sorte géométrique de la chaîne des amours non partagés, que la Pastorale dramatique avait jadis mise à la mode d'après Montemayor et qu'il faisait revivre, pour obtenir directement la combinaison fondamentale d'*Andromaque*: Oreste aimant Hermione, Hermione Pyrrhus, Pyrrhus Andromaque, Andromaque Hector. Ce quadruple enchaînement d'amours qui se fuient l'a peut-être séduit d'abord autant que la beauté pathétique du sujet; on peut du moins affirmer qu'il aurait rejeté le sujet malgré sa beauté, s'il ne l'avait trouvé réductible à la formule qui est à la base de tout son théâtre, et qui lui permettait du reste de lier dans une même action, en les rendant contemporains, des sentiments et des situations que Virgile lui présentait comme dispersés et successifs.

Au besoin, l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide, si grecque d'ailleurs et si particulière, a pu l'orienter dans ses réflexions. Elle suggère nettement la situation que Racine complique dans *Andromaque*, mais à laquelle il se réduit dans toutes ses autres pièces, et qui est la condition nécessaire sinon suffisante de sa tragédie: l'homme pris entre deux femmes (ou le contraire), aimé de l'une, aimant l'autre, ou accusé de l'aimer. Mais Racine pouvait très bien se passer de l'*Andromaque* grecque pour construire son intrigue; peut-être est-ce sans injustice et sans insinuerie qu'il la mentionne à peine dans sa première préface et l'écarte presque dans la seconde. Euripide ne lui a peut-être apporté que ce qu'il avait déjà trouvé par lui-même.

Hercule mourant est construit sur une chaîne d'amours non partagés: Déjanire aime Hercule, qui aime Iole, qui aime Arcas, dont elle est aimée¹. Racine étant dès *La Thébaïde* en possession de sa formule dramatique, il n'y a probablement pas lieu de faire intervenir le souvenir d'*Hercule mourant* dans l'idée première d'*Andromaque*. L'influence de Rotrou, toute générale, se placerait plutôt, avec plusieurs autres, à l'origine, quand Racine déterminait sa formule. La pièce de son prédécesseur n'a pu que le confirmer dans l'observance de sa propre règle.

Aucune des sources antiques ne présente le caractère distinctif, la grande nouveauté, ce qui fait la beauté supérieure et constitutive de

¹ C'est la combinaison la plus fréquente de la Pastorale. Le rôle d'Arcas est naturellement moderne et manque chez Sénèque.

l'*Andromaque* moderne : Andromaque prisonnière, mais maîtresse de soi, soustraite au bon plaisir de Pyrrhus, restaurée dans sa liberté de princesse et de femme.

Il est vrai que la légende antique semble en avançant s'orienter vaguement vers cette conception. Jamais elle ne supprime le fait du Prince et ses conséquences. Mais en le maintenant, elle l'entoure peu à peu des sentiments qui conduiront à l'abolir ; elle accroît les regrets et la honte d'Andromaque, que Virgile fixe enfin, malgré le double avilissement, dans une inoubliable attitude de fidélité fervente et pure.

Depuis Chateaubriand, on a souvent fait honneur à la délicatesse moderne et chrétienne de Racine d'avoir transformé la légende. Racine ne revendique pas cet honneur pour lui-même. Il l'attribue au progrès général des esprits, c'est à dire en somme au mouvement interne de la légende même, déterminé par Virgile et assuré par l'enseignement des collèges ; il y a plus, il se retranche en quelque mesure derrière l'opinion, pour excuser les libertés qu'il s'est permises : 'Andromaque, écrit-il dans sa seconde Préface (1676), ne connaît point d'autre mari qu'Hector, ni d'autre fils qu'Astyanax. J'ai cru en cela me conformer à l'idée que nous avons maintenant de cette princesse. La plupart de ceux qui ont entendu parler d'Andromaque ne la connaissent guère que pour la veuve d'Hector et pour la mère d'Astyanax. On ne croit point qu'elle doive aimer ni un autre mari, ni un autre fils¹. Et je doute que les larmes d'Andromaque eussent fait sur l'esprit de mes spectateurs l'impression qu'elles y ont faite, si elles avaient coulé pour un autre fils que celui qu'elle avait d'Hector.' Une explication de ce genre, fournie d'ailleurs après coup, n'exclut assurément pas la possibilité d'une influence particulière dans l'élaboration d'*Andromaque*.

Or Rotrou avait modernisé, lui aussi, et de la même manière, la légende d'Iole. Sénèque ne laisse pas ignorer, par quelques touches rares mais précises (v. 345, 357, 409, 1496), qu'Iole a subi la loi des captives. Il en est de même dans les *Trachiniennes*, auxquelles Rotrou ne s'est pas reporté, ni, naturellement, Racine. Rotrou a fait d'Iole, au contraire, une princesse tendre, mais fière, indomptable, prête à la mort pour sauver son honneur, incapable de sacrifier cet honneur au salut même de celui qu'elle aime. Qu'il soit ou non de l'invention de Rotrou, ce rôle est frappant, et Racine était trop artiste pour n'en pas garder le souvenir. Mais la preuve en est impossible à faire. J'observe que la situation et le mouvement des sentiments aboutissent dans les deux pièces au même terme : menaces répétées de se tuer chez Iole, résolution

¹ Ces assertions de Racine seraient à vérifier.

de mourir chez Andromaque. Il y aurait peut-être là une présomption? Evidemment, la résolution d'Andromaque, sans être nécessaire, paraît assez indiquée dans un genre où les poètes jouent avec la mort, et Racine a bien pu la trouver tout seul; les subterfuges qui pouvaient à la fois sauver Andromaque de Pyrrhus et sauver son fils de la vengeance des Grecs n'abondent pas. Si pourtant il en doit l'idée à Rotrou, il ne lui doit pas peu de chose, puisque, grâce à ce sophisme de conscience, Andromaque feint un consentement qui renouvelle le drame, relance l'action, et procure le dénouement. Il lui doit bien davantage encore, la base même de sa pièce, s'il s'est inspiré de la situation d'Iole pour déterminer celle d'Andromaque. ||

Ce point capital acquis, tout le reste allait à peu près de soi, par voie de conséquence. La liberté d'Andromaque impliquait celle de Pyrrhus et d'Hermione, sans quoi Racine revenait à l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide. Il est vrai qu'Hercule aime Iole, marié à Déjanire; mais qu'eût gagné Rotrou à le démarier? Il ruinait son sujet. Il demeure pourtant que Racine a continué son œuvre d'affinement et de modernisation de la légende. Il a eu un sentiment plus délicat et plus profond de la dignité féminine et princière. On ne met pas en doute sa supériorité. Il s'agit seulement de savoir s'il s'est aidé de Rotrou pour organiser son sujet, et son indépendance sur un point n'entraîne pas son indépendance sur l'autre¹.

Entre Andromaque et l'amour de Pyrrhus, il faut un obstacle. Toutes les sources antiques impliquent ou mettent en fait la résignation d'Andromaque, mais aussi sa répugnance à cet amour. Il suffisait, dans une conscience de femme affinée et transformée, d'accroître cette répugnance pour rendre ce mariage intolérable. Racine l'a poussée jusqu'à l'horreur, une horreur physique autant que morale, liée au souvenir d'Achille meurtrier d'Hector, et à la vision de Pyrrhus son fils, couvert de sang et massacrant les Troyens dans Troie incendiée. Virgile lui a fourni les traits matériels²; mais Rotrou, dont l'influence paraîtrait ici bien inutile, l'avait devancé dans l'interprétation psychologique. L'une de ses tirades (I, 3) présente avec Racine (III, 6, 925-947) une analogie qui ne semble pas fortuite. Hercule s'offre à faire de la tapisserie avec Iole, ou, si elle trouve ce passe-temps importun,

¹ Euripide pousse au premier plan dans son *Andromaque* le mariage d'Hermione; Virgile ne le mentionne qu'en passant. Ces jeux d'ombre et de lumière ont pu diriger Racine dans son travail, sans parler des textes qui montrent Pyrrhus non marié.

² *Enéide* II, 469-532; *Andromaque* 355 ss., 925 ss., 997 ss.

qu'elle réponde au moins à son amour. Un regard seulement, c'est tout ce qu'il demande. Elle répond :

O requête severe !

De quel œil puis-je voir le meurtrier de mon pere ?
 J'ay veu cruel, j'ay veu ce cher corps que je plains,
 Tomber dessouz l'effort de vos barbares mains ;
 Je l'ay veu souz vos coups estendu sur la terre,
 Finir ses tristes jours, & ceste injuste guerre.
 Heureuse si nos corps n'eussent eu qu'un cercueil,
 Si nous n'eussions tous deux causé qu'un mesme deuil.

L'identité de l'idée et l'identité du mouvement de la phrase ne suffiraient peut-être pas à garantir l'imitation ; en particulier la répétition de 'J'ai veu,' commune à Rotrou et à Racine¹, pourrait s'expliquer chez Racine par les nécessités du mètre. Mais la conclusion identique de l'argument chez l'un et l'autre poète décèle assez sûrement une imitation du second, alors surtout qu'il a fait tant d'autres emprunts à cette même scène de Rotrou. Ceci nous rappelle à point nommé que pour paraître inutile, une influence peut néanmoins exister.

Contre Andromaque, Astyanax sert d'ôtage à Pyrrhus. Racine a prolongé la vie de l'enfant, et dans sa seconde Préface, il s'en excuse par l'exemple de la *Franciade* et de nos vieilles chroniques. On doit prendre ses paroles pour une réponse tardive aux critiques de ses adversaires, non pour un renseignement sur la genèse de sa pièce. Il ne pensait pas sans doute au jeu d'Hercule contre Iole et Arcas lorsqu'il étudiait celui de Pyrrhus à l'égard d'Andromaque ; *Pertharite* lui offrait une suggestion bien plus nette, à supposer que la résurrection d'Astyanax ne soit pas née spontanément d'une méditation d'Euripide et de Sénèque, dont l'*Andromaque* et les *Troyennes* esquissent des chantages analogues à celui de Pyrrhus. Ici, l'influence de Rotrou paraîtrait s'être au moins perdue dans d'autres influences plus proches et plus directes.

En altérant la légende, Racine s'était rendu tout dénouement impossible. Il a hésité sur le sort final d'Andromaque. Dans le texte de 1668, Oreste l'emmène prisonnière, mais Hermione la délivre et se ligue avec elle (v. 1561) pour venger Pyrrhus. Racine a préféré plus tard la laisser tout à fait maîtresse de la situation, au mépris de toute vérité. Il se rapprochait par là, involontairement sans doute, du dénouement heureux de Rotrou ; il se sera souvenu du dénouement de l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide, dont il aura gardé le fait brut en l'allégeant

¹ A Sénèque aussi (*Hercules Etaeus*, 206) que Rotrou suit de près. Rien n'indique que Racine y soit remonté ; la présence du mot 'tumulum' chez Sénèque et du mot 'tombeau' chez Racine est un fait négligeable. Euripide (*Andr.* 400-403) ne donne qu'une fois 'j'ai vu' ; sa phrase est d'ailleurs construite tout autrement.

des circonstances qui le justifient : Pyrrhus mort, Andromaque échappe à Ménélas et à Hélène, mais elle doit partir pour la terre des Molosses, où elle épousera Helenos.

Relevons un dernier détail qui intéresse le personnage d'Andromaque. La scène IV, 1, entre Andromaque et Céphise, rappelle jusqu'à un certain point par la couleur et le ton la scène II, 4 d'*Hercule mourant*, entre Arcas et Iole. Le rapprochement n'a rien d'étrange. Après son fils, Céphise est tout ce qu'aime Andromaque ; elle lui fait ses recommandations avant de mourir, comme Arcas et Iole se font leurs adieux. Il n'a pu exister de Racine à Rotrou qu'un emprunt de l'idée en général, et une émulation dans le pathétique. Cependant, vers la fin de la scène, Rotrou semble annoncer Racine (1071-1100) un peu plus nettement :

Non, jamais sur ton corps mes yeux ne pleureront,
Et mes mains, cher Arcas, les en dispenseront.
Alcide espère en vain, quelque effort qu'il propose,
Et qui sçait bien mourir, sçait vainere toute chose ;
Adieu, si par ma mort ce tyran ne se rend,
Et si tu dois mourir, nomme Iole en mourant ;
Là bas si je t'ay pleu, mon ame bien plus belle,
Te rendra de ses vœux un compte si fidelle,
Que tu n'auras object, ny plus cher, ny plus beau,
Et que tu beniras mesme nostre bourreau¹.

Ces ressemblances, renforcées de celles que nous avons relevées plus haut, tendraient à rendre au moins probable une influence de Rotrou sur une moitié de l'intrigue d'*Andromaque*.

Passons maintenant au second groupe des personnages, Hermione, Oreste. J'ai signalé un point de contact indéniable entre le rôle d'Hermione (IV, 5) et l'*Hercule mourant*. Racine ne doit pas à Rotrou que cette scène. A partir du moment où les deux tragédies se rejoignent par la volonté de vengeance d'Hermione, les ressemblances de situation se font très nombreuses entre les deux pièces ; il n'est pas impossible qu'*Hercule mourant* ait aidé Racine à déterminer les rôles d'Oreste, d'Hermione, de Cléone, et la marche de son action.

Hermione se décide à punir Pyrrhus et fait venir Oreste (IV, 2). Racine aurait ignoré le premier mot de son art, s'il n'avait remis à Hermione la direction du châtiment qu'Euripide et Virgile lui montraient comme l'œuvre d'Oreste. Déjanire, qui prépare elle-même la tunique fatale, n'a probablement pas inspiré la décision d'Hermione.

¹ Sans équivalent dans Sénèque. Dans *Hercule mourant* III, 4 Luscinde prie Déjanire de se sauver pour son fils. Dans *Andromaque* (1020 ss.) le souvenir d'Homère et de Sénèque est si proche qu'il rend l'influence de Rotrou inutile et improbable.

Oreste (IV, 3) répugne profondément à tuer Pyrrhus : de même Philoctète à tuer Arcas (V, 2); et l'insistance d'Alcmène vaut celle d'Hermione. Mais en dehors de la ressemblance générale des situations, il n'y a pas et ne pouvait pas y avoir de contact entre les deux scènes. L'argumentation de Rotrou est par hasard trop précise. ' Quel horrible devoir ! s'écrie Philoctète !—Quoi ! réplique Alcmène, pour venger le fils d'un Dieu, vous hésiteriez !—Peu m'importe Arcas, mais j'ignore son crime.—Mon fils l'a vaincu, pris, condamné.—Mais il n'était pas coupable, il défendait son pays.—Il a défendu le déloyal Eurytée.—Mais Iole lui était promise.—Non, elle l'était d'abord à Hercule.—Mais Arcas ne fut pour rien dans la perfidie d'Eurytée.—Ah ! rendez-moi les flèches...—Non, j'exécuterai la volonté d'Hercule ; pour lui je donnerais ma vie avec joie.—Qu'on amène donc Arcas et Iole.' On conçoit que Racine ne pouvait rien tirer de cette argumentation, sinon peut-être l'idée même de la scène et le consentement final d'Oreste¹. Mais la scène II, 1 de *Pertharite*, à laquelle Racine a peut-être pris une autre tirade d'Hermione (II, 1, 427, *Pertharite* 431), serait plutôt la source de cette scène.

Cléone (IV, 4) dissuade Hermione de son projet : ainsi fait Luscinde avec Déjanire (II, 2). Les deux confidentes combattent les volontés de vengeance de leurs maîtresses, Luscinde verbeusement, Cléone en un vers (1255). Celle-ci fait craindre la mort à Hermione : Luscinde emploie plusieurs fois (II, 2, III, 4) le même argument, et Déjanire exprime chaque fois la même indifférence qu'Hermione. Les deux suivantes terminent par un mot d'obéissance :

Madame, usez en tout de toute ma puissance,
Quand je pourray pour vous l'employer sans offence.

Quelques vers de Déjanire ont pu contribuer à l'énergie des vers 1261 ss. de Racine :

Une captive, ô Dieux ! partagera ma couche !
Sotillé de ses baisers, il faut que je le touche ;
Il faudra que je perde ou divise son cœur,
Et les yeux d'une esclave ont vaincu ce vainqueur ?.....
Et mon œil de mes pleurs à chaque heure motillé,
Ne verra pas mon lit honteusement sotillé ;
J'esteindray de son sang, avec ses sales flames,
Les torches de l'Hymen qui joignit nos deux ames ;.....
Pourceu que ceste Esclave expire à la mesme heure,
Je mourray sans regret, pourceu qu'Iole meure ;
On se perd doucement, quand on perd ce qu'on hait,
Et qui tuë en mourant, doit mourir satisfait.

¹ v. 1176-1177. Il n'est pas impossible que dans cette scène IV, 3 Racine utilise des détails des scènes IV, 1, 2, 4 et V, 1 de Rotrou ; mais cela est douteux.

Ce n'est peut-être pas sans raison que dans les scènes correspondantes des deux pièces se détachent quelques vers de haine particulièrement vigoureux et colorés.

Pyrrhus (IV, 5) vient s'excuser auprès d'Hermione; nous avons vu que cette scène, dont l'orientation et la portée appartiennent entièrement à Racine, doit à Rotrou maints arguments et une part de son ironie.

Hermione accablée hésite dans sa vengeance (v, 1). Son entrée (v. 1393) rappelle deux entrées de Déjanire (II, 1-2 et surtout III, 3). Hermione s'en veut de s'intéresser encore à Pyrrhus (1403 ss.), comme Déjanire se gourmande de n'oser se tuer (III, 4):

Que differe mon bras, & que tarde une espée,
D'estre en ce lasche cœur¹ jusqu'aux gardes trempée;.....
Toy son pere, & son Dieu, jette les yeux icy,
Et puisque tu peux tout, sois son vangeur aussi;
Frappe ce lasche sein du trait de ton tonnerre....

Les hésitations de Déjanire à se tuer (III, 4) équivalent à celles d'Oreste à frapper Pyrrhus (v, 2, 1459 ss.).

Le récit de la mort de Pyrrhus par Oreste (v, 3) fait pendant au récit de la mort de Déjanire (IV, 3). Le début actuel de Racine rappelle Rotrou d'assez près. Agis et Alcène ont l'un et l'autre deux vers de plainte, puis Agis annonce la nouvelle :

Dejanire à nos yeux mal-gré notre deffence,
D'un ruisseau de son sang a lavé son offence².

Alcène provoque Agis à faire son récit, comme Hermione Oreste. Entre les deux récits, il n'y a pas et ne pouvait pas y avoir grands points de contact : notons le passage (classique en pareil cas) du récit au style direct : 'Comment (a-t-elle dit) quand il cesse de vivre...³'; l'impuissance d'Agis à suivre et sauver Déjanire comme d'Oreste à frapper Pyrrhus (v. 1515); un mouvement de style analogue (cf. Racine 1520):

Et j'allois la saisir, lorsque cette cruelle...

enfin les protestations d'innocence de Déjanire, comparables aux excuses d'Oreste de n'avoir pu tuer Pyrrhus. Tout cela reste superficiel et douteux.

Par contre la ressemblance se resserre entre cette scène de Racine

¹ Cf. Racine 1404.

² Comparer Racine 1496. Sa scène commençait dans l'édition de 1668 par un morceau de 32 vers qu'il a supprimé, se rapprochant ainsi de Rotrou sans y penser, probablement; mais il a pu retrouver d'instinct la logique originale de son modèle.

³ Cf. Racine 1507.

et la scène v, 3 de Rotrou¹. Philoctète s'apprête à tuer Arcas, Iole se jette entre lui et sa victime :

Barbares, assassins, quelle soif ? quelle rage ?

Philoctète s'excuse : 'Madame, avec regret²....'

Iole se répand en lamentations, comme Hermione en plaintes et en outrages (1540) :

O dure cruauté ! quel droit ? quelle police ?
Fait d'un meurtre execrable, un acte de Justice ;
Quoy ? pour mon innocence un Prince perira,
Et pour ma pureté de son sang rougira ?
Tranchez plustost le cours de mes tristes annees⁴,.....

Alcmène presse Philoctète, Iole intervient de nouveau :

O sacrifice impie ! ô pitié barbare !
Traistre, j'attens le coup que ta main luy prepare,.....
Sommes nous abordez en un séjour sauvage,
Où l'on vive de sang, de crime & de carnage,
Pourquoy ? cruels, pourquoy ? jusqu'au Palais noircy,
Hercule cherchoit-il ce qu'il avoit icy ?
Quel monstre plus sanglant ? quel plus cruel Cerbere,
Que ses propres parens avoit-il à defaire ?
Que voit-on en ces lieux que des objets d'horreur ?
Et qu'y respire-t'on, que meurtre & que fureur ?

Les apostrophes reprennent quelques vers plus bas, avec les injures de théâtre :

Traistres, cruels autheurs du mal qui me possede
Vous causez le tourment, & m'ostez le remede...
C'est d'esgale rigueur nous nuire, & nous poursuivre,
Que le faire mourir & me forcer de vivre...

Les invectives d'Hermione ne sont pas sans analogie marquée, même dans les termes, avec celles d'Iole⁵.

Enfin nous avons vu que la scène finale d'*Andromaque* dérive certainement d'*Hercule mourant*.

Dans ces conditions, on incline à penser que sans la tragédie de Rotrou, les deux derniers actes d'*Andromaque* n'auraient peut-être pas pris la direction qu'ils ont prise ; Racine a peut-être procédé par transposition et utilisé dans une synthèse nouvelle les moyens dramatiques dont Rotrou s'était avisé. Mais la preuve en est impossible.

Au fond, la question revient à une question de chronologie. Toutes les incertitudes, ou peu s'en faut, se résoudraient, si nous connaissions la date des lectures de Racine. Celui-ci semble bien avoir eu *Hercule mourant* ouvert sur sa table pendant qu'il écrivait *Andromaque*, à moins

¹ Sans parallèle dans Sénèque.

² Cf. Racine 1537. Mais ces exclamations de tragédie ne prouvent rien.

³ Cf. Racine 1543.

⁴ Racine 1538.

⁵ Il y a des ressemblances entre cette scène d'*Andromaque* (v, 3) et les scènes III, 4 et 5 d'*Amalasonte* de Quinault (1658).

qu'il n'en eût fait un résumé et n'en eût gardé un souvenir merveilleusement net. Mais qu'est-ce qui l'y a ramené, et à quel moment y est-il revenu ? Il l'avait sans doute lu autrefois. Le sujet d'*Andromaque* une fois choisi, quand l'analogie des deux légendes lui a-t-elle sauté à l'esprit ? Selon le moment où se place cette lecture, *Hercule mourant* lui a fourni quelques-uns des principes d'organisation de son sujet, ou des scènes, des morceaux et des arguments à insérer dans une pièce déjà composée et avancée, ou enfin des modifications plus ou moins étendues à un plan arrêté. Quoiqu'il en soit, *Andromaque* paraît porter les traces d'une imitation délibérée et prolongée, et j'inclinerais à faire honneur à Rotrou d'une partie des conceptions qu'on expliquait par l'application libre du génie de Racine aux légendes antiques, dont il aurait dégagé lui-même les virtualités.

Quand on lit *Hercule mourant* d'affilée, ses situations, son accent, sa couleur et son pathétique se superposent à la tragédie de Racine avec bien plus de force que les fragments ou arguments de détail que j'ai relevés dans ces articles n'en peuvent donner l'idée.

Je n'ai pas besoin d'ajouter que Racine garde dans ses emprunts une entière originalité, et crée avec Rotrou, comme avec Homère, Virgile, Euripide ou Sénèque, la seule chose qui importe en art : un accent, un style nouveau, d'une unité sans défaillance. Au point de vue du théâtre, il donne aux inventions de Rotrou leur plénitude de portée, de précision et de force. Son intrigue est bien autrement complexe, serrée et profonde. Il est un grand géomètre.

Il y a une forme de son imitation dont je n'ai pas fait état, parce qu'elle ne se démontre pas, mais qui n'en est pas pour cela moins réelle ou moins intéressante. Souvent il semble le complément de Rotrou. Il l'utilise, part de lui, le dépasse, et conçoit au delà de ses inventions des développements qui naissent d'une logique plus subtile ou d'une région plus intime de l'âme. Il dégage du texte de Rotrou la pensée latente, répond à ses arguments ou à ses objections, résume en une formule générale ses traits particuliers, fait sortir le sens profond de ses propos superficiels ; on y perçoit au vif la réaction libre de son goût. Ce genre d'excitation intellectuelle ou sentimentale a d'autant plus de chances de se rencontrer que la personnalité de l'imitateur est plus vigoureuse¹.

¹ Je ne pouvais ici établir la liste complète des emprunts plus ou moins probables de Racine ; les éditions d'*Andromaque* seront le cadre naturel pour le dépouillement complet d'*Hercule mourant*. Je n'ai voulu qu'attirer l'attention sur les plus considérables et les plus certains, de manière à introduire *Hercule mourant* parmi les sources reconnues d'*Andromaque*.

Nous ne connaissons pas bien la formation littéraire de Racine. Sa longue intimité avec Rotrou, qu'attestent nombre d'emprunts espacés sur toute sa carrière dramatique, son coloris, son pathétique, son naturel, qui ne sont pas sans ressembler à ceux de son prédécesseur, devraient faire inscrire Rotrou parmi ses maîtres, et non parmi ses sources de rencontre. Par lui, Racine a eu la révélation d'une tragédie moins intellectualisée, plus fraîche, plus libre, plus poétique que celle de Corneille; il se rattache moins à la tradition de son grand rival qu'à celle des dramaturges plus humbles qui l'ont immédiatement précédé ou entouré. De cette tragédie, proche encore de la Pastorale et du Roman, il a d'ailleurs laissé tomber presque tout le lyrisme, au moins le lyrisme extérieur. A chaque instant Rotrou, sur les pas de Sénèque, dévie vers des développements sans nécessité, mais faciles, gracieux, charmants. Racine les retranche d'une main impitoyable; il va droit à son but, avec un sens de la précision qui n'est pas tout bénéfice, et qui entraîne quelque prosaïsme. Il tient de Corneille, ou plutôt il participe de l'esprit classique, en ce que, avec plus de souplesse, il maintient une logique impérieuse; il ajuste les paroles aux pensées, les pensées aux caractères et aux situations; il se refuse toute fantaisie, toute floraison, tout en gardant l'aisance, le naturel, la clarté, la sensibilité dont Corneille n'avait jamais été bien riche, et qu'il avait décidément laissés perdre. La comparaison de Racine avec Rotrou montre clairement l'évolution des esprits depuis trente-cinq ans, ce qu'est le classicisme, et ce qu'il admet de poésie extérieure.

Cette étude n'accroît qu'imperceptiblement la part de Sénèque dans la tragédie racinienne. Racine, qui n'avait que faire de la légende d'*Hercule sur l'Œta*, s'est réduit presque exclusivement aux parties modernes, romanesques et amoureuses, d'*Hercule mourant*. Quelques vers de *Médée* s'ajoutent à sa dette envers l'écrivain latin; ils sont écrits dans cette manière oratoire et tendue par laquelle Sénèque avait depuis une centaine d'années assuré son pouvoir sur la tragédie française; mais, sous cette faible dose, et pour un dénouement, son influence est aussi négligeable qu'inoffensive.

Enfin, on se demande si on n'a pas un peu trop vanté l'humanisme de Racine. Non qu'il n'eût un sentiment vif de la grande antiquité; Homère et Virgile sont restés, dans le lointain, ses inspireurs de beauté et ses maîtres d'émotion. Mais Rotrou le conduisait droit à l'*Hercules Œtaeus*, et celui-ci aux *Trachiniennes*; il semble n'avoir relu ni l'une ni l'autre de ces tragédies, pour l'amour de l'art. Il n'a pas relu l'*Oreste* d'Euripide pour son dénouement; à Euripide et à Sénèque

il a substitué un morceau de la *Médée*, du même Sénèque, qu'il savait peut-être par cœur. Les *Troyennes* de Sénèque ne l'ont pas entièrement détourné des *Troyennes* d'Euripide, mais elles leur ont fait un tort grave. Il ne doit pas beaucoup à l'*Andromaque* d'Euripide. En somme, on ne le voit pas très empressé à 'puiser aux sources sacrées,' à 's'enivrer de la pure antiquité'; pas très empressé non plus, d'un point de vue plus moderne, à lire devant lui, copieusement, curieusement, avant d'écrire. Par contre, il use largement de la pièce française, dont il néglige comme d'instinct les parties antiques, pour s'en tenir à la délicatesse et à la galanterie modernes. Il va au plus court, au plus facile, au plus moderne, en artiste, en poète, en homme de plaisir peut-être; il ne procède pas en humaniste. Cette conclusion, même si elle n'était vraie que d'*Andromaque* et de 1667, irait assez dans le sens des récents travaux sur Racine, et ne serait pas pour le diminuer. Elle ne ferait un peu tort à sa piété que pour accroître son indépendance. Or tout art puissant naît de la vie, et non des livres, quelque vénérables qu'ils soient. La caducité des œuvres tient à ce qu'elles s'obstinent à conserver de l'esprit du passé; leur force, à ce qu'elles enclôsent de nouveauté et de modernité. Nulle théorie du classicisme n'y changera rien.

GUSTAVE RUDLER.

LONDRES.

ALFRED DE VIGNY.

UN homme que sa noblesse native détournait du vulgaire ; d'une attitude un peu hautaine et dédaigneuse, mais aussi d'une sincérité peu commune ; qui a vécu dans l'indépendance et la solitude ; qui, né sérieux et triste, a beaucoup souffert de la vie, et qui s'est consolé silencieusement dans la pratique du stoïcisme, le culte quotidien des travaux de l'esprit et le fervent amour du bien ;

Un artiste qui, pour être incomplet et de souffle inégal, n'en a pas moins fidèlement servi la religion de la beauté ; qui a placé son art très haut, au-dessus des passions et des goûts de la foule ; qui l'a conçu comme l'expression vraie du monde des idées sous la forme poétique des symboles ; et qui, réalisant cet idéal de choix, nous a laissé des œuvres fortes, d'une grande pureté de lignes, d'une sévère ordonnance et d'un coloris toujours sobre ;

Un penseur original, d'une rare puissance de réflexion ; qu'une vue pessimiste des choses et l'entière incroyance aux dogmes religieux n'ont pas empêché d'aboutir à l'une des philosophies les plus généreuses qui soient ; qui a défendu avec éloquence quelques nobles idées sociales, et qui a fondé sur l'abnégation, la fierté résignée, le travail, le dévouement et la pitié, toute une doctrine morale d'une singulière énergie ;

Telle est l'image qu'une lecture répétée de son journal et qu'un intime commerce avec son œuvre nous ont laissée d'Alfred de Vigny.

I.

L'HOMME.

Il était de petite noblesse, descendant d'un receveur de la ville de Paris anobli par Charles IX ; mais, par un travers de sa nature qui persista toute sa vie et qui s'étale complaisamment dans ses *Mémoires* inédits, il eut toujours la prétention de se rattacher à la grande¹. Toutefois, s'il resta fidèle aux traditions de sa famille, très fier de son titre de comte, il était trop intelligent, il avait scruté trop à fond le sens des révolutions

¹ Cf. Ernest Dupuy, *La Jeunesse d'Alfred de Vigny*, dans le volume intitulé *La Jeunesse des Romantiques* (1905), p. 145 sqq.

politiques du siècle, pour ne pas voir que cette noblesse, dont il se réclamait, était 'morte socialement depuis 1789¹.' Aussi bien, l'écrivain qu'il était avait assez conscience que l'éclat de son nom lui venait moins de ses aïeux que de lui-même. Quelques mois avant de mourir, il disait, s'adressant à cette amante mystérieuse qu'il appelle Éva :

Si l'orgueil prend ton cœur quand le peuple me nomme,
Que de mes livres seuls te vienne ta fierté.
J'ai mis sur le cimier doré du gentilhomme
Une plume de fer qui n'est pas sans beauté.
J'ai fait illustre un nom qu'on m'a transmis sans gloire.
Qu'il soit ancien, qu'importe ? il n'aura de mémoire
Que du jour seulement où mon front l'a porté².

Testament admirable, où s'exprime avec force la hautaine pensée d'un homme fils de ses œuvres et fier de ses œuvres, qui sacrifie l'orgueil de la naissance au mérite personnel et salue dans l'esprit un principe supérieur de noblesse.

Il faut insister néanmoins sur ces nobiliaires origines du poète des *Destinées*. Par là s'expliquent certains traits de son caractère : cette distinction foncière, qui lui fait repousser, dans l'ordre des idées comme dans l'ordre moral, tout ce qui est commun ou bas ; cette réserve dans les manières, cette retenue dans les paroles, cette politesse un peu froide, qui n'exclut pas la bienveillance, mais qui prévient la familiarité ; cette morgue de grand seigneur qui, jointe au sentiment de sa valeur propre, le rendait impatient de toute critique,—même quand la critique lui venait de l'Académie. Par là s'explique encore son dédain de la foule, ce dégoût mainte fois affiché pour 'la masse idiote' ou 'l'aveugle multitude³,' ce préjugé d'aristocrate qui va jusqu'à lui faire écrire : 'Le noble et l'ignoble sont les deux noms qui distinguent le mieux, à mes yeux, les deux races d'hommes qui vivent sur terre. Ce sont réellement deux races qui ne peuvent s'entendre en rien et ne sauraient vivre ensemble⁴.' C'est aussi la raison de son immense mépris pour les assemblées politiques, où la médiocrité domine, où le nombre fait loi. Tirailé douloureusement entre ses opinions de caste, qui le gardent fidèle, quoique sans illusion,—par simple loyalisme,—au parti des Bourbons⁵, et ses réflexions de penseur, qui lui font entrevoir dans les brumes de l'avenir l'inéluctable avènement d'une démocratie universelle⁶, il a

¹ *Journal d'un Poète*, édit. Delagrave, p. 232. Dans la suite de cette étude, c'est toujours à cette édition que nous renverrons le lecteur.

² *L'Esprit pur*, début.

⁴ *Journal*, 1832, p. 71.

³ *Journal*, 1834, p. 92, et 1843, p. 166.

⁵ *Journal*, 1830, p. 49, et 1832, p. 66.

⁶ *Journal*, 1833, p. 78. Cf. *Documents inédits*, 1832 (cité par Dorison, *Alfred de Vigny poète-philosophe*, 1892, p. 69) : 'J'aurais l'air d'un trembleur ou d'un hypocrite, si je poussais la France à la république ; et pourtant elle est en démocratie depuis 1789.'

l'horreur du parlementarisme¹ et ne pardonne pas à 'l'intrigante bourgeoisie' d'avoir brouillé le roi et la noblesse².

A juger de si haut les choses politiques, il gagna du moins de conserver entière son indépendance. D'autant plus à l'aise envers le pouvoir qu'il ne lui demandait ni places ni faveurs³, il se fit une loi de vivre à l'écart, loin de tout ce qui pût seulement compromettre l'inviolabilité de son droit de juger. 'Exempt de tout fanatisme, je n'ai point d'idole. J'ai lu, j'ai vu, je pense et j'écris seul, indépendant⁴.' Cette fière déclaration, consignée dès 1829 en son journal intime, il y fut constamment fidèle. Dans ces retours sur le passé, dans ces examens de conscience qu'il faisait chaque année le 31 décembre, il s'applaudissait avant tout et rendait grâces au ciel que rien, au cours des mois enfuis, n'eût altéré 'l'indépendance de son caractère et le sauvage bonheur de sa vie⁵.' Nul, à coup sûr, ne se montra plus ombrageux, plus jaloux de sa liberté. Pour ne pas donner prise sur elle, il se renfermait dans sa solitude comme dans une forteresse. N'y pénétrait pas qui voulait. Personne—pas même ses meilleurs amis—ne sut jamais tout ce que cette solitude cachait de tristesses, de préoccupations, et parfois de souffrances⁶. Car il souffrait, et cruellement, de sa condition de fortune, trop pauvre pour tenir son rang, et d'ailleurs trop fier pour se plaindre. Mais on ne l'apprit que plus tard, quand son journal fut publié⁷.

Ce qu'il ne dissimula point, ce qu'il affirma toujours hardiment, ce fut l'entière liberté de sa conception d'art. Le même esprit d'indépendance dont il s'inspirait dans la vie courante, régla ses rapports avec le public. Il n'était pas de ceux qui se plient aux goûts de la foule. Plaçant très haut son idéal, il n'entendait pas y porter atteinte en le rabaisant aux vulgarités de la 'littérature industrielle⁸.' Plutôt que de sacrifier, comme tant d'autres, à la vile popularité, il aima mieux se taire : lorsqu'il sentit qu'une séparation s'était faite entre le monde de ses rêves et le monde extérieur, il ne cessa pas de produire, mais il cessa de publier.

¹ *Journal*, 1844, pp. 170, 173, 174. Cf. *La Maison du Berger*, II, et *Les Oracles*.

² *Journal*, 1840, p. 146.

³ Cf. *Journal*, 1832, p. 67 : 'Le véritable citoyen libre est celui qui ne tient pas au gouvernement et qui n'en tient rien. Voilà ma pensée et voilà ma vie.'

⁴ *Journal*, 1829, p. 40.

⁵ *Journal*, 1831, p. 58. Cf. 1832, p. 71-72.

⁶ Cf. *Journal*, 1847, p. 215 : 'Ma vie a été jusqu'ici très simple à l'extérieur et, en apparence, presque immobile, mais pleine d'agitations violentes et sombres, éternellement dissimulées sous un visage paisible.'

⁷ *Journal*, 1831, p. 57 ; 1837, p. 120 ; 1838, p. 128 ; surtout 1840, p. 149, et 1847, p. 228.

⁸ Lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 31 janvier 1843. Les lettres à Mlle C. Maunoir ont été publiées par M. Philippe Godet dans la *Revue de Paris*, 15 août et 15 septembre 1897, sous ce titre : *Lettres à une Puritaine*. Elles n'ont pas été réunies par Mlle Emma Sakellaridès à la *Correspondance* d'Alfred de Vigny (1906).

Au surplus, cette disposition d'esprit avait chez lui sa source dans la profonde conviction que tout est sérieux ici-bas et doit être pris au sérieux. C'est là peut-être le trait dominant de son caractère. Il a cru fermement que la vie n'est pas chose dont on sourit; que les formes éminentes de cette vie, qu'il s'agisse d'art ou de science, de religion ou de morale, exigent de la part des hommes respect et gravité; et qu'au prix de ces grands objets, on doit compter pour rien les plaisirs grossiers de la foule et les frivolités du monde. 'C'est une chose de jour en jour plus pénible pour moi, disait-il en 1835, que de répondre à ceux qui me parlent sur des futilités¹. On lit encore dans son journal: 'Avoir une tête sérieuse où chacun vient verser des sottises chaque jour par les deux oreilles, quel supplice²!' Et pour éviter ce supplice, on comprend qu'il ait quelquefois rêvé de fuir les hommes et de se retirer parmi quelques élus,—'élus entre mille milliers de mille³.'

Ce rêve d'un exil loin de l'humaine médiocrité, que de cœurs généreux l'ont formé! C'est la chimère de tous les idéalistes qui, demandant trop à la vie, ont souffert de la trouver si peu conforme à leur idéal. Faut-il s'étonner que ceux-là, meurtris au contact des réalités, de déception en déception aboutissent au pessimisme? Ce fut le cas de Vigny. 'Je suis né sérieux jusqu'à la tristesse,' écrivait-il à l'une de ses amies⁴. Mot profond, et qui nous livre le secret de sa finale désespérance. Un homme né vraiment sérieux n'a point cette souplesse, ou plutôt cette légèreté d'esprit, qui s'accommode très facilement des déplaisirs ou des misères de l'existence, et qui fait le fond du caractère de l'épicurien ou de l'optimiste. Mais lorsque le sérieux va jusqu'à la tristesse, on ne voit plus qu'un seul côté des choses; on est uniquement frappé de ce qu'elles ont de mauvais, et la constante vision de cette tragédie amène à trouver chaque jour l'humanité plus méprisable et la vie plus pesante. Et de fait, la vie pesa lourdement au poète de *Moïse*. Il en souffrit d'autant plus qu'il avait reçu de la nature une sensibilité très délicate et presque malade. Dès le collège, il connut la douleur: les tracasseries de ses camarades, l'indifférence de ses maîtres, la sévérité de la discipline, et; pour tout dire, la complète absence de tendresse dans le milieu qui l'entourait, affligèrent durement sa jeune âme, et cette impression fut ineffaçable⁵. Un moment, passionné de gloire militaire, comme tous ceux de sa génération, il nourrit le rêve héroïque d'illustrer son nom dans les armes: on

¹ *Journal*, 1835, p. 102.

² *Journal*, 1836, p. 104.

³ *Journal*, 1830, p. 56.

⁴ Lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 4 septembre 1849.

⁵ Lettre à Brizeux, 2 août 1831 (*Correspondance*, p. 45): 'Le collège bien triste et bien froid...me faisait mal par mille douleurs et mille afflictions.' Cf. *Journal*, 1847, p. 225-228.

sait comment ce rêve fut déçu¹. Dès lors, pour lui les amertumes se multiplièrent : ses services mal reconnus ; un grade de capitaine péniblement conquis à l'ancienneté, suivi bientôt d'une démission découragée ; des blessures d'amour-propre ; la tristesse de voir ses œuvres moins goûtées du public que celles de ses compagnons d'armes ; plus tard, la trahison d'une maîtresse trop follement aimée, acte final d'une 'passion couronnée d'épines²' ; ses inquiétudes quotidiennes pour la santé des êtres chers et son morne rôle de garde-malade, trente années durant, auprès de sa mère, auprès de sa femme³ ; enfin, l'âpre sentiment de la solitude qui s'était faite autour de lui et qu'il avait voulue,—tout cela, certes, devait précipiter, enfoncer dans le pessimisme une âme déjà portée d'elle-même à ne voir de la vie que le côté morose.

Un autre, sans doute, eût faibli, se fût laissé abattre. Vigny sut réagir. Il puisa dans sa tristesse même, et dans les souffrances qui brisaient son cœur, le secret de lutter contre elles. Avec une fierté stoïque, il mit en œuvre dans sa vie la maxime que lègue à l'homme son loup mourant :

Fais énergiquement ta longue et lourde tâche.

Énergiquement, il poursuivit jusqu'à sa mort la 'partie d'échecs' qu'il avait engagée contre la destinée⁴, cherchant dans le devoir obscur, simplement accompli, une consolation à la douleur de vivre. Il se plongeait dans le travail, 'le travail étant un oubli, mais un oubli actif qui convient à une âme forte⁵.' Le monde abstrait de la pensée était pour lui, suivant son heureuse expression, 'un champ d'asile' contre les peines de sa vie et contre ses ennuis profonds⁶. Ce champ toujours ouvert, il le 'labourait' en silence, avec une âpre volupté. Il ne pouvait lire que les livres qui faisaient travailler son intelligence. Sur les autres, sa pensée glissait 'comme une charrue sur du marbre⁷.' On a publié⁸ quelques-unes des lettres que, de son manoir du Maine-Giraud, il adressait au conservateur de la bibliothèque d'Angoulême, pour demander des prêts de livres. Rien de frivole dans ses lectures : Thucydide et César, Machiavel et Cervantès, les *Mémoires* de Sully et les *Parallèles* de Perrault, Gibbon et Michelet, les œuvres complètes de Mme de Staël, jusqu'à de vieux auteurs comme Lazare de Baïf. Il lisait beaucoup et

¹ V. tout le premier chapitre de *Servitude et grandeur militaires*.

² *Journal*, 1834, p. 93.

³ Louis Ratisbonne, préface au *Journal d'un Poète*, p. 15.

⁴ *Journal*, 1840, p. 149.

⁵ *Journal*, 1836, p. 108.

⁶ *Journal*, 1847, p. 233.

⁷ *Journal*, 1834, p. 89.

⁸ Léon Séché, *Alfred de Vigny et son temps* (1902), p. 350-353. Cf. *Correspondance*, pp. 155, 159, 262 (lettres à Eusèbe Castaigne).

dans tous les sens. C'était l'occupation constante de ses longues veillées nocturnes,—à moins pourtant que la Muse ne vînt le visiter¹, et que cette nuit-là l'austère travail ne se changeât en radieuse inspiration.

Pour compléter ce caractère, un dernier trait reste à noter : il était bon. On l'a cru sec, parce qu'il était froid. C'est une erreur. Son âme recélait des trésors de tendresse. Il vénérât et chérissait sa mère avec la piété d'un petit enfant, et je sais peu de pages plus poignantes que celles de son journal où il raconte et pleure la mort de celle qui fut sa vie². A sa femme, infirme et toujours souffrante, il prodigua les soins les plus dévoués : vingt-cinq ans, avec une sollicitude toute paternelle, il veilla nuit et jour sur la chétive santé de la triste compagne qu'il appelait 'sa pauvre enfant³'. Il aimait ses amis comme trop peu savent aimer, vraiment heureux de leur bonheur⁴, 'vingt fois par heure' anxieux à leur sujet⁵, n'hésitant pas à s'employer pour leur service, sollicitant—lui qui ne demandait jamais rien pour lui-même—un secours pour Lassailly⁶ et la croix pour Brizeux⁷. Il était doux aux inférieurs, et les gens du pays de Blanzac qui ont été jadis ses domestiques et qui ne l'ont pas oublié, contaient naguère encore que les dimanches d'hiver, M. de Vigny, 'le bon monsieur,' les rassemblait autour de lui dans la salle à manger et qu'il jouait aux cartes avec eux, quand il ne leur faisait pas la lecture⁸. Comme tous les hommes foncièrement bons, il s'enthousiasmait pour les nobles causes, rêvait de bien à faire et de justice sociale. Il s'intéressait aux sourds-muets et cherchait les moyens d'améliorer leur sort⁹. Il proposait à Lamartine de rédiger un projet de loi pour mettre à l'abri du besoin les poètes de talent¹⁰. Il écrivait lui-même aux députés pour subvenir à l'infortune de Mlle Sedaine et se faisait du même coup, en faveur des hommes de lettres, l'éloquent défenseur de la propriété littéraire¹¹. En un mot, il s'efforçait de communiquer aux autres la foi dont il brûlait, son ardeur pour le bien. Combien auraient écrit, sur les grandes passions morales qui sont la force et l'honneur de l'humanité, cette noble pensée, une des plus belles qui aient jailli de son cœur : 'Le jour où il n'y aura plus parmi les hommes

¹ Lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 9 février 1852 : 'C'est toujours vers minuit, à l'heure des esprits, que la Poésie devient ma souveraine maîtresse.'

² *Journal*, 1837, p. 113-123.

³ *Journal*, 1838, p. 128. Cf. lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 4 septembre 1849.

⁴ *Journal*, 1835, p. 99.

⁵ *Journal*, 1843, p. 169 : 'Vingt fois par heure je me dis : "Ceux que j'aime sont-ils contents?..."' Je pense à celui-là, à celle-ci que j'aime, à telle personne qui pleure. Vingt fois par heure, je fais le tour de mon cœur.' Cf. 1847, p. 234.

⁶ *Journal*, 1840, p. 148.

⁷ *Journal*, 1846, p. 205.

⁸ L. Séché, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

⁹ *Journal*, 1839, p. 141-142.

¹⁰ *Journal*, 1838, p. 125-126.

¹¹ *De Mademoiselle Sedaine et de la propriété littéraire* (1841).

ni enthousiasme, ni amour, ni adoration, ni dévouement, creusons la terre jusqu'à son centre, mettons-y cinq cents milliards de barils de poudre, et qu'elle éclate en pièces comme une bombe au milieu du firmament¹.

II.

L'ARTISTE.

Cet homme supérieur fut un sincère et grand artiste.

Ses études au collège, incomplètes, décousues, poursuivies à contre-cœur, n'eurent sur sa formation intellectuelle qu'une influence assez médiocre : du moins échappa-t-il à l'empreinte universitaire, quelquefois si préjudiciable—en ces temps surtout—au développement de l'originalité. Il se forma tout seul, sans autre guide que son caprice au milieu des richesses de la bibliothèque paternelle². 'Ma véritable éducation littéraire, a-t-il écrit plus tard, fut celle que je me fis à moi-même, lorsque, délivré des maîtres, je fus libre de suivre à bride abattue le vol rapide de mon imagination insatiable³.' Sans prétendre établir le compte des livres qu'il put 'dévorer' alors, peut-être n'est-il pas tout à fait superflu de marquer dès l'abord quels auteurs ou quelles œuvres, dans ce vaste amas de lectures ardemment continuées, ont exercé sur son esprit une action prédominante.

En premier lieu, il faut citer Homère, qu'un vieux précepteur, l'abbé Gaillard, lui faisait traduire du grec en anglais, en l'obligeant à comparer sa traduction à celle de Pope⁴. Ce long commerce avec le père de toute la poésie ancienne, en lui donnant, comme il le dit, le sentiment vrai de la muse épique, lui permit d'apprécier, pour ne plus l'oublier jamais, toute la valeur artistique de 'la belle et simple nature.'

Cette nature des anciens, il la retrouva par la suite ou du moins crut la retrouver dans les œuvres d'André Chénier. Quand parut l'édition de Latouche (1819), il fut séduit par la grâce légère, la molle volupté, les accents harmonieux et la langue imagée de ce néo-Grec. Bien qu'il s'en soit défendu dix ans après⁵, en datant lui-même ses études antiques, il est difficile d'admettre que ces études ne soient pas un reflet de celles de son devancier. La *Dryade*, donnée par l'auteur comme une 'idylle dans le goût de Théocrite,' est tout à fait dans la manière d'André Chénier, et l'élégie de *Symétha* rappelle étrangement la *Jeune Tarentine*. Les

¹ *Journal*, 1830, p. 54.

² *Journal*, 1847, p. 227 : 'Après quelques années de seconde et de rhétorique employées à mal apprendre le grec et le latin, je revins sous le toit paternel travailler réellement au milieu d'une bibliothèque qui faisait mon bonheur.'

³ *Journal*, 1847, p. 228.

⁴ *Journal*, 1847, pp. 228 et 230.

⁵ Édit. des *Poèmes* de 1829.

contemporains ne s'y sont pas trompés, et dès 1820, Soumet parlait du *Somnambule* comme d'une œuvre inspirée par André¹.

Vigny n'aurait pas été de son siècle, s'il n'eût subi profondément l'influence de Chateaubriand. N'en doutons pas : si la puissance descriptive du magnifique écrivain, ses visions pittoresques, son sens de la couleur, enchantèrent une imagination qui ne demandait qu'à être éblouie, le pessimisme amer et sombre de son œuvre ne pouvait non plus manquer de déteindre sur une âme mélancolique, que le spectacle de la vie acheminait déjà vers la désespérance. Quelles que soient les nuances qui les séparent, c'est bien de *René* que procède le poète désolé de *Moïse* et de *Stello*. Mais c'est encore trop peu dire : plus immédiate et plus directe fut ici l'action de Chateaubriand. Avec des images, avec des couleurs, il fournit à Vigny des thèmes et des sujets d'inspiration. Une citation de Klopstock dans le *Génie du Christianisme*², la peinture du Très-Haut créant l'ange mystique, a donné, ce semble, le nom et l'idée première d'*Éloa*. Dans un autre endroit du *Génie*³, Chateaubriand avait écrit : 'Il est remarquable que la France a perdu, sur la fin du dernier siècle, trois beaux talents à leur aurore : Malfilâtre, Gilbert et André Chénier ; les deux premiers sont morts de misère, le troisième a péri sur l'échafaud.' Remplacez Malfilâtre par Chatterton, vous avez les trois épisodes qui forment la trame de *Stello*. Il n'est pas jusqu'à cette admirable *Maison du Berger* dont on n'ait retrouvé la source⁴ dans les propos d'amour qu'Eudore entend tomber des lèvres de Velléda : 'Je n'ai jamais aperçu au coin d'un bois la hutte roulante d'un berger sans songer qu'elle me suffirait avec toi... Nous promènerions aujourd'hui notre cabane de solitude en solitude, et notre demeure ne tiendrait pas plus à la terre que notre vie⁵.' Enfin, c'est sans doute à l'œuvre maîtresse de Chateaubriand que Vigny dut la première révélation de la Bible.

Une fois qu'il eut pénétré dans ce monde de poésie que sont les livres saints, il ne s'en détacha plus guère, et l'on sait qu'au cours de ses déplacements le capitaine de Vigny faisait porter sa Bible dans le sac de l'un de ses hommes, pour la lire à toutes les haltes. Il la lut longuement, d'une âme enthousiaste et fervente. De là sont sortis : d'abord, les trois

¹ Lettre à Jules de Rességuier (citée par Biré, *Victor Hugo avant 1830*, p. 153) : 'J'ai entendu des vers ravissants d'un jeune homme nommé Alfred de Vigny. C'est une élégie intitulée *Le Somnambule* et inspirée par la muse d'André Chénier.' Cf. Ancelot, *Annales de la Littérature et des Arts* (1822) : 'Ainsi que l'ont remarqué plusieurs critiques, on trouve des rapports frappants entre le talent d'André Chénier et celui de M. de Vigny.'

² 2^e partie, livre IV, chapitre x.

³ *Éclaircissements*, note xv.

⁴ F. Brunetière, *Évolution de la poésie lyrique en France au XIX^e siècle*, t. I, p. 86.

⁵ *Martyrs*, livre X. Sur cette influence de Chateaubriand, cf. Ernest Dupuy, *Les Origines littéraires d'Alfred de Vigny*, dans *La Jeunesse des Romantiques*, p. 324-333.

'poèmes judaïques' du recueil de 1822, la *Fille de Jephté*, le *Bain*, la *Femme adultère*; un peu plus tard, *Moïse* et le *Déluge*; plus tard encore, la *Colère de Samson* et le *Mont des Oliviers*. S'il rencontra dans l'*Ecclésiaste* et le *Livre de Job* un nouvel aliment à sa foi pessimiste, les parties moins sombres de l'Ancien Testament prodiguèrent à son imagination des visions lumineuses de paysages, de costumes, de parures et de meubles, tout un luxe éclatant et chaud de couleur orientale; et les mystiques ardeurs du *Cantique des Cantiques* lui donnèrent ou du moins aiguïsèrent en lui ce sens de la volupté chaste, qui reste un des traits les plus singuliers de sa nature poétique¹.

Il nous faut enfin tenir compte de l'action exercée sur lui par la lecture des auteurs anglais. Une étude diligente et fouillée a montré tout ce qu'il devait à des poètes comme Milton et Byron², et l'on sait de reste que le symbole de la *Mort du Loup*, pour ne prendre que cet exemple, est un souvenir de *Childe Harold*³. Shakespeare aussi eut sa part d'influence⁴,—et d'autres encore de moindre envergure, comme Thomas Moore et Walter Scott⁵.

Une telle éducation littéraire éloignait Vigny des pseudo-classiques. Il sentit de bonne heure que, pour conquérir un nom dans les lettres, il fallait faire autrement qu'eux⁶. Sans voir très nettement d'abord dans quel sens il devait marcher, il eut l'intuition qu'une réforme était nécessaire, que l'art avait besoin d'une régénération, qu'il ne pouvait se rénover qu'en puisant à des sources vives, et que, pour faire œuvre durable, il fallait 'raffermir le style qui s'affaïssait.'⁷ Par sa tournure d'esprit, par l'éducation qu'il s'était donnée, par ses aspirations intimes, Vigny devait tout naturellement se déclarer en faveur de romantisme.

Un recueil anonyme de *Poèmes* (1822), où des faiblesses d'exécution accusent un débutant⁸, où l'abus des périphrases et des fausses élégances trahit le voisinage immédiat de Delille⁹, mais où déjà éclate, avec un

¹ V. surtout le début de la *Femme adultère* et le *Chant de Suzanne au bain* (publié dans la *Muse Française* du 1^{er} avril 1824, et depuis rejeté par l'auteur). Le *Chant de Suzanne au bain* est reproduit dans l'édition des *Poèmes antiques et modernes* qu'a donnée M. Estève (1914), p. 306-309.

² Ernest Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 333 sqq.

³ *Childe Harold*, IV, xxi: 'The wolf dies in silence.'

⁴ V. notamment les adaptations en vers du *More de Venise* et du *Marchand de Venise*.

⁵ Sur l'influence de Thomas Moore, cf. l'article de F. Baldensperger, *Moore et Vigny*, dans *The Modern Language Review*, 1906. Sur l'influence de Walter Scott, cf. l'ouvrage de L. Maigron, *Le Roman historique à l'époque romantique* (1898), chapitre II du livre III (Cinq-Mars).

⁶ *Journal*, 1847, p. 228.

⁷ Sur le romantisme jugé par Vigny, cf. la fin de son *Discours de réception à l'Académie Française* (29 janvier 1846).

⁸ V. surtout le poème d'*Hélène*, supprimé depuis par l'auteur (reproduit par Estève, p. 245 sqq.). Cf. *Journal*, p. 260 sqq.

⁹ *Le Bal* (périphrases sur le piano et sur la chaîne anglaise).

sens très sûr de la composition, la richesse d'une couleur toute nouvelle dans les sujets antiques et les sujets bibliques;—le 'mystère' d'*Éloa* (1824), ce pur chef-d'œuvre, d'une touche si délicate, d'un coloris en quelque sorte si diaphane, où Gautier admirait sans réserve 'ces gris nacrés, ces reflets de perle, ces transparences d'opale, ce bleu de clair de lune qui peuvent faire discerner l'immatériel sur le fond blanc de la lumière divine'¹;—un deuxième recueil supérieur au premier, les *Poèmes antiques et modernes* (1826), où quelques pièces comme le *Cor*, le *Déluge*, *Moïse* surtout, dénotent, avec une inspiration plus large, une incontestable maîtrise;—le roman historique de *Cinq-Mars* (1826), où, malgré les prétentions à l'exactitude², la vérité de l'histoire est faussée dans les événements et dans les caractères, mais où pourtant une belle succession de scènes très vivantes tend à mettre en lumière 'le spectacle philosophique de l'homme profondément travaillé par les passions de son temps'³;—une soirée dramatique (*Othello*, 24 octobre 1829), où le grand nom de Shakespeare servit à livrer aux classiques un combat d'avant-garde, prélude de la bataille d'*Hernani*:—voilà quel fut, dans ces années fécondes du romantisme militant, l'apport de Vigny à la cause commune de l'art régénéré.

Toutefois, en se signalant parmi les plus hardis et les plus résolus, il sut se faire une place à part et garder dans le groupe une attitude originale. Si l'on a pu dire avec juste raison que le romantisme est en son essence l'expression artistique des sentiments *personnels* de l'écrivain, Vigny échappe un peu à cette définition, ou bien plutôt il la dépasse. Ce n'est pas en effet qu'à lui plus qu'à d'autres l'émotion intime fasse défaut; mais à ses yeux, elle ne suffit point à créer le poème, et sa pudeur répugne à l'étalage du *moi*. L'impression ressentie peut être pour l'auteur germe de poésie, mais à condition de se transformer, de dépouiller son caractère individuel et, sous le voile transparent d'un symbole, de prendre avec une portée générale une valeur d'humanité. Le romantisme ainsi conçu, c'est la substitution à l'élément lyrique d'un élément épique ou dramatique, et sans doute le mérite est grand à Vigny de l'avoir compris et réalisé sous cette forme originale.

Aussi bien l'art de ce poète est-il d'une beauté, d'une élévation singulière; et la meilleure formule qu'on en puisse fournir, c'est encore celle qu'il a donnée lui-même de l'art en général: '*L'art est la vérité choisie*'⁴.

¹ *Moniteur*, 28 septembre 1863. Article recueilli dans l'*Histoire du Romantisme*, p. 163.

² *Journal*, 1826, p. 39: 'Ce qui fait l'originalité de ce livre, c'est que tout y a l'air roman et que tout y est histoire.'

³ *Réflexions sur la vérité dans l'art* (1827).

⁴ *Journal*, 1829, p. 40.

L'art est la *vérité* : c'est-à-dire qu'il implique d'abord le devoir pour l'artiste d'être sincère et de n'exprimer rien qu'il n'ait vraiment senti, vraiment pensé. 'Le malheur des écrivains est qu'ils s'embarrassent peu de dire vrai, pourvu qu'ils disent. Il est temps de ne chercher les paroles que dans sa conscience¹.' Et Vigny, qui proclame cette idée, ajoute encore : 'Ce qui manque aux lettres, c'est la *sincérité*. Après avoir vu clairement que le travail des livres et la recherche de l'expression nous conduisent tous au paradoxe, j'ai résolu de ne sacrifier jamais qu'à la conviction et à la vérité, afin que cet élément de sincérité complète et profonde dominât dans mes livres et leur donnât le caractère sacré que doit donner la présence divine du vrai².'

Mais il ne suffit pas qu'une œuvre soit vraie de la vérité subjective : il faut aussi qu'elle s'efforce de réaliser, en dehors de celui qui la conçoit et l'exécute, quelque chose de la vérité éternelle. Un si sublime objet exige de l'artiste un respect absolu de son art. Quiconque sera convaincu de la sainteté de sa mission, ne s'abaissera pas à flatter le public ; il redoutera par-dessus tout les succès trop faciles³ ; et, dédaigneux comme Chatterton de la 'vile publicité⁴', il sculptera son œuvre à l'écart de la foule, sans souci du présent, les yeux fixés sur l'avenir⁵.

Est-ce assez toutefois, pour atteindre à la beauté pure, que ce culte du vrai ? Non : l'art est la vérité sans doute, mais c'est la vérité *choisie*. Tout ce qui est vrai n'est pas poétique, et Vigny plus que personne a l'horreur du lieu commun, des choses vulgaires ou banales. Les pensées trop légères elles-mêmes ne conviennent pas à la poésie, qui ne doit se permettre que méditations graves. La poésie est une 'perle⁶,' et le travail qui la produit fait songer à la création qui s'élabore au fond des mers : 'Chaque vague de l'Océan ajoute un voile blanchâtre aux beautés d'une perle ; chaque flot travaille lentement à la rendre plus parfaite ; chaque flocon d'écume qui se balance sur elle lui laisse une teinte mystérieuse à demi dorée, à demi transparente, où l'on peut seulement deviner un rayon intérieur qui part de son cœur⁷.' Ainsi, par l'élaboration savante de tous les riches éléments qu'apporte la réalité, la poésie se forme dans l'esprit, comme la perle dans la coquille.

¹ *Journal*, 1834, p. 90.

² *Journal*, 1835, p. 100.

³ *Journal*, 1834, p. 91-92.

⁴ Chatterton, acte III, scène 1. Cf. *Journal*, 1842, p. 159.

⁵ *Journal*, 1842, p. 161 : 'Il ne faut désirer la popularité que dans la postérité, et non dans le temps présent.'

⁶ *La Maison du Berger*, II, début : 'Poésie ! ô trésor ! perle de la pensée !'

⁷ Cité par M. Paléologue, *Alfred de Vigny* (1891), p. 75.—Cf. *Journal*, 1843, p. 168 : 'Il est un élixir qui se nomme *poésie*.' Sous une autre forme, c'est toujours l'idée d'une *concentration artistique*.

Conception d'art idéaliste, s'il en fut. Le 'rayon intérieur' ici, c'est l'idée, l'idée maîtresse choisie pour sa beauté, qui porte le poème, lui sert de point d'appui, assure partout l'unité de plan. Car Alfred de Vigny, croyant au monde des idées avec la ferveur d'un platonicien, voit dans la poésie l'incarnation magnifique et splendide des formes supérieures qui dominent les intelligences. Mais ces formes divines, éthérées, impalpables, se revêtent pour lui d'un manteau diaphane. Par un rare bonheur de sa nature d'esprit, l'idée, aussitôt que conçue, se concrète en image : elle reçoit du même coup sa complète 'organisation', et les pensées les plus abstraites prennent corps à ses yeux sous l'aspect lumineux du symbole. Le veuvage éternel de l'homme de génie, c'est Moïse sur la montagne, se plaignant à Dieu de l'avoir fait 'puissant et solitaire²'; la supériorité de l'amour humain sur la vengeance divine, c'est Emmanuel et Sara luttant enlacés contre les flots du déluge ; la constante perfidie de la femme, c'est Dalila livrant Samson aux Philistins ; le triomphe lent et sûr de la science, c'est la bouteille jetée à la mer, longtemps errante dans l'étendue, et qui finit par aborder.

La présence continue de l'idée sous l'image fait la belle unité des poèmes de Vigny. Là sans doute est la raison d'être de cette composition si savante et si sûre, où toutes les parties concourent harmonieusement à mettre en lumière l'idée fondamentale. Par là s'explique cette simplicité dans la construction, qui donne à beaucoup de ses œuvres la forte grandeur des œuvres antiques ; cette sobriété de développement, qui ajoute à leur puissance par l'élimination des détails superflus ; en un mot, ce sens exquis de la mesure, toujours si rare, surtout à l'époque où il écrivait.

'Un livre tel que je le conçois, disait Vigny, doit être sculpté, limé, poli, comme une statue de marbre de Paros³.' Si la statue n'est pas aussi parfaite que Vigny la rêvait, accusons-en l'humaine faiblesse, qui a trahi la main de l'ouvrier. La recherche de l'expression a pu l'égarer quelquefois, et son goût pour la concision ne pas le préserver toujours d'une obscurité sibylline⁴. Du moins a-t-il racheté ces défauts par la beauté de ses épithètes et la hardiesse souvent heureuse de ses métaphores. Sans compter qu'il a fait usage, dans quelques-uns de ses

¹ *Journal*, 1824, p. 28, et 1842, p. 158.

² Cf. lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 27 décembre 1838.

³ *Journal*, p. 260.

⁴ *La Maison du Berger*, II :

Les peuples tout enfants à peine se découvrent
Par-dessus les buissons nés pendant leur sommeil,
Et leur main, à travers les ronces qu'ils entr'ouvrent,
Met aux coups mutuels le premier appareil.

poèmes, d'un type de strophe admirable, d'une ampleur singulière et d'une rare plénitude :

Vivez, froide Nature, et revivez sans cesse
 Sur nos pieds, sur nos fronts, puisque c'est votre loi ;
 Vivez, et dédaignez, si vous êtes déesse,
 L'homme, humble passager, qui dut vous être un roi.
 Plus que tout votre règne et que ses splendeurs vaines,
 J'aime la majesté des souffrances humaines ;
 Vous ne recevrez pas un cri d'amour de moi¹.

Vigny s'était fait une loi de n'écrire jamais que pour ce public intelligent et judicieux qui cherche 'l'élite des pensées et le choix de la forme'. Par la sincérité de son inspiration, par son constant souci de faire œuvre éternelle, par la place d'honneur qu'il accorde aux idées, par sa tendance à sacrifier l'individuel au général, par sa composition à la fois régulière et sobre, par les qualités de sa langue et la pureté de son goût, ce romantique impénitent peut compter parmi les classiques.

'Il faut—écrivait-il un jour²—il faut se former dans l'ombre un talent original, un style à soi, qui reste comme l'expression pure de sa pensée, de son sentiment, de son caractère, de sa vie, enfin de son être tout entier.' Qui niera que Vigny n'ait été cet artiste ?

III.

LE PENSEUR.

Une telle conception de l'art impliquait des dons de penseur. Et de fait, cet artiste fut un penseur indépendant et vigoureux.

On pouvait déjà s'en douter : l'homme qui, dans son œuvre, donnait tant de place à l'idée, et qui concevait le *poème* comme la 'mise en scène d'une pensée philosophique sous une forme épique ou dramatique³', ne devait pas manquer d'avoir, sur la vie et tous les problèmes qui hantent l'humanité, des vues sérieuses et bien personnelles. Il se distingua par la profondeur de ses réflexions, et la critique est unanime à saluer en lui aujourd'hui le grand penseur du romantisme français.

A vrai dire, s'il eut toujours souci du rôle moral qui lui incombait, c'est surtout après 1830 qu'il prit une conscience très nette de l'importance de sa fonction comme écrivain. La révolution de juillet et le nouvel état de choses qui en fut la suite immédiate imposèrent à son

¹ *La Maison du Berger*, III, vers la fin.

² Lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 31 janvier 1843.

³ Lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 24 mars 1851.

⁴ Préface des *Poèmes*, édit. de 1829. Cf. *Documents inédits*, 1840 (Dorison, *op. cit.*, p. 337) : 'Le point de vue philosophique doit soutenir l'œuvre—drame ou livre—d'un pôle à l'autre, précisément comme l'axe d'un globe.'

esprit de fécondes méditations. Affranchi désormais des 'superstitions politiques' qui troublaient ses idées 'par leurs mouvements d'instinct', et n'ayant pour ceux qui gouvernent 'ni amour ni haine,' mais simplement 'les sentiments qu'on a pour son cocher,' que l'on conserve ou congédie selon qu'il conduit bien ou mal²,—il suivit d'un œil attentif les événements qui se déroulaient. Il ne tarda pas à comprendre que la question politique allait passer au second plan, que l'avenir était aux questions sociales, et dès lors il vit clairement quelle était la mission qu'il avait à remplir, lui, poète et penseur, pour semer le bon grain et préparer les moissons futures.

'Je sens en moi, écrivait-il, le besoin de dire à la société les idées que j'ai en moi et qui veulent sortir³.' Ces idées,—de nobles idées de poète,—c'est d'abord en prose qu'il les exprima. Le roman de *Stello* (1832), les trois poignantes nouvelles qui composent *Servitude et grandeur militaires* (1833–1835), le drame de *Chatterton* (1835), marquèrent en ce genre autrement que *Cinq-Mars*. Puis il se tut. Mais, convaincu que 'tous les grands problèmes de l'humanité peuvent être discutés dans la forme des vers⁴, il revint bientôt à la poésie, et, après huit années de silence, ouvrant, comme il dit, 'les portes du cloître⁵, il laissa s'échapper en lente procession quelques-uns de ses *poèmes philosophiques*. Les autres, publiés trois mois après sa mort, formèrent, réunis aux premiers, le beau recueil des *Destinées* (1864). Jamais la pensée de Vigny ne s'est élevée plus haut que dans ce posthume chef-d'œuvre.

Poète, il était naturel que Vigny commençât son généreux apostolat en se faisant le défenseur, contre la société moderne, indifférente, utilitaire et tyrannique, de la sainte mission du Poète. On sait avec quelle éloquence il a revendiqué pour cet élu de Dieu le respect de la foule et la protection du législateur : c'est le fond de *Stello*, c'est le sujet de *Chatterton*. Il ne pouvait plaider cause plus pathétique : 'La cause, c'est le martyr perpétuel et la perpétuelle immolation du Poète. La cause, c'est le droit qu'il aurait de vivre. La cause, c'est le pain qu'on ne lui donne pas. La cause, c'est la mort qu'il est forcé de se donner⁶.' Avec une puissance d'émotion supérieure à toute logique, il a marqué l'irréductible antagonisme qui sépare fatalement 'l'homme du Pouvoir' et 'l'homme de l'Art⁷.' Il s'est attaché à prouver que, quelle que soit la forme du pouvoir,—monarchie absolue, gouvernement parlementaire ou

¹ *Journal*, 1830, p. 51.

² *Journal*, 1847, p. 234.

³ *Journal*, 1835, p. 96.

⁴ *Documents inédits*, 1843 (Dorison, *op. cit.*, p. 326).

⁵ Lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 31 janvier 1843.

⁶ *Dernière nuit de travail*, en tête de *Chatterton*.

⁷ *Stello*, chapitre xxxix : *Un mensonge social*.

république démocratique,—le Poète est toujours et partout une ‘ victime sociale,’ un pauvre être de douleur, dont le génie est incompris, et qui est condamné d’avance à mourir de misère et de faim. Que ce fougueux réquisitoire contre l’égoïsme de la société manque trop souvent de justice, que les exemples allégués ne soient pas toujours concluants, qu’une thèse comme celle de *Chatterton*, malgré l’excellence de ses intentions, autorise au besoin tous les désespoirs et tous les suicides, c’est ce qu’une juste critique a depuis longtemps établi. Il n’en reste pas moins que la thèse contient une part de vérité ; que dans les sociétés humaines, fondées sur l’utile et sur l’intérêt, la nature sensible du Poète est nécessairement appelée à souffrir ; et qu’il serait bon cependant que l’on eût plus d’égard à ceux dont le génie nous élève au-dessus des vulgarités du monde réel, vers les régions supra-terrestres, et qui, semblables à Stello, se font un article de foi de soutenir l’humanité en la nourrissant d’idéal : ‘ Je crois fermement en une vocation ineffable qui m’est donnée, et j’y crois à cause de la pitié sans bornes que m’inspirent les hommes, mes compagnons en misère, et aussi à cause du désir que je me sens de leur tendre la main et de les élever sans cesse par des paroles de commisération et d’amour.’

La même expérience personnelle qui le faisait gémir sur le sort du Poète, poussa Vigny, toujours pitoyable aux martyrs obscurs, à prendre en main la cause de cet autre paria moderne, le Soldat. Ce qui fait la mâle et tragique beauté du livre intitulé *Servitude et grandeur militaires*, c’est précisément la simple peinture de ces nobles victimes de la discipline et de l’obéissance passive, marquées au front du double sceau de l’esclavage et de l’héroïsme ; dont la vie tout entière est faite de résignation et d’abnégation ; qui souffrent, dans l’inaction forcée où leurs jours se consomment, de se sentir en butte à la double défiance de la nation et du pouvoir ; et que consolent et que soutiennent la pensée du devoir accompli et le culte viril de l’honneur. Mais en même temps qu’il travaille à rendre moins dure au Soldat sa condition actuelle, en appelant sur lui la pitié de la masse, Vigny porte un regard confiant vers l’avenir, et son rêve d’idéaliste lui fait entrevoir la fin des armées permanentes par l’abolition de la guerre : ‘ Les armées et la guerre n’auront qu’un temps ; car, malgré les paroles d’un sophiste que j’ai combattu ailleurs¹, il n’est point vrai que, même contre l’étranger, la guerre soit *divine* ; il n’est point vrai que *la terre soit avide de sang*. La guerre est maudite de Dieu et des hommes mêmes qui la font et qui ont d’elle une

¹ *Stello*, chapitre VII : *Un credo*.

² Joseph de Maistre. Cf. *Stello*, chapitre XXXII.

secrète horreur, et la terre ne crie au ciel que pour lui demander l'eau fraîche de ses fleuves et la rosée pure de ses nuées¹.

Pourtant, de ces deux œuvres où Alfred de Vigny, avec ses revendications sociales, a mis le meilleur de son âme, ce qui se dégage en définitive, c'est une impression de profonde tristesse. 'L'espérance est la plus grande de nos folies,' prononce le Docteur Noir², et son ordonnance prescrit à Stello de se réfugier dans la solitude: 'Seul et libre, accomplir sa mission...La solitude est sainte³.' Et c'est une solitude aussi que ce renoncement taciturne et stoïque où s'enferment le père adoptif de Laurette et le capitaine Renaud.

C'est qu'ici nous touchons au fond même de l'âme et de la pensée de Vigny. Convaincu que la vie est mauvaise et que nous sommes les victimes d'une lugubre destinée, il imprime à son œuvre le pessimisme amer dont il est pénétré. Peu d'hommes, certes, ont eu à ce point le sentiment du tragique de l'existence et jeté sur les choses un coup d'œil aussi désolé. Ce n'était pas chez lui simple effet des mécomptes et des désillusions: s'il avait souffert de la vie, et si beaucoup de ses lectures avaient renforcé sa souffrance, pourtant, son pessimisme avait des causes plus profondes. Il tenait d'abord, chez ce cœur si plein de tendresse, à l'épouvantement causé par la séparation des êtres chers: 'Eh! qu'attendre d'un monde où l'on vient avec l'assurance de voir mourir son père et sa mère? d'un monde où, de deux êtres qui s'aiment et se donnent leur vie, il est certain que l'un perdra l'autre et le verra mourir⁴?' Il venait aussi de la douloureuse constatation que le mal est partout sur la terre, que nous nous débattons au milieu des ténèbres, et que, dans cette nuit qui nous enveloppe, il n'y a d'assuré que notre ignorance éternelle: '*Nous ne sommes pas sûrs de tout savoir au sortir du cachot, mais sûrs de ne rien savoir dedans*'⁵.

De là procèdent, dans son journal, tant de réflexions pathétiques sur cette 'prison' qu'est la vie, sur la vanité du bonheur, sur le néant de l'espérance⁶. De là, la sombre inspiration des plus émouvantes de ses

¹ *Servitude*, livre II, chapitre I. Cf. livre III, chapitre x: 'La philosophie a heureusement rapetissé la guerre; les négociations la remplacent; la mécanique achèvera de l'annuler par ses inventions.'

² Cf. *Journal*, 1824, p. 31. La date de 1824, assignée à ce fragment, est évidemment fautive. Il faut lire 1832. Cf. à ce sujet I. Roney, *Sur quelques erreurs de date du Journal d'un Poète*, article publié dans la *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1907, p. 17 sqq.

³ *Stello*, chapitre XL: *Ordonnance du Docteur Noir*.

⁴ *Stello*, chapitre XL. Cf. lettre à Mme du Plessis, 15 avril 1861 (*Correspondance*, p. 323): 'La vie est bonne pendant trente ans, chère Alexandrine; après cela on ne cesse, hélas! de voir souffrir et s'éteindre ceux que l'on aime...'

⁵ *Journal*, 1824 [1832], p. 33.

⁶ *Journal*, 1824 [1832], p. 31-33; 1832, p. 64; 1834, pp. 89 et 93; 1835, pp. 97 et 101.

Destinées. Un des maîtres de notre critique¹ a montré de façon décisive que cette conception pessimiste des choses avait eu sur l'esprit et le cœur de Vigny l'action la plus profonde, et qu'elle avait conduit le poète de la *Maison du Berger* et de la *Colère de Samson* à ne plus voir dans la nature qu'une marâtre, dans l'amour qu'un mensonge. Mais il a dit aussi tout ce qui sortait de fécond, au point de vue moral, d'une telle manière d'envisager la vie. C'est qu'en effet ce pessimisme universel n'aboutit pas, comme on pourrait le craindre, à l'inertie, à l'abstention, au nihilisme : il est au contraire principe d'action et source de bien. Vigny, plusieurs fois, dit en son journal que 'l'ennui est la maladie de la vie' : mais il ajoute que, pour la guérir, il suffit de peu de chose : de *vouloir* et d'*aimer*². C'est un appel réconfortant à l'énergie. Si écrasante que soit la fatalité, il y a place en cette vie à l'exercice de la volonté³. Vouloir, c'est d'abord, lorsqu'il s'agit de soi, se résigner en silence à l'inévitable, ne pas murmurer et ne pas gémir, 'faire énergiquement sa longue et lourde tâche', sans autre considération que le culte stoïque du devoir pour lui-même⁴. Lorsqu'il s'agit des autres, vouloir, c'est avoir pitié de leur faiblesse et de leurs fautes ; c'est, animé du sentiment de la commune misère, pratiquer en son cœur la religion de la souffrance humaine ; et, puisque la vie n'est que désespoir, c'est exhorter ses frères d'infortune à rendre paisible et plein d'amour cet irréparable désespoir⁵. Enfin, comme c'est peu de chose qu'une pitié qui n'agit pas, aimer et vouloir, à l'égard des hommes, c'est poursuivre, autant qu'on le peut, l'amélioration de leur destinée, c'est travailler de toutes ses forces à leur être utile, c'est présenter à leur faiblesse le cordial généreux qui soutient et fait vivre, c'est leur ouvrir le monde bienfaisant de la pensée, de la science et de l'art, c'est hâter pour eux le règne triomphal des idées⁶.

Tel est bien le sens de ses poèmes philosophiques. Il a réalisé dans ces œuvres pleines et fortes l'idéal qu'il avait conçu, lorsque, après *Cinq-Mars*, *Stello* et *Servitude*,—ces chants d'une épopée sur la désillusion, où sont foulées aux pieds les grandeurs fausses et les hypocrisies sociales,—il écrivait : 'J'élèverai sur ces débris, sur cette poussière, la sainte beauté de l'enthousiasme, de l'amour, de l'honneur, de la bonté, la miséricordieuse et universelle indulgence qui remet toutes les fautes, et d'autant

¹ F. Brunetière, *Évolution de la poésie lyrique en France au XIX^e siècle*, 9^e leçon.

² *Journal*, 1833, p. 77 ; 1834, p. 86 ; 1835, p. 103.

³ Cf. *Journal*, 1824, p. 27 : 'Dieu a jeté...l'homme au milieu de la destinée...Les grands caractères sont ceux qui luttent.'

⁴ *La Mort du Loup*.

⁵ *La Maison du Berger*, III. Cf. *Journal*, 1824 [1832], p. 32-33 ; 1835, p. 97 ; 1844, p. 176.

⁶ *La Bouteille à la Mer* ; *L'Esprit pur*.

plus étendue que l'intelligence est plus grande¹. Admirable philosophie, dont on ne saurait contester la noblesse d'inspiration et la haute valeur morale.

Un élément y fait défaut : la croyance au divin. Non que Vigny n'ait été accessible à l'idée religieuse : à vrai dire, elle le hanta toute sa vie. Mais de bonne heure il fut réfractaire aux dogmes chrétiens. Dans un de ses premiers poèmes, écrit en 1821, le Masque de fer dit au vieux prêtre qui veut lui donner le pain des mourants :

Il est un Dieu ? J'ai pourtant bien souffert !²

Ce simple mot, révélateur d'un état d'âme, trahit le douloureux mystère qui détourne Vigny de croire, et c'est là sans doute que l'on doit chercher la raison dernière de son pessimisme. Il n'a jamais admis la souffrance infligée à la créature, et la difficulté de concilier l'existence du mal en ce monde avec celle d'un Dieu tout juste et tout bon a fait de lui plus qu'un sceptique,—un révolté. Vainement il avait écrit : 'Un désespoir paisible, sans convulsions de colère et sans reproches au ciel, est la sagesse même³.' Tout son journal dément ce beau sang-froid de sa raison, et son cœur qui proteste ne s'abstient ni des reproches ni des colères. Ici, c'est la terre qu'il nous montre, 'révoltée des injustices de la création', dissimulant par frayeur de l'éternité, mais s'indignant en secret contre le Dieu qui a créé le mal et la mort, et admirant tout bas les contempteurs du ciel⁴. Là, c'est une sarcastique condamnation des 'peines éternelles,' cette 'éternelle vengeance⁵.' Ailleurs, il prend contre le Dieu d'Abel le parti de Caïn⁶. Et ce sont des projets de poèmes : le jeune homme illustre et malheureux qui se tue pour 'affliger' Dieu et ne pas donner plus longtemps le spectacle de ses douleurs à celui qui créa 'le mal de l'âme, le péché, et le mal du corps, la souffrance⁷'; ou bien encore ce 'jugement dernier' où, dans la vallée de Josaphat, Dieu viendra se justifier à ses créatures de tous les maux qu'il a permis, et se faire juger par elles⁸. Toutes ces idées ont pris corps dans une œuvre unique, celle où Jésus, symbole de l'humanité qui gémit dans l'angoisse, supplie son Père, au mont des Oliviers, de dissiper le voile d'ignorance qui pèse sur le monde, sans qu'une voix réponde à son cri de détresse. Et l'on sait la hautaine et sombre conclusion que le poète a donnée à son œuvre un an avant sa mort :

¹ *Journal*, 1833 [1835], p. 77-78. Cf. lettre à Mlle Camilla Maunoir, 21 octobre 1841 : 'C'est ma volonté de retremper le caractère de ma belle nation, autant que je le pourrai faire, à des sources que je crois bonnes, que je crois pures.' V. encore lettre à la même, 31 janvier 1843.

² *La Prison*.

³ *Journal*, 1824 [1832], p. 33.

⁴ *Journal*, 1834, p. 92.

⁵ *Journal*, 1836, p. 105.

⁶ *Journal*, 1842, p. 161.

⁷ *Journal*, 1835, p. 102-103.

⁸ *Journal*, sans date, p. 241.

S'il est vrai qu'au Jardin sacré des Écritures
 Le Fils de l'Homme ait dit ce qu'on voit rapporté ;
 Muet, aveugle et sourd au cri des créatures,
 Si le Ciel nous laissa comme un monde avorté,
 Le juste opposera le dédain à l'absence,
 Et ne répondra plus que par un froid silence
 Au silence éternel de la Divinité¹.

On a quelquefois parlé légèrement de cet âpre procès de Vigny contre Dieu. Lorsqu'un homme a souffert comme a souffert Vigny, quand sa pensée anxieuse n'a cessé de sonder l'énigme de la destinée et le mystère de l'au delà, quand il a mis toute son âme, engagé tout son être moral dans l'examen sérieux des plus graves questions que puisse se poser l'intelligence humaine, et quand la solution, pour triste qu'elle soit, ne s'est pas formulée sans un déchirement d'entrailles, il vaut qu'on en parle avec sympathie. On doit prendre en pitié 'ceux qui cherchent en gémissant,' suivant le beau mot de Pascal. Et c'est à Pascal qu'on songe en effet devant l'œuvre de ce sincère à qui la recherche fut si douloureuse ; et tel fragment de son journal semble détaché des *Pensées* : 'Je sens sur ma tête le poids d'une condamnation que je subis toujours, ô Seigneur ! mais, ignorant la faute et le procès, je subis ma prison. *J'y tresse de la paille* pour l'oublier quelquefois²....' Mais Pascal a connu la consolante joie de voir filtrer dans sa prison un rayon de lumière qui n'a pas frappé les yeux de Vigny³.

S'il est vrai, comme il faut le croire, que la postérité, soucieuse de justice, met toujours à leur rang les hommes supérieurs en qui l'on aime à retrouver l'accord du génie et du caractère, l'avenir, sans doute, placera très haut ce pur et grand artiste, ce fervent d'idéal, dont l'âme, toute de noblesse, en dépit des humaines défaillances, s'est mise entière dans l'expression de son rêve intérieur. Mais au surplus, l'avenir n'a-t-il pas déjà sonné pour lui ? Une génération distraite a pu négliger Alfred de Vigny. Une autre est venue, qui s'est pénétrée de son œuvre et en a senti la grandeur, qui a mainte fois éprouvé tout ce qu'elle contient d'élévation intellectuelle et de force morale, et qui reste reconnaissante au maître un instant méconnu de lui avoir si souvent ouvert le monde de la beauté sereine et des hautes et mâles pensées.

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¹ *Le Mont des Oliviers*.

² *Journal*, 1832, p. 64.

³ Cf. Pascal, lettre à sa sœur Mme Périer, 1^{er} avril 1648 : 'Nous devons nous considérer comme des criminels dans une prison toute remplie des images de leur libérateur et des instructions nécessaires pour sortir de la servitude ; mais il faut avouer qu'on ne peut apercevoir ces saints caractères sans une lumière surnaturelle ; car comme toutes choses parlent de Dieu à ceux qui le connaissent, et qu'elles le découvrent à tous ceux qui l'aiment, ces mêmes choses le cachent à tous ceux qui ne le connaissent pas.'

TYPES IN LITERATURE.

THE problem of the types seems to be, in a new sense, the leading issue in contemporary literary criticism; not only are they summoned to offer proof of present usefulness, but even their identity is being doubted, and certain competent inquisitors have pronounced the nature of them to be that of wraiths and ghosts. A double assault has been made upon these time-honoured classifications, by certain estheticians on the one hand, and by an influential school of prosodists on the other.

A fundamental dissension has arisen around the distinction between prose and verse. About this, indeed, it appears that rhythm does, in a general way, remain the accepted characteristic of verse—of poetry, some put it. No doubt prose, too, has its rhythm, characterized by variety. But in all generalizations—and it must be admitted that such a study as this is one of generalizations so long as a mere résumé is attempted—the predominating element may legitimately be taken as a sufficient characteristic. And the conclusions arrived at, providing the critic really does seize upon the predominating characteristic, will remain valid throughout all future modifications. Thus, recent phonetic studies, while establishing numerous facts hitherto unsuspected, endorse the accepted distinction that was founded purely upon the varying impressions created by the two modes of expression, and that were distinguishable merely by a predominant characteristic.

One may reasonably go further, and maintain that if a characteristic is indeed predominant, there is all probability, in the light of experience, that this predominance is founded upon necessity: that, for example, the rhythm predominant in poetry—or rather, to begin with, in verse—exercises there a particular function, whereas the non-rhythm relatively characteristic of prose is inevitable to the expression of the prose subject.

But this is perhaps deducing too much from experience—making precedent the law, in the face of a formidable body of evidence tending to show that this precedent is indeed nothing but part and parcel of the traditionalism that has sometimes been found the bane of literature,

and with which scientific research, and particularly the doctrines built thereon, have frequently come into violent and apparently irreconcilable opposition. But it is probably not the immediate results of scientific investigation, but the unscientific development of these results by those impatient to arrive at a system, at a law that will map out an infallible chart, it is evidently this headlong acclamation of truths but imperfectly understood that has played such strange midnight havoc in the domain of literature. Plots have been hatched against classical tradition, against the representation of evil, against any admixture of a humanitarian interest, against the presence of the personality of the author in his work—that strangest of all the aberrations of the theoreticians—against almost everything in turn, that has ever formed the theme, or constituted the method, of works of literature. Thus that delightful Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, with its *Battle of the Books*, fairly decisive, after all, for a period, but comprehending in its data so relatively short a period to be studied, that, unlike the theory of evolution, it might well be shown to constitute but a moment of reaction, a retrogression temporary in its nature.

From that proud epoch of the *Fasti* of the universities, when, in Alexandria, professors of philosophy lectured in verse, the weathercock of literary criticism has performed its proper function of constant veering, sometimes, indeed, but slowly, but of later years, as it seems, more and more rapidly. We hear the querulous interrogation of Ackermann, by Proudhon: Why will Ackermann persist in writing verse? It is but a futile diversion, if diversion it be, after all, since the possible combinations of rhythm and rhyme are shortly to be exhausted, leaving Ackermann and all such jugglers high and dry with their stale tricks. Whereas, Proudhon and men of his persuasion, healers and guides of society, need every hand to help in the final tremendous revolution of all things, when every reasonable being will be fed and nourished, doing his reasonable share in a reasonable pursuit—and when poets will attract no notice.

We learn from the fair credo of Art for Art's Sake that humanity, taking it on the whole and on the average, might well be sacrificed on that altar where are engraved the perfect lines of supreme artist-poets—lines which may be no representation of known experiences, and perhaps better so, but taking their price from this very rareness, and from the perfection of their structure.

We learn from the *Petit Traité de Poésie Française*, of Théodore de Banville, that rhyme is nothing short of God-given, that it is the

exclusive gift of the poet, and that he has it, and inevitably, and without seeking, multifarious but unique motif of his expression.

The continually recurring question has been one, and clearly distinguishable throughout all these vicissitudes of criticism—or of polemics merely: that of the pre-eminence, or of the absolute worth of a given subject for expression, or else of a given manner of expression: a deliberate ignoring, in each case, and in the face of practice, that harmony itself, and not this or that limitation of it, is the fact of literature. Which leaves the way open, it may be objected, to a perfectly coherent and precise demonstration of a law of natural science or of logic to take its place among the most finished productions of literature, which, indeed, it does, but at the same time by no means excludes the perfect poem, the perfect description, the perfect oration from the place they are accorded by general assent. Whereupon we need to determine merely what has been and what remains the typical expression of men, that which they have loved above all other things always: and we soon discern that the general striving of literature has been in the direction of completeness, universality of expression. Hence the second characteristic, completeness. And if emotion, whether awakened by a half-guessed sense of the divine, by love, by passion, by the visions of the actions of other men—the battles that they wage, the endless doubt and travail, and impotence of their lives—if this emotion is present in ‘literature’ over logic pure and simple, it is because men are first of all emotional, and are reasoning to a less degree, and because they choose to select and enshrine those expressions particularly (not only) which are distinctly coloured by this tinge of feeling.

Which is by no means to deny in literature the rôle of reason; which is, on the contrary, to affirm its constant, not always evident, but perfectly indispensable co-operation with emotion, in most expressions. Some philosophers have proposed intuition as the fact of literature. Why veil the universal action of thought under so academic a distinction, which introduces us to a terminology the workings of which gradually lead to the conclusion that final effect, or impression, and not the means to this impression, is the sole test of the literary production? And the theory would, as it seems, separate the work from its surroundings, in the sense of implying that each writer is sufficient to himself, or that a given architect, let us say, of the days when the Pantheon was built, had within his soul the ogival tower of Saint-Ouen in Rouen. By no means, would be the reply, but, on the contrary, the tower of Saint-Ouen is a wholesome and creditable departure from the traditions of Roman

architecture, and it is precisely for this departure, this independence of tradition, this unwillingness to go on constructing Pantheons into eternity, sacrificing the real essence, which is the striving for independence, to tradition, that the ogival tower is significant to us. And yet, in Rouen, too, standing before the cathedral, we have the most vivid object-lesson in proof of the similarity of the Pantheon and the belfry of Saint-Ouen—the old romanesque arches of one of the portals growing visibly, in the succeeding courses of its tower, into the first severe point of early Gothic, and finally at the summit, into the most delicate and capricious type imagined by the later architects of that school. For schools there are, and types there are—not all, indeed, true ones, in the sense that they prove themselves in application and become under certain conditions indispensable to progress—but which always begin as experiments, and upon being found to be principles, continue, ipso facto, until something hitherto unrealized comes to proclaim them no longer serviceable. The iron spire of that same Notre-Dame at Rouen may perhaps be the symbol of such a revolution in architecture.

The very history of types in literature shows the normal development of any discovery—the more or less blind searching for awhile, finally developing into practice in the work of some artist, and possibly, although rarely, perfected by him; and either the first to formulate the principle or the first to lend it the grace of conscious artistry is then hailed, and rightly enough, as an innovator. The form thus justified is enthusiastically reproduced with the new significances inevitable from every new contact, and directly the jinnee so magically dominating the heavens is decried as an empty cloud, and another is evoked to combat it. Yet the genesis of a true type is a process of evolution that is to be traced with ease, in most cases, through a series of well-accredited causes, and is not a mere perverse combination by some ‘*détraqué*,’ some monomaniac, of disparate elements, ‘*et varias inducere plumas—undique collatis membris...*’

Thus the rhyme that some have discovered to be a deliberate importation from oriental sources, imposing itself like a rude dancing-measure upon the poets of the Latin decadence, was, consciously or unconsciously, present in the verses of the classic poets, as in those of Ovid. The stress-accent, too, was no invention of vulgar Latinity, but noticeable in the verses of the Age of Augustus.

And the forms we class together as sonnet—through how many protean changes have we not traced them?—the half-lyrical, half-logical short forms adequate for describing the single reactions of thought and

feeling, and which, if they have not taken, and never will take on absolute uniformity, still constitute a class. And it is a class which, if it is merely a convention, appears to be endowed with singular vitality to have survived some six centuries of use: it would appear that an approximation to the sonnet must remain so long as what we call modern European civilization continues.

For if certain types, such as that of the short form labelled sonnet, appear, and have long appeared, especially adapted to our needs, it is not to be supposed that they will be, for that reason, eternal in expression. Just as we hear of an Arabian type, the 'kasida,' generally beginning with the theme of love in the pastoral spirit, and which is a long-established vehicle in that literature, it would not do to suppose it susceptible of adaptation among us, nor, on the other hand, to deny it the distinction of being a type in that literature wherein it was developed, and where it seems long to have possessed every element of vitality.

The solutions which have been proposed for this question of types have been various, some, like Brunetière, giving them a racial or family history, and others, like Benedetto Croce, denying their existence for the artist. It is argued that as intuition is the motive of expression—expression itself, indeed—and as the final impression of a work of art is nothing but the balance of these expressions intuited, and the final balance—the final impression—of every work being different from that of any other, the type, therefore, cannot be said to exist artistically. The appeal of this latter, eminently logical doctrine, is of course twofold: it is to the critic, and it is to the artist himself. The former sees in it an attractive primary division into two main types—the term will be excused: the first motivated by logic, which is critical, and the second inspired by intuition, which is lyrical—to use the Crocian expression—and which we know as 'literature.' The latter, the artist, finds in this doctrine a rehabilitation of what has been well termed the 'bardic' conception of the poet, exculpating him, before the fact and for ever, from any intellectual responsibility, and likewise from any possible invidious charge of imitation. The beatific, or rather, the Olympian sense of security of the artist endorsing this doctrine, and then setting about the writing of his sonnet, his novel, his 'free verse,' may be imagined.

Needless to say, if there is a defect here, it is not on the side of logic; and this rigidity of method leads frequently to illuminating conclusions, such, for example, as that of the real meaning of the term 'unities,' around which critics and artists played blind-man's buff for

generations, never discovering their precise nature, but thoroughly filled with a sense of their presence in the true work of art, their indispensability. There is no defect in logic, but it would appear that there must be a flaw in the fundamental proposition consisting, in résumé, in the thesis of the sole presence of intuition in the artist, who is, as such, not a reasoning but an intuitive being. It is no part of the present intention to enter into the merits of this position in so far as it is a question of the nature of the intuitive process, and of its intrinsic rôle in creation. But is it not positing the impossible that a man should be one thing purely when it is his very nature to be composite: that he should be emotional and nothing more, or logical and nothing more, or intuitive and nothing more? The pure type of anything is indeed, in this life, something that can never be considered as a norm. Thus the work conceived throughout intuitively is difficult to find. The final impression, itself, of course, intuited, is—and the manner in which Croce makes this point is striking and illuminating—its result, its sum-total. Only, this does away with the influence of the logical process in composition: for, the logical process being at work throughout contemporaneously, or rather, in the intervals of the intuitive process, the final expression is, indeed, not merely the result of intuition, but also of the logical process. And in two ways: the logical process mingled, as it will be, almost inextricably, with the intuitive, will give its final quota towards the sum-total of expression; the second influence will be indirect and progressive. That is, the status of the composition at a given moment will be influenced in an interval of the intuitive process by an intrusion of the logical, and upon the resumption of the intuitive process the 'status quo' will have been changed, creating a new impression intuitively upon the artist, who will thus be swerved from his preceding trend. And so on, the work progressing in a more or less uniform zig-zag course, bounding now from one wall, the intuitive, and now from the other, the logical, until finally the impulse, which is the will, is stopped by the intuitive perception that the work of art is complete; the final impression is the result. Thus the work of art is not merely intuited in fact. And in practice, what is the precise characteristic of this action of logic? It is undoubtedly consistent in the natural function of logic—the thought-process necessary to determine the probable reaction upon others; and the artist renowned as such among men is, as a matter of fact, precisely not what this doctrine would imply—a man of intuitions purely—but, on the contrary, the one most fortunately gifted with the right proportions of will, of

emotion, and of reason—the delicate understanding that we brand with the name common-sense, or logical ability mingled with the intuitive.

The intuition is said to guide the reader, to give him entirely, in fact, the sum-total of a work of art in so far as it is a work of art. And strangely enough, it is thus—whether drama, or novel, or sonnet—at once multiform and with unlimited possibilities. Byron's *Sardanapalus*, for example, may be at once the most powerful combination of suggestions—of vastness, of terror, of the quick and relentless workings of evil, of a world double-locked in the gloom of passion, under barbaric piles of splendour and injustice. Here it might be answered that the sonnet of Sully-Prudhomme, *Cri perdu*, gives a like final impression. Here, the poet meets a youth, one of the slaves who built the Pyramids, who, broken by toil, haggard, and mad with doubt, has wandered for three thousand years across the earth, crying aloud invoking God and justice, but always, yonder,

Dans sa gloire, Chéops inaltérable dort.

The facts of Byron's drama may be different, Sardanapalus being no such eternal symbol of impassive and immutable wrong as is the Cheops of *Cri perdu*, and the luminous vision of Myrrha traversing the sombre halls of the Assyrian palace to burn out for human eyes in the pyre of the king may be the very apotheosis of devotion. But this is no matter; indeed Myrrha and the king merely serve to throw into blacker relief the evil that surrounds everything, and the sombre grandeur which is the final impression of the work is very like that of the *Cri perdu*. Each work of art is diverse from every other; but having proclaimed or admitted this, it may still be objected that the final difference in impression in these two works does not arise from the fact that the one is a sonnet, and the other a drama in form; and that a novel might have conveyed the nearest possible approach to the impression of *Sardanapalus*. As for the novel and the drama, it is another question, but so far as the *Cri perdu* and *Sardanapalus* are concerned, it is certain that, positing what initial intentions and feelings one will in Byron and in Sully-Prudhomme, the sum-totals of impression in the two works are materially influenced by the 'form'—deliberately chosen, it cannot be too often repeated, by each author. In the end one feels, mingling with the grandeur of everything in the palace of the king and with the goodness of the girl Myrrha, the deep, black, and swift currents of envy, of ambition, of a Satanic revolt murmuring far below the halls of the palace, and this is a compositeness of impression

the very like of which, much less its fulness and strength, could never be approximated in any sonnet. On the other hand, the distinctness, the balance between thought and emotion emanating from the *Criperdu*, are rarely found, if at all, in the final impression from the drama. As for the other objection, that *Sardanapalus* may be paired, for example, by *Salammô*, or by Merezhkovski's *Death of the Gods*, it needs to be observed that not all the luxury, the wantonness of description in Flaubert's archeological novel serve to give his work the scenic relief, the justification of scene, the vividness of realization of the rôle of plain and palace, that are found in *Sardanapalus*. So much for *Sardanapalus* as a dramatic form—and this in spite of the fact that Byron himself felt that it could never be acted; it is at the same time a composition in verse, a fact bringing in new elements, and particularly that which we may term sensory, establishing a clean-cut distinction between it on the one hand, and the two prose works on the other—and this notwithstanding that the presence of rhythm is striking in *Salammô*. Thus, although one would be perfectly ready to adopt the statement that the work of art is intuitive—if by that might only be understood, predominantly intuitive—a wise, that is, a logical use of individuality must nevertheless be made.

And here lies one of the reasons for the existence and for the use of types: the conscious conforming by the artist, on beginning, to a convention which will render his work more readily understood by others, and which, if adhered to, doubtless restricting the free play of his personality, is on the other hand likely to save the whole from futility by putting it into a certain consonance with general experience. Thus the final impression of his work will be as clear as possible, and more telling, generally, than if he had attempted to evade the use of the form. Or in other words, that the sum-total of his personality in the final impression is more potential with others than it would have been if he had not sought to render himself readable, that is, comprehensible.

If the objection is made that this formality, pressing like a die upon every impression of the artist, warps it unrecognizably and thus dams the normal course of the artistic development, it can only be answered that it is here a question, not of theory, but of experience: the objection must be admitted, but it is natural in human experience in society that many things should be dammed in their natural course—their individual trend—and that much should be modified by the die of convention. Literature, if it is the expression of society represented in individuals—which, although a truism, will bear repeating here—is

bound to suffer, and is destined always to suffer, some such restraint. The result is not only a considerable check upon individual experience, but at the same time a body of literature that, without such discipline, might have been shattered in almost every attempt at expression, by the powerful centrifugal force of each individual personality seeking full play. Most individuals, as a matter of fact, shortly become tamed to a great degree—enough—by the repressions of society: the forms of literature are voluntarily adopted by all who are not supermen, as well as by those supermen who have the sense to recognize their futility away from mere humanity, and who prefer to be understood by humanity, foreseeing there a more immediate and more sympathetic audience than they could expect on Olympus.

A parallel has, I believe, sometimes been drawn between the forms of language, the morphologic and syntactic conventions, and the forms or types of literature. But while it is this same desire to be understood that prompts the maintaining of both, the necessity in point of language is greater, and in point of types in literature less. But the identity of the first cause in the two cases is worth noting. Yet, on the other hand, the intrinsic worth of the literary type is infinitely greater, in almost all cases, than that of the language element, as being, not merely a symbol chosen more or less arbitrarily, perhaps, out of many possible ones, but a real psychological necessity, the single possibility in a given state of society.

The type considered as a necessity, a principle of expression, may well be expected to take its form from the state of the civilization in question. Thus, the 'kasida' of the Arabians, the 'chanson de geste' of the early period in France, and the romance of chivalry, seem perfectly indigenous and perfectly indispensable in their several functions. But certain other types, as the sonnet, taking their life from an inextricable embrace between subject and manner, are types in a different sense. But the question of chivalry was a constant and supreme concern in a certain society, and the type having become established in that guise, it was only natural that it should be made the framework, in addition, for the other lessons of mysticism. The undoubted fact that a given form may be made to furnish as many final impressions, not only as there are writers using the form, but also as there are readers of each production, does not militate against that other fact, that there is a norm of human expression perhaps conforming to that of no individual and that each type will be found to conform to that norm. But it may be replied that we can maintain but two, or but six, or but fifty true

forms—durable and general to an undetermined but considerable degree—and that these two, or six, or fifty so-called types convey absolutely countless final impressions. What, then, can be the reason for the form, especially when it is stated, moreover, that the final impression of a novel may be more like that produced by a given sonnet than like that produced by any other novel?

First of all, this last proposition may as well be denied, as false, since the characteristic impression created by the sonnet is very patently diverse in its nature from that of the ballad, of the drama, of the short-story. Need these general differences be defined? A special study with such definitions in view might well be undertaken, since the distinctions already brought out have generally been from the aspect of the construction of each of the types. But, in the light of the fact already mentioned, that so many thousands upon thousands of final impressions have been given through the medium of a few dozen more or less established types, is it not perfectly evident that the definitions—if one can define impressions otherwise than by approximating them with others more familiar—is it not evident that the definitions will need to be most comprehensive? The clinical demonstration on a number of examples of each type will serve merely as a confirmation, hardly as a corrective, of off-hand suggestions of the nature of those final impressions from each. But the fact that definition in this case might well prove unsatisfactory, if not impossible, is, in the nature of things, no proof whatever that the types do not produce varying impressions, since the logical demonstration of the shade of an intuition may well prove baffling. The study would, however, have value in helping to show which of the so-called types are predominatingly real—that is, which may be termed principles of expression—and which factitious.

The result of this outline is thus, that there appears to be reason for believing that some types are inevitable, and are relatively permanent, and that they are formed by the joint, or rather, alternating action of the intuitive and logical processes. But it is impossible to state with assurance that only the types possessing a marked correlation of manner and matter, the kind of mathematical precision that almost allows of demonstrated proof of excellence or of imperfection, that those types alone are real, and that, on the other hand, the types commonly classed according to subject-matter, such as the epic and the pastoral, are false. In short, the study, except as incidentally in rhetoric, appears generally to have been considered theoretically, or else with an invo-

cation of tradition—a perhaps justifiable, but irritating deduction that whatever is, is right. Certain of the types, in other words, possess for humanity a greater amount of reality than do others. But it may be found, as well, that some less-known forms are more intrinsically real than others commonly accepted merely because, as has been said, these 'great' types are more comprehensive, more lax, permitting of a closer approximation to the norm of society at large. In which case, there are two legitimate points of departure: the intrinsic and the relative, or the type considered in relation to the impressions that are rare, and in relation to those that are the most general.

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RUSSIAN SPEECH-SOUNDS¹.

WORD ACCENT.

IN Russian the word-accent is one of stress, but its incidence differs in several respects from that of other languages with stress-accent, e.g. English and German. In the first place every Russian word of more than one syllable has one, and only one, strongly stressed syllable. Thus words accented like *lémonáde*, *fárewéll* do not occur. Moreover, the intermediate degree of stress (secondary or half-stress) occurs but seldom in ordinary speech². Thus we hardly ever meet with Russian words stressed like *fíreàrm*, *róoftrèe*, *ínkbòttle*, *Séhnsùcht*, *Haúshàltung*, etc. In Russian, words of 5, 6, 7 or more syllables are quite common, especially in the literary language with its predilection for participles, yet such words have only one strongly stressed syllable. The other syllables, being weakly stressed or practically without stress, are hurried over, with the result that their vowels are always short and are frequently altered in quality. The effect produced on the non-Russian ear by this hurrying over of the unstressed syllables is one of indistinctness; non-Russians generally pronounce the unstressed vowels too distinctly. The Russian educated classes speak more rapidly and consequently less distinctly than the uneducated. Parish priests, who live mostly among the peasants and are of approximately the same class, have usually a slow and clear enunciation.

EFFECTS OF WEAK STRESS.

The vowels chiefly affected by lack of stress are [o], [a] and the 'on-glide' vowel [ʲa].

When stressed, [o] has its full or 'proper' value. If it occurs in the syllable next before the stressed syllable it is pronounced as a short,

¹ I am indebted to Mr Trofimov, lecturer in Russian at King's College, London, for some criticisms, and especially to Mr V. Goudin, lecturer in Russian in the University of Liverpool, from whose pronunciation I have recently carefully checked my earlier observations. But neither of these gentlemen is in any way responsible for any statement contained in the present paper, which attempts to describe the average pronunciation of such educated Russians as I know personally.

² In Russian verse secondary stresses are frequent and may even become equivalent to full stresses when the rhythm requires it.

clear [a]; in any other unstressed position it is pronounced [ə] or may even disappear in rapid speech. Thus we have the gradation series [o—a—ə]. Examples are молоко [məlakó], болото [balótə], около [ókəfə].

It should be noted that the pronunciation of unstressed [o] as [a] is not found all over Russia, except among educated people. Russian philologists distinguish between the 'o' or Northern districts and the 'a' or Southern districts, and use the verbs *окать* [ókət] and *акать* [ákət] to indicate the difference in pronunciation.

The vowel [a] is often 'dulled' to [ə] in quick speech in syllables following the stressed syllable, as in *эта* [étə], *комната* [kómnatə]. In syllables preceding the stressed syllable [a] is unchanged, e.g. in *ананасъ* [anánás]. Further examples are given *infra*, p. 484.

SENTENCE-STRESS.

The quality of [o] is also affected by weak *sentence*-stress, as in the groups *о моемъ* [əma'óm], where the *о* is proclitic, and *на годъ* [nágət], where *годъ* is enclitic. Similarly in *на пять* [nápít], [ʼa] becomes [i].

Weak sentence-stress reduces *говоритъ* 'says he,' to [grt].

INTONATION.

Intonation in Russian speech plays the same part as it does in German and English in heightening the expressiveness of words and word-groups and modifying the meaning of sentences. Certain characteristic modulations of tone in Russian speech are easily distinguished, but it is not proposed to deal with the subject here, owing to the difficulty of satisfactorily representing intonation by diagrams or symbols. It is worth noting that Russian men occasionally break into falsetto when excited.

TABLES OF RUSSIAN SPEECH-SOUNDS.

VOWELS

PURE VOWELS			DIPHTHONGS				TRIPHTHONGS		
Front	Mixed	Back	Rising		Falling				
i	ɨ	u	jʏ jɯ		jɨ jʏ jɨ	uɨ	jʏ	jɯ	
e	ɵ		jɵ jɛ jɔ		eɨ	oɨ	jɵ		jɔ
ɛ		o	jə jɑ			aɨ		jə	jɑ
	aa								

CONSONANTS

MODE OF FORMATION	PLOSIVES (STOPS)		CONTINUANTS (SPIRANTS)				
	VOICED	VOICELESS	VOICED	VOICELESS	SIDE	NASAL	TRILLED
Guttural . .			ɣ	x			
Velar . .	g	k		χ			
Back-palatal . .	g̣	ḳ	j	χ̣ (ç)			
Blade-palatal . .	d	t	z	s	l	n	r
Point-gum . .	d	t	z	s			r
Point-teeth . .	d	t			ʃ	n	
Bilabial . .	b	p				m	
Lip-teeth . .			v	f			
Blade-retractedd			ʒ (ʒ)	ʃ (ʃ)			

REMARKS ON VOWELS.

All unstressed vowels are short. Stressed vowels are usually half-long, but tend to be short when final. A stressed vowel is occasionally lengthened for special emphasis, especially when a single word is uttered with the meaning of a sentence. Thus in reply to a question asking for permission *можно* is generally pronounced with the first *o* extra long accompanied by a special intonation. Speaking generally, fully long vowels are not common in Russian speech, which thus presents a marked contrast to German with its strong contrast of long and short vowels.

VOWELS IN DETAIL.

[a] when stressed is the *a* in 'father,' G. *Vater*. Some speakers pronounce it as [a], i.e. with the same tongue-position as the *a* in F. *patte*. When short, [a] is the *a* of G. *Mann*.

[o] is a lowered slack [o], like the Italian 'open' *o* in *Po*. It is not the English [o] found in 'law,' though not unlike it. Some Russian speakers over-round [o] after [b] [p] [m] [v]. Others pronounce it with less than the normal degree of rounding, but this is not considered correct.

[u] high back tense rounded, is the same as the *u* in G. *Uhr*, *du*. Examples: русский [rúski], путь [put], рука [ruká].

[ɛ] lowered mid-front slack, is commonly heard in foreign words, as [éira]. Almost the only pure Russian word in which [ɛ] occurs is эотѣ [é'tɛt], which is often pronounced [é'tɛt].

[e] mid-front tense, when stressed, is heard 'pure,' i.e. without the palatal 'on-glide,' only after the labials [b] [p] [m] [f] when it is immediately followed by the on-glide vowels (or diphthongs) [ʲu] [ʲa]

or a 'palatalised' consonant. Examples: имѣю [imé'u], фея [fé'a], пѣть [pét], дверь [dver]. It occurs unstressed and therefore short in Петроградъ [petragrát], чета [tšetá].

[i] high front tense; when stressed is sounded as in Germ. *ihm*, Fr. *pire*; examples: пирь [pîr], иго [ígə].

When short it is sounded as in French *si, cité*, e.g. in Китаи [kítái], Никитинъ [nikítin].

[i] when stressed produces on the ear the effect of a diphthong, as if it were followed by a very short [i]. But Russians seldom admit this. I have noticed that when a Russian is asked to give the sound of the letter и he pronounces it a pure high tense mixed vowel, but when asked to pronounce it in a word, e.g. ты, he will give it a diphthongal effect. This would appear to be due to the fact that after taking up the position for [i], very nearly that of the velar consonants [g] [k] [χ], the tongue advances very slightly in the act of utterance. It is a very tense vowel, and in its enunciation the lips are drawn back. It has a curious 'hollow' resonance, and for foreigners it is the most difficult of the Russian vowels to acquire. Considering their similarity in tongue-position it is curious that [g] [k] [χ] are never followed by [i], though they are frequently preceded by it. Examples are: тыкать [tíkæt], прыгать [prígæt]. After the labial consonants [b] [p] [m] [f] something like a *w*-glide effect is developed before [i], as in быть, пыль, мы. This seems to prove that stressed [i] has a diphthongal pronunciation; the first element of the diphthong (the high tense mixed vowel) being momentarily rounded by the position of the lips for the labial consonant and producing a *w*-glide effect as it is succeeded by the second element, a vowel halfway between [i] and [ɪ].

When short, [i] loses its diphthongal character as in рыбакъ [rîbák], отдыхъ [óddix].

[ə] occurs only as a weakened form of [o] and in some cases of [a], as in часы [tšəsí]. Its tongue-position is difficult to define, but it may be considered a mid-mixed slack vowel. It is much like the final *e* in Germ. *Gabe, Rede*, etc.

'Rising' diphthongs or 'On-glide' vowels. The vowels [a] [o] [u] [ɣ] [e] [ɛ] are very often preceded by a palatal 'on-glide.' Hence the distinction made in Russian grammars between 'hard' and 'soft' vowels. The on-glide may be represented by either the high front tense vowel [i] or the corresponding voiced spirant or 'semi-vowel' [j]. In some words one hears it as [j]; in others there is less tenseness and we seem

to hear [i]. Thus the first personal pronoun я is often pronounced [ja], but пять sounds like [pʰat]. Russians themselves distinguish between the pronunciation of words like сѣсть [sʰĕst] and съѣсть [sʰĕst], лютый [lʰŭti] and лю [lʰŭ], пѣсъ [pʰos] and пѣтъ [pʰot]. The same difference in tenseness is observable in the English 'yard' and G. *Jahr*.

Examples of these rising diphthongs occur in яблоко [ʲábʲəkə], царя [tsarʲá]; елка [jólʲkə], приемъ [prʲjó̯m]; юбка [jʲŭpkə]¹, изюмъ [izʲŭm], ель [jel], мѣсто [mʲĕstə], бѣлый [bʲĕli].

The 'rising' diphthong [ʷa] or [ʷa] occurs only in words of foreign, especially French, origin, as in вуаль [vʷal], from F. *voile*.

In the '**falling**' **diphthongs** (with stress on first element) the second element [i] is by most Russians pronounced very tense and short, not like the corresponding English diphthongs, which have a slack, indistinct vowel, between [ĩ] and [ĕ], as their second element. This difference is noticeable in the English 'boy' and the Russian бѡй. In the pronunciation by some Russians of these diphthongs, especially when final and stressed or in a monosyllable, one clearly distinguishes a *voiceless* [j].

When unstressed, and either immediately preceding or following the stressed syllable in a word or word-group, [oʲ], and occasionally [aʲ] and [eʲ], undergo change of quality, as in доброй [dóbrəʲ] or [dóbrʲi], ходатайство [χadátəstʲvə], чайкомъ [tʃeʲkóm].

[uʲ] occurs chiefly under the strong stress, as in буѣ [buʲ]; it is unstressed in уиѣ [ʷitʲi].

The **triphthongs**, if we may so term them, are of common occurrence; e.g. in яйца [jáʲtsə]. When not stressed, [jaʲ] becomes [jeʲ], as in яйцо [jeʲtsó] or even [jʲitsó]. [jʲŭ] occurs stressed in дюймъ [dʲŭʲm]. [jeʲ] occurs stressed in еѣ [jeʲ], моеѣ [maʲĕi], etc.

REMARKS ON CONSONANTS.

Before considering the Russian consonants in detail, we may make some general observations. One very prominent feature is the 'palatalisation' before the high front tense vowel [i] and the palatal 'on-glide' vowels of any consonant capable of being 'palatalised.' Speaking phonetically, we may say that in anticipation of any of these 'palatal' vowels the tongue in articulating the consonant takes up the most

¹ I use the Greek letter τ (upsilon) to represent the sound of the Russian letter ю. This is not [u] or [ju], as is so often stated. The tongue is much more advanced than it is for [u], even more so than for [ɹ], while the lips assume a position nearer to that of [y] in Fr. *pur* or G. *über* than of [u]. I think [τ] is slack, but I am not sure. Russians, it may be noted, transliterate the Fr. *u* and G. *ü* by ю.

favourable position for the formation of the vowel. This is a great difficulty for English and German learners; less great for French, who palatalise some of their consonants, as for example in *Dieppe* [dʲɛp], *guide* [gid], etc.

Doubled consonants seldom occur in Russian words, with the exception of [n], which occurs in the common past participle passive and adjectival endings -нный, -нный. This is preceded by either a stressed or an unstressed vowel, in the latter case proving a difficulty for the foreigner. Examples are: странный [stránni], побѣжденный [pəbʲɛzdʲónni], искренный [iskrinni]. [d] and [dʲ] are doubled as a result of assimilation with [t] or [tʲ]. After the Russian voiceless plosives [k] [p] [t] there is **no such escape of breath** before a following vowel as occurs in English and German. In this respect Russian and French are alike, as indeed are all the Slavonic and Romance languages.

Voiced consonants tend to be unvoiced at the end of a word even when 'palatalised.'

CONSONANTS IN DETAIL.

Gutturals. [ɣ], the voiced guttural spirant, which occurs in a common pronunciation of the German *sagen*, is heard in some pronunciations of богатый [baɣáti] and когда, тогда [kaɣdá] [taɣdá]. It is formed by a slight contraction of the space immediately above the glottis, and may be regarded as a voiced rough aspirate [h]. It is identical with the Flemish *g* before a back vowel. This sound is not usual in Moscow and Petrograd speech, which uses [g], whereas in S. Russia it is the usual sound of *r* before a back vowel. The English and German [h] is generally represented in Russian by the letter *r*.

[x], the voiceless guttural spirant heard in Germ. *ach*, *Koch*, is not nearly so common in Russian as the velar spirant [χ], but occurs as an occasional pronunciation of final *r* in Богъ; also in the exclamation ахъ or охъ, and occasionally in мяккий [mʲáχki].

Velars. These sounds are formed by humping up the back of the tongue so as to touch or closely approach the 'velum' or soft palate. They are fronted before front and on-glide vowels to back-palatals.

[g] as in Engl. 'go,' Fr. *gant*.

[k] as in Fr. *quand* (i.e. without escape of breath before a following vowel).

[χ] is heard in Germ. *Buch*, but not in *Bach*. It may be called the 'spirant *k*,' and is a difficult sound for English and French people to acquire, the former tending to pronounce it as the guttural [x], the

latter as a [k]. This spirant is not fronted to the palatal [χ] *after* [i] or [e] as happens in the German *nicht, recht*, but *is* so fronted *before* the front vowels, e.g. in хитрый [χítɾi], химия [χím'ia], contrasted with ихъ [iχ], тихо [tíχə]. Germans find this peculiarity a formidable difficulty. One seems in ихъ to hear an 'off-glide' sound resembling [i] between the respective tongue-positions for [i] and [χ].

Back-palatals result from the fronting of the velars, and they occur only before the front vowels [i] and [e]. The middle of the tongue approaches (or touches) the hard palate, i.e. that part of the mouth-roof just behind the alveola.

[g], the voiced back-palatal stop, is the same sound as in Fr. *guide*. In the uneducated pronunciation it tends before [i] to become a spirant closely resembling [j], as in генералъ [ginirát], [jinirát].

[j] is entered in the table of consonants given above as the voiced back-palatal spirant, but strictly speaking it represents the consonantal function of [i] as in G. *ja, Jahr*, Fr. *bielle*. The close similarity of tongue-positions for [j] and the spirant of [g] accounts for the resemblance in acoustic effect. In Russian, [j] occurs very frequently and is often represented by a special symbol ъ or 'soft sign,' but also occasionally by ъ, but the sound is not always represented by a symbol.

[χ] is the sound of *ch* in G. *ich, nicht*. See remarks above on velars. The voiceless form of [j] resembles [χ] but is less of a fricative, i.e. does not make so much sound as the breath escapes. This voiceless [j] occurs in some pronunciations as the second element of the 'falling' diphthongs аѣ, оѣ, еѣ, etc. (see above).

Blade-palatals [d] [t] [n] [z] [s]. These sounds are akin to those just described, and also, as regards tongue-position, to the vowel [i]. They occur only before [e], [i], the 'on-glide' vowels, and [j]. They are formed by flattening the 'blade' or rather 'back-blade' of the tongue against the back part of the gum (alveola) and just forward of the position required for the back-palatals. These blade-palatals also occur in French, as in *Diane, Dieppe, tiens, rognon*. [t] also occurs in the combination ч [tʃ], as in часть [tʃas], and [d] occurs in дж [dʒ], as in джигитовка [dʒigitófkə].

[z] and [s] occur before [i], [e] and 'on-glide' vowels, as in зима [zimá], сила [sílə], зять [z'at], сѣлъ [s'el].

[r] is rather a single 'flick' than a trill. Examples are: рядъ [r'at], Твери [tverí]. When final, as in Тверь [tver], дверь [dver], царь [tsar], it is a difficult sound for Westerners.

[l] is the *l* in F. *soulier*, and the *gl* in Ital. *gli*. Examples are :

лѣтъ [lʲɪtʲ], лягушка [lʲɛgúʂkə]. It also occurs at the end of words, as in боль [bolʲ], ель [ʲelʲ].

The **Point-gum** consonants [d] [t] [z] [s] are the English sounds. In Russian, [d] and [t] are heard only before [z] and [s] respectively. These four consonants are formed by the point of the tongue touching or approaching as the case may be the gum immediately behind the upper teeth. Examples of point-gum consonants occur in царь [tsarʲ], отзывъ [ódzɪfʲ], зубъ [zupʲ], супъ [supʲ].

[r] is always strongly trilled, as in Scotch and Spanish. The uvular or 'throat' r [R], so common in France and Germany, is hardly ever heard in Russia. The 'reverted' or American and Wessex [ɹ] is never heard in Russia. Examples of the point-trilled [r] are: рыба [rʲɪbə], боръ [borʲ].

Point-teeth [d] [t] [n] [ɲ] occur only before [a] [o] [u] [ɪ] [ə], and at the end of a word, also before non-palatal consonants. They are formed with the point of the tongue touching the upper teeth. In English [d] and [t] occur only in some dialects (including Irish) before a trilled [r]. The difference between the Russian [t] and the ordinary English [t] is very apparent in the words *ty* and 'too.'

Examples of point-teeth consonants occur in да, такъ, но, [da], [tak], [no].

[ɫ] requires special notice. It is the so-called 'hard' or 'thick' or 'Slavonic' *l*. In pronouncing it the tip of the tongue lightly touches the upper teeth, while the back of the tongue takes the position for the vowel [a] as in *father*. It resembles the Scotch [ɫ] which, however, seems to be tenser. The final *l* in English words such as 'feel,' 'ill,' etc., especially in their Cockney form, also resembles closely the Russian [ɫ]. In some pronunciations [ɫ] tends to become an indistinct murmur, or even like an imperfectly rounded slack [u] or [w], the tip of the tongue failing to touch the upper teeth. It is difficult for English people when initial or between two vowels, and very difficult for French and German people in any position.

Bilabials [b] [p] sound as in French and English, save that after [p] there is not the escape of breath before a following vowel that one hears in English and German. Examples are: бѣлый [bʲɛlʲɪ], баба [bábə], попъ [pop]. [m] as in French and English; examples are: мило [mʲɪlə], мать [matʲ].

Lip-teeth [v] [f] as in 'voice,' 'foe.' Examples are: вата [vátə], вовсе [vófsʲe]. Before [i] and [e] the Russian [v] is by some speakers pronounced as a bilabial spirant corresponding to the high front

rounded vowel [y], as heard in the German *Winter*, *Wind*. This form of [v] is very noticeable in such words as *дверь*, *двѣ*, [dver], [dvʲe].

Back-blade retracted [ž] [š]. This is the best name I can find for these sounds, though it is not a satisfactory one. Their mode of formation is difficult to determine with exactness. As pronounced by Russians these sounds differ noticeably from their English equivalents, the rushing of the air being in the former of greater force and volume, while the lips are protruded and spread out, showing the teeth. The German *sch*-sound is nearer the Russian pronunciation than is the English sound in 'she,' 'hush,' just as the French sound in *juge* is nearer the Russian [ž] than is the English sound in 'measure.' To a Russian ear the English [ž] and [š] sound thin, more like [z] and [s]. In the Russian sounds the channel which narrows the outlet of the breath is formed by the blade of the tongue at a point further back than in the case of the corresponding English spirants, which are almost point-retracted sounds. Further, in the Russian [ž] and [š] the blade of the tongue is hollowed longitudinally, the edges being pressed against the sides of the palate and the adjoining teeth. Thus the channel for the breath is wider than for the English sounds.

In the compound consonant represented by the Russian letter ч, the second element is not the Russian [š] but the English sound pronounced very tense, while the first element is the blade-palatal [t]. That is why ч raises and makes more tense a preceding [ε] as in *вѣчно* [véč̣nə]. Here we may notice the sound represented by the Russian letter ш. The first element is certainly not the Russian [š], but is more like a very tense English [š], the blade of the tongue being however advanced to the gum behind the upper teeth, leaving a very small space for the air to issue and produce a hissing sound. Indeed, it is nearer [s] than [š], and it may be noted that the combination чш, e.g. in *чешъ*, is often pronounced like ш. The next step in the production of the sound of ш is the pressing of the front blade of the tongue to the gum, and the third is its return to the tense [š] position, releasing the breath. Thus the sound of ш may be represented by [štš]. The usual statement that it is pronounced like the English *sh* as in 'hush' followed by *ch* as in 'church,' is only approximately correct.

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE SPEECH-SOUNDS.

Something has already been said on this subject. We may here briefly notice the influence on neighbouring sounds of (a) vowels, (b) consonants.

Influence of vowels. The only influence of any importance is that of the high front or 'palatal' vowel [i], and the palatal on-glides [i̯e] [i̯ɛ] [i̯a] [i̯o] [i̯ɣ] [i̯u], whose action on neighbouring consonants, resulting in their palatalisation, has been already touched on. They further exert (a) a direct effect on stressed [ɛ] immediately preceding, and (b) an indirect effect on a preceding vowel from which they are separated by a consonant. The vowel [ɛ] is raised to [e]; cf. *имѣлъ* [im'ɛt̪] and *имѣю* [im'ɛju], *ѣлъ* [ʲɛt̪] and *еле* [ʲɛli], *одѣты* [ad'ɛti] and *дѣти* [d'ɛti]. The influence of an [i] or palatal on-glide vowel causes a preceding [o] and [a] separated by an intervening consonant to develop an 'off-glide' [i̯], so that they tend to become [o̯] [a̯] respectively. This is especially noticeable when the intervening consonant is [l]; e.g. in *боль* [bóli], *маленькій* [mál'ink̪i], *далъ* [da̯l̪], or [n] as in *вонъ* [von̪]. We seem to have here the first stage in the [i] or [j] 'umlaut' or 'mutation' so familiar to Germanic philologists. A similar phenomenon occurs in French in the case of words like *Boulogne* [buló'n̪] and the provincial pronunciation of *maille* [ma̯l̪] or [ma̯l̪ə].

This influence of the 'palatal' or 'soft' vowels is confined to single words. Thus in the word-group *былъ я* the [ɪ] is not palatalised by the following [ja̯].

The **influence of consonants** affects both vowels and consonants. The compound sound [tʃ̪], even when not followed by a palatal vowel, tends to raise a preceding [ɛ] to [e]; compare *вѣчно* [v'ɛtʃ̪nə] with *вѣкъ* [v'ɛk̪]. The effect of labial consonants on a following [i̯] has been already noticed. [ʒ̪] and [ʃ̪] change an immediately following [i̯] into [i̯i̯], as in *жить* [ʒi̯it̪]. With this we may compare the change of vowel quality in the English [i̯] caused by a preceding reverted *r* [ɹ] as in 'pretty.' The influence of [ʒ̪] on a following unstressed [a̯] is seen in *жары* [ʒəri̯].

The influence of one consonant on another is seen in **assimilation**. A voiced consonant causes an immediately preceding voiceless consonant to be voiced, as in *одѣлъ* [ad'd'ɛt̪], *сдѣлать* [zd'ɛl̪ət̪]. A voiceless consonant unvoices an immediately preceding one, as in *обтяжка* [ap't̪áʃkə], *бабка* [bap̪kə], *подпись* [pótp̪is̪]. This form of assimilation occurs also between consonants of two words in a word-group, as in *хоть бы* [χod̪bi̯], *такъ далѣ* [tagdál'ɛ̯].

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

‘TRĒSON’ IN THE CHRONICLE AGAIN¹.

Dr Bradley's emendation of *Chronicle* 1135, in place of the reading which I had hoped would commend itself, is most interesting. Any new light in such obscurity is to be appreciated. Yet much is still to be said for my suggestion to read the manuscript as it stands. And first Dr Bradley makes the charge that my statement regarding the manuscript was ‘quite misleading.’ He represents me as saying the MS. ‘shows no word-division at all,’ when I really said quite truly: ‘The words of this entry were written with almost no separation, often actually none.’ Examples of words following each other without space—those actually joined will be noted later—are *cō henri* (line 10 of Keller's facsimile); *wel neh, eft' þe* (12); *na mor* (16); *nan man* (28); *nā man* (30). That the *a* (= *an*) should therefore have been closely united with the last part of *treson* is not exceptional in this entry.

Moreover, not only are words often written without space between them, but they are frequently ligatured together. Thus the facsimile page shows twenty-one lines from the beginning of 1132, the first entry of the last continuator, and in these twenty-one lines there are nineteen cases—not counting the one under discussion—in which the last letter of one word is joined to the first letter of the next. Especially good examples are *rice men* (13-4), *þer wæron* (14), *faren ut* (17), *over sæ* (20), *ware thre niht* (22), *æie wes* (28). The ligaturing of the *wes* and the first part of *treson* cannot therefore be regarded as rendering my reading impossible, any more than it prevented Thorpe from conjecturing *wes tre[ge]* as two separate words to explain the passage (*Chronicle* I, 381). Besides, the slight space between the *e* and *s* of ‘treson’ is frequently paralleled by the space between the letters of other words, as the *u*'s of *uureide* (13), the *a* and *r* of *ware* (22), the *l* and *d* of *sculde* (24), though there the *l* is carried over lightly by the pen.

¹ See vol. xi, pp. 458-462; vol. xii, pp. 72-76, 200, 201.

In ligaturing *s* and *t* the last continuator differs from his predecessor. The latter never carries the *s* over into a long *t*, as shown by the six cases in the nine lines of our facsimile. The last scribe always ligatures *s* and *t* within a word, eight times in the twenty-one lines. In only one case, other than the *westre* in question, does a final *s* precede an initial *t*, that is in *his time* (29), and there the scribe writes a short *t* after the long *s*. It would seem as if, under his common practice of joining words and his use of the *st* ligature within the word, he might easily have ligatured the *s* of *wes* to the *t* of *treson*, just as he almost ligatured the *s* of *bas* to the *l* of *landes* in this much crowded line¹.

Again, within the entry there are eighteen *b*'s and nine *w*'s of the *wen* form with which to compare the initial of *westre*, as it has always been read. Even Dr Bradley admits that the disputed letter 'does not...precisely resemble the other examples of *b* on the same page.' This means that the first stroke is noticeably shorter than the first stroke of any *b* on the page, while it is at most the barest trifle longer than the first stroke of any *w* in the twenty-one lines. Now twice in the few lines of our facsimile the scribe has apparently corrected a *b* by extending the top of what might otherwise have looked like a *w*, *be* in line 12, *bas* in this very line, as my colleague Mr Hulme has pointed out to me. There remains the serif, of which Dr Bradley makes so much. This may be due, I take it, to the fact that the chronicler had just made the first stroke of his *b* in *ba* with a pronounced serif—rather unusually—and imitated it unconsciously in the first stroke of the *w*, the third letter beyond. That *w* and *b* were sometimes confused by a writer is shown by the entry under 1129, in which Mr Plummer (p. 260) notes a *ða wa* of the MS. where *ða ba* was intended.

But supposing Dr Bradley's *bestre* is correct, he would alter what is itself a good Middle English word, the adjective 'dark.' Such a reading soon breaks down, however, unless we may assume, as Mr Hulme suggests, that the apparently corrected *bas* should be *was*—'then dark soon was'—when we should again be stayed by *landes* 'lands,' a plural where we should have a singular, and either impossible without a preceding article. To make sense Dr Bradley must assume the hypothetical *bestre[den]*, implying that the chronicler omitted both the verbal ending and the final letter of the root. This, notwithstanding that he had carefully gone over his MS. and inserted no less than eighteen letters

¹ Lines differ considerably in the crowding of the letters. Thus line 11, the second of our continuator, has fifty-six letters, and line 26—containing our entry—has fifty-three, as compared with forty-six and forty-four letters respectively in lines 1 and 8 of the preceding scribe.

or words above the line, in correcting his entries from 1132 to 1154 inclusive. It is a first principle of MS. reading, I believe, to make sense of a passage as it stands if possible, and suggest alterations only when the MS. is clearly and hopelessly corrupt. My reading makes good sense, requires no emendation, and violates no principle of grammatical or other usage. Even the meaning of *treson* 'treason' is fully justified by old English law, in which the word covered, according to the NED., not only 'an offence against the king's majesty or the safety of the commonwealth,' but also 'an offence against a subject.'

Nor is this all. In a passage teeming with the most vivid use of words in their simplest and most natural meaning, Mr Bradley assumes a highly figurative use of the hypothetical *bestre[den]*. That the land should have been 'darkened' by robbery would be a bold figure in any case. It would be most of all in this chronicle, in which both other uses of the verb refer to the darkening of the day by solar eclipses. Nor can I think the psychology of the passage strange. The lawlessness which at once appeared on the death of the king is noted immediately. Later, Henry's body was brought to England, and on mentioning this the chronicler praises the late king's virtues, as doubtless did those who officiated at his interment.

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To answer Professor Emerson's arguments would not, I think, be difficult; but to do so would require a much larger allowance of space than, in times like the present, I should be justified in claiming¹. I should, however, like to point out that the proposal to emend *bestre* into *bestreden* is not really so bold as it may at first sight appear, because the scribe of the concluding portion of the *Chronicle* has a curious habit of stumbling over the inflexion of the weak preterite plural. In an. 1154 Earle prints *byrie*' and Plummer *byrieden*. Except that some mark of contraction seems to have been used, this is an exact parallel to the shortening of *bestreden* into *bestre*. Further, in an. 1135 (Plummer, p. 263, line 8), the scribe writes *bebiriend* for *bebirieden*, and in an. 1137 (p. 265, line 11) *bolenden* for *bolēden*; elsewhere we find *hefde* (with *n* written over the line) for *hefden*, *cursede* for *curseden*, *pined* for *pineden*; and other examples of the same tendency could be cited. It is probable that in the middle of the twelfth century the longer verbal inflexions were

¹ These remarks are intended to apply also to Professor Emerson's note on *at-after*.

often shortened or dropped in colloquial speech, so that a writer would be liable to feel a momentary uncertainty as to the correct literary form. I regret that in my former note I omitted to call attention to the facts above mentioned, which I think add considerably to the strength of my case.

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‘AT-AFTER’ AND ‘IRALAND.’

To return to *at-after*, let me at once credit Mr H. B. Hinckley (*Notes on Chaucer*, 228–9) with anticipating me in the suggestion of the compound *after-soper*. I regret that I had not seen his note when I wrote mine. Beyond this, it still seems to me more natural and reasonable to connect Shakespeare’s well-recognized *after-dinner*, *after-supper* with the examples in Chaucer scarcely more than two centuries earlier, than to carry the extremely rare compound preposition *at-after* back from a dialectal use of the late nineteenth, to a literary use of the fourteenth century. Even that would have been possible, perhaps, if the Chaucerian examples had occurred in the *Reeve’s Tale*, and could thus be regarded as a dialectal usage of the district still employing the expression. As it is, Dr Bradley has made no attempt to connect the north-midland dialectal *at-after* with Chaucer’s south-east midland language five centuries before.

But Dr Bradley has made my answer easier by one of those broad general statements that can be readily shown to be inaccurate. He says:

If *at* were the preposition normally used before nouns denoting periods of time, the two interpretations would be equally possible. But, although we do say ‘at night,’ we do not say ‘at morning,’ ‘at forenoon,’ nor even ‘at afternoon.’

We may dismiss *at forenoon* and *at afternoon*, it is true, probably because *forenoon*, *afternoon* are not sufficiently definite periods or points of time. But when Dr Bradley objects to *at morning* I must remind him that the NED. gives examples from Shakespeare, Swift, Southey, and Matthew Arnold, while we may easily add one from Pope and five from Wordsworth, besides occasional examples of *at morning* in poetic compounds as Shelley’s *at morning frost* and Wordsworth’s *at morning hours*, and any number of examples of *at morn*. Indeed *at* is the ‘normal’ preposition for many time-references, as *at dawn*, *at daybreak*, *at daylight*, *at sunrise*, *at prime*, *at midday*, *at noon*, *at sunset*, *at night*, *at*

midnight, at cock-crow; any hour of the day or night, as *at six, eight, ten o'clock, at the third hour*; any year of age, as *at fourteen, forty years*; any meal time, as *at dinner*; any definite day of the year, as *at New Year's, at Easter, at Christmas, at that day, at the last day*. In fact, it is this unusually common use of *at* with definite periods or points of time which makes me feel sure we may accept Chaucer's *at afterdiner, at aftersoper, at aftermete* as early examples of a similar use.

If all the assumptions of Dr Craigie regarding Ohthere are to be accepted—especially his correct charting of the whole North Atlantic—I think all must agree he could not have made an error in his statements about Ireland. Therein lies the problem, and it cannot be answered, it seems to me, either by begging the question, or by trying to brush away all that can be said on the other side.

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THE MIRACLE PLAY OF 'CRUCIFIXIO CRISTI' IN THE YORK CYCLE.

The assignment of parts in ll. 97–108 of the York play of *Crucifixio Cristi* presents some difficulty. The passage is printed below from Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith's edition [Oxford, 1885, p. 352]. Under (A) the speakers are indicated as in the MS., under (B) as in Miss Toulmin Smith's text, and under (C) according to the present writer's suggested emendations:

(A)	(B)		(C)
i Mil.	i Mil.	Sir knyghtis, saie, howe wirke we nowe?	97. i Mil.
ii "	ii Mil.	Zis, certis, I hope I holde pis hande.	ii "
iii "	iii Mil.	And to þe boore I haue it brought, Full boxumly with-outen bande.	99.
ii "	?iv Mil. ¹	Strike on þan harde, for hym þe boght.	101. i "
ii "	?i Mil. ¹	Zis, here is a stubbe will stiffely stande, Thurgh bones & senous it schall be soght.	103. ii "
		This werke is well, I will warande.	
i "	ii Mil.*	Saie, sir, howe do we þore, pis bargayne may not blynne.	105. i "
iii "	iii Mil.	It failis a foote and more, þe senous are so gone ynne.	107. iii "
			108.

The mistakes in (A) are clear. In ascribing ll. 99–100 to iii^{us} *Miles* the scribe breaks a speech (ll. 98–100) plainly intended for one speaker. The error in either of ll. 101–102 is obvious. Miss Toulmin Smith allows the first error to stand, but makes changes in ll. 101, 102 and 105,

giving the grounds for them in a footnote to l. 101, 'Here the rubricator put twice ii *Miles*. As the previous order of the soldiers in speaking has been 1, 2, 3, 4, I have altered these two so as to continue that order, making what was i *Miles* at * [l. 105] to accord with it.' But the numerical order of speakers, regularly maintained up to l. 96, breaks down at l. 108, if not at l. 97, so that the basis of Miss Toulmin Smith's changes seems unstable. Reference to the play as a whole shows that the details of the Crucifixion are presented with great precision of detail, greater indeed than in any extant Miracle-play on the same theme in English. *Primus Miles* is clearly in charge of the party: he orders the other three to bring the cross (l. 78) and then stations himself at its head, whence he directs the work. *Secundus Miles* takes the right hand (ll. 81-82), *Tertius Miles* the left (l. 83) and *Quartus Miles* the legs (l. 85). I suggest that the dialogue in ll. 97-106 refers wholly to the fixing of the right hand to the cross, and is entirely between i *Miles* and ii *Miles*, ll. 107-108 being given to iii *Miles*, and referring to the left arm. My allocation of lines is given under (C). Briefly the action runs thus: the knight in charge calls the party to the work in hand (97). *Secundus Miles* takes the right hand and brings it to the 'bore' (98-100). The leader bids him fix it (101) which is done (102-104). The first knight turns to him who has charge of the left arm (iii *Miles*) and asks him how matters stand with him, who answers that the left hand is 'a foote and more' short of the 'bore' (107-108). Reading the passage in this way reveals the orderly and natural development of the action, and moreover, keeps nearer to the MS. reading than the Oxford text.

In another passage, ll. 181-184, a slight change improves the text:

- | | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| ii Mil. | We twoo schall see tille aythir side, | 181 |
| | For ellis pis werke will wrie all wrang. | |
| iii Mil. | We are redy, in Gode, sirs, abide | |
| | And let me first his fete up fang. | 184 |

As has been shown, iii^{us} *Miles* has charge of the left arm, and so could not utter l. 184. Moreover there is evident contradiction between the first and second halves of l. 183, which is almost surely to be divided, the words

Sirs, abide
And let me first his fete up fang

being given to iv^{us} *Miles*, who has Christ's feet in charge (cp. ll. 179-180). Lines divided between two or more speakers are common (cp. ll. 186, 188 etc.).

J. P. R. WALLIS.

MILTON'S 'IL PENSEROSO' ll. 17, 18.

Black, but such as in esteem
 Prince Memnon's sister might beseem.

Most editors of *Il Penseroso* have ascribed the invention of this lady to Milton. As Professor Osgood says in his *Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems*: 'Commentators have said that Memnon's sister is not mentioned in the classics, but that Milton argues her beauty from that of her brother. Verity cites Trench to the effect that Himera, or Hemera, was the sister of Memnon. In the *History of the Trojan War* ascribed to Dictys Cretensis we are told that she was named after her mother, but her beauty is not mentioned.'

I have not been able to find Mr Verity's citation of Trench: in his edition of *Il Penseroso* he says: 'Milton argues that if Memnon was beautiful, his sister (but we are not told that he had any) must have been equally, or even more, so.' But the name occurs in Dictys himself: 'Himera, quam nonnulli materno nomine Hemeram appellabant, soror Memnonis,' etc. The legend told of her by Dictys is repeated in the romances based on his work, and if Milton had required authority for her beauty he could have found it in Guido delle Colonne, *Hystoria Destructionis Troiae*, Bk. 8; the passage is as follows:

Nunc presens narrat hystoria quod predictus rex menon quandam mire pulcritudinis suam sororem habebat que manifeste venit coram omnibus ad menonis monumentum illud aperiri mandavit ossa menonis extraxit ab ipso et ea in quodam aureo vase reposuit conseruanda que statim cum predicto vase de medio astancium ab oculis sic prorsus euanuit velud vmbra quod nunquam in loco ipso postea visa fuit. Hanc nonnulli dixerunt fuisse deam vel dee filiam vel vnam ex illis quas gentes fatas appellant.

The *Hystoria Destructionis Troiae* was accessible in many editions of the fifteenth century, both in Latin and in Italian translations, which may well have come into Milton's hands. Guido's immediate source, Benoit de Sainte More, said (ll. 29363-5):

Une seror ot belle assez
 Et halte dame et honorée
 Qui Helainne esteit apelée.

But in Milton's time this was still unprinted; the same reason makes it improbable that he knew of the *Alliterative Troy Book*:

This Menon the mighty hade a mayn suster,
 The fairest on fold that any folke knew.
 (ll. 13788-9).

He could not have derived the information from the more accessible

Caxton, or his original, Raoul le Fevre, neither of whom mentions her beauty, though the Englishman states that she was 'moche rychely arayed.' Nor did he use a variant form of the legend, found only, as far as I know, in Lydgate and the Scotch *Troy Book* fragments attributed to Barbour. Here the story is related, not of the sister of Memnon, but of his wife, who, according to the Scottish poet, was thought by the people to be

A werde sistere—I wait neur how.
(l. 2818).

Lydgate in his *Troy Book* departs from all other versions of the story by definitely making his heroine a supernatural being. It was printed in 1513 and 1555; the following is the passage in the latter edition:

The noble quene of this kynge Menon
After the tyme longe and many day
That she was deade and grauen vnder claye
At the tounge heuenly gan appere
All beset with bryght sterres clere
Whose symylytude for to reken all
Was lyke a thyng that were immortal
That no man myght vtterly sustene
To beholde of loke she was so shene
Downe descendyng fro the fymament
Full many man beyng there present
Clade in a mantell ful celestyall
And of hir porte passyngly royall
With swetnesse fresshe as any rose...
Some affermyng as by lyklynesse
She was other aungell or goodesse
The soule or fate of the same kynge
I can nat deme in suchie heauenly thyng. (Bk v).

Perhaps it is not too fanciful to suggest that Milton, though following the old authorities which made Hespera Memnon's *sister*, gives us here a reminiscence in his 'Goddess sage and holy,' with her countenance 'too bright To hit the sense of human sight,' her majestic raiment, her 'even step and musing gait,' and her heavenly dwelling-place, which he derived, consciously or unconsciously, from his reading of Lydgate's poem.

MABEL DAY.

LONDON.

'TOSEANS.'

At page 1315 of vol. III of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, anno 1581, is a detailed description of the decorations of the new banqueting house erected at Westminster in that year. The following passage in it contains a word hitherto unexplained, 'toseans.'

In the top of this house was wrought most cunninglie vpon canuas, works of iuie and hollie, with pendants made of wicker rods, and garnished with baie, rue, and all maner of strange flowers garnished with spangles of gold, as also beautified with hanging toseans made of hollie and iuie, with all maner of strange fruits.

(The passage has been quoted by Mr E. K. Chambers in his chapter on 'The Court' in *Shakespeare's England*, vol. I, p. 99.)

I suggest that 'tosean' is a mutilation of 'tussie' or of 'tussie-mussie' (written possibly in some abbreviated form), which were both current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and meant a nosegay, posy, or garland of flowers. This meaning clearly fits the quoted passage. As the *Oxford English Dictionary* shows, the earliest known form (fifteenth century) is 'tusmose' or 'tussemose,' and 'toseans' may even have arisen from a badly written example (in the contractor's specification) of the first of these forms.

C. T. ONIONS.

OXFORD.

REVIEWS.

English Literature from Widsith to the Death of Chaucer. A Source Book. By ALLEN ROGERS BENHAM. Oxford: University Press, for Yale University Press. 1916. Demy 8vo. xxviii + 634 pp.

The historical source-book fills a very definite need, and has long been familiar to students of political and constitutional history. In the Preface to this literary source-book, Dr Benham distinguishes between the source-book, the anthology, and the text-book, and asserts that this 'venture' of his has been compiled with the object of presenting to a reader, who has perhaps little leisure and meagre library resources at his disposal, such documents from an age as fundamentally explain the life, ideals, and spirit thereof.' The period chosen for treatment is divided into two parts: from the beginnings to the Norman Conquest, and from the Norman Conquest to the death of Chaucer. The material for each period is classified under six headings, so that not only are the literary and linguistic features, and the representative authors of the two periods discussed and illustrated, but further light is thrown upon each epoch by the description of the political, the social and industrial, and the cultural backgrounds. The work is thus not intended for the scholar, but for the less advanced student, and for the general reader. Extracts from contemporary documents are given in the form of translations, a considerable number being from the hand of the editor himself, and are bound together by a running commentary explaining the significance and value of each for the history of the time. Explanatory footnotes give such supplementary information as may be desirable, and also indicate the chief authorities for the various subjects discussed. There is also an Index.

The distinction between the various 'backgrounds' being somewhat difficult to maintain, the arrangement of the book has certain disadvantages, as kindred topics may be dealt with under different headings. Thus the influence of the monastery upon the life of the Saxons after their migration to Britain is touched upon in the 'Social and Industrial Background,' while the introduction and influence of Christianity is discussed subsequently in the section headed 'Cultural Background.' The documents cited are of the most varied kinds, and give a very complete picture of the various aspects of life in those early times, the later period receiving the fuller treatment. One of the most interesting

sections deals with 'Books and their place in culture' during the fourteenth century, a theme that is illustrated by quotations from the *Philobiblon* of Richard of Bury, and by two catalogues of books: a list of works mainly theological in the library at the monastery at Rievaulx, and a catalogue of 'romances' bequeathed to Bordesley Abbey in 1315 by Guy Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Another section discusses the early history of the drama, and includes the Proclamation of the Corpus Christi festival at York in 1394, an account of the Easter ritual and ceremonies at Durham, and a fourteenth century homily setting forth the grounds of clerical opposition to the miracle plays.

The editor has shown care and discrimination both in his selection of passages for quotation, and in the versions that he prints. His own translations are good and idiomatic, though a somewhat freer rendering of the original is occasionally desirable: e.g., 'so dignified was he in his governance with his bargaynes' (p. 242) for

So estatly was he of his governaunce
With his bargaynes

in Chaucer's description of the Merchant. In his version of the *Codex Aureus* Inscription (p. 77) Mr Benham translates to *ðæm gerade ðæt heo mon arede*, 'on condition that they pray,' a meaning of *arede* which is not found in Bosworth-Toller. It seems better to translate the passage, 'on condition that they are read.' The editor states (p. 334) that he is unable to explain the expression 'On Monday preceeding the feast of the Holy Sacrament.' This is surely Monday, June 10, 1381, the feast of the Holy Sacrament, i.e. Corpus Christi, falling that year on Thursday, June 13 (cf. p. 338).

A few other criticisms may be offered. Where original documents are quoted, the text is not always given correctly: p. 76, in the Northumbrian version of Cædmon's *Hymn*, *uuldurfader* for *-fadur*. The transcription of the *Codex Aureus* Inscription (p. 77 f.) contains the following inaccuracies: *aldermon*, *noldan*, *weorfunga*, *almaetiges*, *selle*, *ðe hwile ðe*, where Sweet correctly has *aldormon*, *nolðan*, *weorðunga*, *almaehtiges*, *áselle*, *ða hwile ðe*. In passages translated by the editor words are occasionally omitted: p. 231, 'their girdles and their pouches'; p. 288, 'a mouse caught in a trap, if it were dead,' and on the same page, 'that she fed on roast meat, or milk.' We have noted the following misprints: *Cassiodorous* (p. 65), and *Jacques Bon-hommes* in the Index (p. 625), whereas the text (p. 331) has *Bons-hommes*. But in spite of these blemishes, this work will serve a useful purpose as an introduction to a more detailed study of life in England up to the end of the fourteenth century, and also as a book of reference.

F. E. HARMER.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by Sir A. W. WARD and A. R. WALLER. Vols. XIII and XIV. The Nineteenth Century, II and III. Cambridge: University Press. 1916. 8vo. xi + 611 pp., xii + 658 pp.

The editors merit a salute of honour for the conduct and completion of their patriotic enterprise. Having before noticed vol. XII in this *Review* I need not recur to the *pros* and *cons* of the co-operative way of composition or to the difficulties of arrangement involved in it. Some of the gaps apparent in vol. XII, and of the drawbacks due to the bisection of authors, are here made good. Vols. XII—XIV form together a smaller whole, dealing with the nineteenth century, and must be read together. It remains true that a careful use of the Index (which seems to be full and excellent) is requisite in order to make the map quite clear. The editorial task of allotting and dovetailing the material amongst the contributors must have been a strenuous one. As before, the reviewer, with so big a field before him, must confine himself to the tracts of which he is himself least ignorant.

The more one thinks, the clearer it becomes that Carlyle, with all abatements, predominates in our nineteenth century prose. If that is so, Professor J. G. Robertson might perhaps have said more of Carlyle as a sheer man of letters. But his chapter, so well proportioned between biography and estimate, is an admirable study of the forces that served to mould Carlyle, and of his ruling ideas, and of his influence as a thinker. The writer's German lore serves him well; he removes many misconceptions as to the mutual dealings of Carlyle and Germany. The paper of Professor C. Vaughan (duly named in the bibliography) on 'Carlyle and his German Masters,' will be found in the *Essays and Studies* by members of the English Association, vol. I (1910), and should be read together with this chapter. Professor Robertson brings out in clear light the dependence of Carlyle on the German 'romantic' movement, and the often forgotten limitations of his debt to Goethe.

In my belief Professor Grierson is right in laying the stress upon Tennyson's artistic quality rather than on his ideas and 'message.' He brings out well the element that allies Tennyson with Coleridge and Keats; he is very fair and discriminating on the *Idylls of the King*; and has an instructive page (XIII, 28) on the reasons prompting the poet's alterations of his text. He says that Tennyson is 'distrustful of passion, or, at least, of the frank expression and portrayal of passion' (XIII, 23). This Tennyson is; but this he is not always, as *Fatima* and *Maud* are enough to show. There was after all a wild streak in the old man, which does not square with the current legend. The pressure of the social and literary atmosphere may have prevented it from coming out with sufficient strength. On p. 41 a phrase might be misread as implying that *Tithonus*, first published in 1860, was then a recent composition. The *Memoir* (1899 ed., pp. 385-6) shows that it was written before 1842 as a pendant to *Ulysses* and unearthed by the poet for the *Cornhill*, but that Thackeray discouraged his wish for an editorial note

stating the date of composition. It seems, however, that Tennyson had finished or revised the poem before printing it (and he changed it afterwards, too; for in the *Cornhill* the first line reads 'Ay me! ay me! the woods decay and fall'). Professor Grierson gives proper space and appreciation to Frederick and Charles Tennyson (Tennyson-Turner), who deserve to be remembered for their own sakes. The sonnets of Charles certainly have 'the charm of felicitous workmanship and delicate feeling' (XIII, 46).

Sir Henry Jones, in his account of the Brownings, devotes himself more to biography, to the faith and temper and interplay of the two poets, than to criticism on the artistic side. This is a legitimate procedure, but it is carried far; and it is hardly too much to say that there would be few sentences to alter in the chapter if Robert Browning had written in poetic prose. Again, Sir Henry Jones truly says (p. 51) that criticism 'dare not disregard or discount a mutual penetration of personalities so intense as theirs,' and accordingly he blends the two stories in one narrative. It is told with fervent sympathy, but with a slight effect of confusion: for the immense difference in achievement between Browning and Mrs Browning would hardly be apparent to a reader who was not alive to it already. Sir Henry Jones brings out with much force the central position of love in Browning's creed; to 'remove' it from among his themes 'would have left the poet himself a man without a purpose in a universe without meaning' (p. 50). And this is true if, in the light of *Rabbi ben Ezra* and much else, we include divine as well as human love. The analysis of Browning's plays, and of the want of 'objectivity' in their personages, whose initial ruling passion is never really affected by circumstance, is a novel and subtle one. I would add that Luria, Valence, and the rest suffer by being overmuch mouthpieces of Browning's own faith, or at least idealised representatives of it.

Mr A. Hamilton Thompson's chapters are among the best in these two volumes. They are unobtrusive and cautious in tone; the writer might 'let himself go' more, and not suffer: but they are close and critical, and would make admirable lectures. He manages—what is not so easy—to give in a few clear words the *contents* of the book or poem he is describing. His first chapter is on the Rossettis, Morris, Swinburne, O'Shaughnessy, and FitzGerald. He brings out the 'conflict between natural inclination and artistic principle' in such a piece as *The Blessed Damozel* (XIII, 113). The 'inclination' is towards 'mysticism and romance,' which were inalienable from Rossetti and the 'pre-Raphaelites.' Theirs too was the 'principle,' which demands 'an entire adherence to the simplicity of art,' and lends itself accordingly to 'preciseness of delineation.' There certainly is this 'conflict'; but one might say that Rossetti's art resolves as well as 'reveals any contradiction that is implied. Here, too, is a good account of his versions from the Italian:

His appreciation of the subtleties of English melody enabled him to present the more ductile cadences of Italian poetry in an approximately literal English form, 'full of softness and grace' (XIII, 118).

The page (121) on Morris's volume of 1858 is a good example of the same quality, though I would plead for the actual perfection of many of these 'romantic lyrics'; fewer of them need be called 'experimental work' than Mr Hamilton Thompson seems to allow. He might also have spoken more fully of the *transcendental* and metaphysical touch in Swinburne, above all in *Songs before Sunrise* (XIII, 132). Mr Gosse's *Life* had not appeared when this chapter was written, but the critical estimates need little re-touching. I can barely allude to Mr Hamilton Thompson's chapter on Thackeray, which is full of keen remark ('As he writes, his characters discover themselves to him; he becomes the interpreter of events which lie beyond his conscious control' (XIII, 290). This sentence is borne out by many in Thackeray's own letters.

Three chapters stand to the account of Professor Saintsbury. One is upon the prosody of the nineteenth century, a term which covers both the metrical characteristics of the poets and the views of the theorists. Fresh as ever, he re-handles and condenses matter treated in his large *History of English Prosody*. He also writes on Dickens, the 'uniquely re-readable' Dickens, making yet new points. But Mr Saintsbury's most arduous feat is his review of the 'lesser poets' of the middle and later nineteenth century. Including translators, there are some eighty of them in all, covered in pp. 147-224. This kind of work is really one of the most pious and profitable undertaken in the *Cambridge History*. Writers like Sebastian Evans and Margaret Velej, Ernest Jones and Gordon Hake, seldom get reprinted, except in a few anthologies. But they ought to be remembered. A record like this, in which the estimate is first of all critical, while the historical pattern is by no means forgotten, gives them, or rather us, the best chance of retrieval. The list comes down to Dowson and Middleton, writers who are newer in our minds—for the moment. James Thomson is tucked away, for some reason, at the end of Professor Lewis Jones's chapter on Matthew Arnold and Clough; perhaps because of Thomson's speculative interest. He is treated with sympathy, and his more buoyant side receives justice. The critical creed of Matthew Arnold is also well expounded; but I miss a reference to his offerings to that goddess, whom he himself called the 'enemy'—Caprice. His judgments on Shelley or Victor Hugo, notorious as they are, may still do occasional harm, and might have been the subject of a warning.

The Master of Peterhouse, in his chapter on 'the political and social novel,' writes chiefly of Disraeli, Kingsley, Mrs Gaskell, and George Eliot, and provides the skilled historical setting that we should expect. And in his judgments the historical temper prevails. One has at times to read between the lines to see who and what—which writers and which works—in his opinion, really survive, or ought to survive, for their own sakes, and apart from their interest to history. But then this temper is one that could ill be sacrificed; it is as good as another: and I am glad to see that the Master is a true, though not a blind, believer, in George Eliot, who is now coming—and it is high time—into her own again. He is even too generous, perhaps, to *Romola*.

It is true that Machiavelli and Charles VIII are 'careful studies,' but the impatient will hardly say that in the result they are 'not mere lay figures' (XIII, 394). The shades of Kingsley and Mrs Gaskell will also be grateful, if shades care, for the ample and generous description of their labours. The same hand has carried through a still heavier task in the chronicle of the 'historians, biographers, and political orators.' It is good to be confirmed by a professed historian in one's admiration for the candour and insight of Lingard. Dr Ward does not leave much of the anti-scientific Froude, though he is lenient to his style. Froude's original sin as an historian is aptly specified in a couple of sentences (XIV, 85):

The true charge to be brought against him lies, not in his neglect of authorities, but in the perversity, conscious or unconscious, of his use of them. And this, again, was due, not so much to a preconceived partisanship, as to a conviction that the truth lay, away from popular notions, in the conclusions at which he had independently, and, sometimes, paradoxically, arrived.

A polite way of saying that Froude did not know how to care for truth, or did not know how little he cared for it. I wish Dr Ward had found room to give us his judgment concerning the actual historical value of Kinglake's *Crimea*, on which Gladstone and others have been so hard. It is impossible for the ordinary reader to assess the disputes which Kinglake provoked by his presentment of policy and of the campaign itself. We are truly told (XIV, 94) that the scale of his book is excessive and that the work is incomplete, so that it cannot figure as a great history; but we want to know whether or not Kinglake can be trusted. Dr Ward's chapter ranges in date from Mackintosh and Sharon Turner to Andrew Lang and Mary Bateson, and includes a tribute to Lord Acton, the inspirer of the *Cambridge Modern History*. His epilogue on the political orators is welcome, though most of their speeches are only literature of a sort. It is a chapter full of matter, that could well be expanded into a book telling from another point of view the story that Mr Gooch has told so well already.

Professor Jack's chapter on the Brontës has an interesting appendix (XIII, 414-6), in which he summarises Sheridan Le Fanu's *Chapter in the History of a Tyrone Family* (1839). There is a young bride; and in a wing of her new home is hidden the raging blind wife of her pretended husband. The 'demon' visits her, coming through a concealed door, and tries to slay her with a razor; and there is a horrid sequel. Mr Jack must be right in suggesting that this tale 'was eminently adapted for floating in the back of the mind' of Charlotte Brontë, although she supposed her own plot to be 'original.' In this as in other ways, Le Fanu establishes a link between the old-fashioned 'novel of terror' and the Victorian generation. Mr Jack's pages on Emily Brontë (XIV, 410-4), while not free from obscure touches, are full of intuition, and he gets near to describing the inscrutable quality of *Wuthering Heights*. There would be more matter for argument over Emily's poems; I think Mr Jack is apt to refine too far at their expense; but there is something

about the handiwork of the Brontës, despite its narrowness of range, that ever spurs up debate and refuses classification.

The author of the last two chapters of vol. XIII, Lieut. W. T. Young, of the Royal Garrison Artillery, is reported as having died in the field. The reader of these pages on the 'lesser novelists,' and on Meredith, Samuel Butler, and Gissing, will regret the loss of a genuine student and of a hard-thinking sensitive critic. Young was also a skilled teacher, and did good work at the Goldsmiths' College. Before that he was in Liverpool, and I cannot write in a detached way now of a former pupil and assistant. He had published a selection from Browning, an anthology, also excellent, of Elizabethan verse, and a short manual of English literature. He had worked for years, during his scanty leisure, at the chapters now published. He had packed into them, perhaps, rather too many names and dates, but also much judgment and discrimination, and his writing is very condensed and pointed. One might single out for recognition, besides much else, his account of the plot and structure of Meredith's novels, his comparison of Butler with Swift, and his notes on Charles Reade and on 'Mark Rutherford.' Young, then, had long begun to adorn his calling, and he would, I believe, have become eminent in it. This we need not forget, even in the light of the greater and final contribution that he has made to the common cause.

Professor Hugh Walker's account of the 'critical and miscellaneous prose' is itself rather a miscellany. Somebody, or something, has most unduly abridged the room at his disposal. Ruskin should have had a chapter to himself; little is said about his quality as a writer, but his ruling thoughts and his career are shown in clear perspective. Pater, again, gets far too little space; why, Dallas, the author of *The Gay Science*, receives almost as much! There is a welcome record, in Mr Walker's level and judicious style, of Bagehot, Dowden, Leslie Stephen and many more; but for a leisured account we must go back to his valuable *Victorian Literature*.

I must myself commit the fault of crowding. Vol. XIV is greatly concerned with 'applied' literature—that which exists not for the sake of art but for ulterior ends. One of the most authoritative and shapely chapters is Professor Sorley's on the philosophers. The first name in his list is James Mill, the last is Robert Adamson. The result is a hand-chart of nineteenth century methodical thought in Britain; nor is the style of the thinkers neglected. There are also surveys, by various hands, of science, journalism, and education, as well as of sport and caricature. The chapter on science, written by three different writers of known competence, is furthest away of all from literature. That on travel, by Mr F. A. Kirkpatrick, is naturally more amusing, and begins with Dampier; the writer is very well aware of the uncertainty of the frontiers, in this region, between literature and books. Professor J. W. Adamson, in a chapter of over fifty pages, contributes a weighty and learned monograph on education—on its legislative and social development, as well as on the more notable and illuminating books concerned with it. The literary side is kept well to the fore; the chronicle strikes

back to the middle eighteenth century and the vogue of Locke; and the reader will find a compact summary of what was thought, said, and done by the two Arnolds, by head masters like Thring, by men of letters like Mill and Ruskin, Newman and Pattison, and by men of science like Spencer. I miss Huxley, whose views both on humane letters and on science were unusually broad and balanced; and also miss, what Dr Adamson has perhaps left out as alien to his task, any very plain clue to his own educational standpoint. But his chapter is one of the most instructive in these volumes. It is good to see due notice taken of the too much derided or ignored Richard Lovell Edgeworth. Another expert article is that on 'the growth of journalism,' by Mr J. S. R. Phillips. The character and physiognomy of the greater journals, and of their ruling spirits like Delane or Stead, is distinctly portrayed, and Mr Phillips sustains the higher note of his calling. Some lively pages on 'university journalism,' by Mr V. H. Rendall, should not be overlooked; and there is good reading in Mr Harold Child's 'Caricature and Sport,' which begins with Hogarth and concentrates upon *Punch*.

Vol. XIV contains chapters on Anglo-Irish literature, and also on that of the British colonies and dependencies. Such a survey, so far as I know, has not been made elsewhere. Rightly, the principle of choice and also the tone of criticism lean to the kinder side. Mr A. P. Graves's title, 'Anglo-Irish literature,' has to be somewhat freely interpreted. After a prelude on the older Gaelic writing and its sequel, he starts with the Sheridans and ends with Synge. The result is a recital (omitting Burke, Sheridan himself, and others who are treated elsewhere in the *History*) of a great number of gifted persons of Irish blood. Some of them, like Lady Blessington, are not specially national in their theme or temper. The majority, however, are more or less identified with the soil, either as poets, novelists, or politicians, and with the cause of Irish freedom. The writers of the *Nation* of course bulk large; Davis and Duffy are treated generously, but without exaggeration. The chapter, however, latterly slips into a kind of catalogue, valuable to ignorant English readers. Mr Graves stops short of the living; he wrote these pages, I think, before the death of John Todhunter. May it be long before the future historian has to pay memorial tribute to the author of *Father O'Flynn* and of *Herring is King*!

Professor Oaten of Calcutta opens a mine of interest in his chapter on 'Anglo-Indian literature,' which he defines as mainly consisting of 'literature written by Englishmen and Englishwomen who have devoted their lives to the service of India' (XIV, 342). He also gives a page to the more notable Indians who have written in the English language, and he seems, in a statesmanlike spirit, to forecast a larger future for such work. His chapter is all too short. English-Canadian, Australasian, and South African letters do not appear, even when the best is made of them by the critic, to have yielded any very rare fruit as yet. All the more needful to set down what they have managed to achieve. The task is performed, evidently with much information and judgment, and without claiming too much. The names of Isabella Valancy Crawford

and of Archibald Lampman, who speak for Canada, are chronicled, with a wise freedom of quotation, by Professor Pelham Edgar. Kendall and Gordon, the Australians, are fairly well known in England; they figure largely in Mr Harold Child's chapter; and he has, very justly, a good word for the *Ranolf and Amohia* of Alfred Domett, or 'Waring.' South African poetry is chiefly Pringle; and Pringle, says Sir Herbert Warren, is 'historic'; and, as the extracts show, he is also a little more.

The last chapter in the *History* is one of the most attractive of all: 'Changes in the Language since Shakespeare's Time,' by Mr W. Murison. Pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary are reviewed in turn, in a clear and lively fashion which every one, and not only the professed linguist, can appreciate. But is it ungracious to mark one great omission—or such it seems to me—in these fourteen long and invaluable volumes? It is this: they embody (except for the chapters on metre) no connected history of English style in prose and verse. Why not? It would, no doubt, be a difficult theme: but amongst the contributors are those who could have mastered it, or who could at least have divided out the labour. And the thing might have been done, or at least well done, for the first time. And we should have had a definite clue to the conception of literature guiding the whole *History*. The conception actually adopted, especially in the latter volumes, is rather Hallam's than Sainte-Beuve's.* We need not complain of that, since it has enabled the inclusion of so much material of value, which is only literature by courtesy. Still, if space had to be economised, we could have dispensed with some of that outlying material for the sake of a history of the art of letters in the English language. At the same time, our last word to the directors and accomplisners of this great undertaking must be one of gratitude. As in the other volumes, the very extensive bibliographies complete the debt.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

Tristan and Isolt. A Study of the Sources of the Romance. By GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE. (*Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs*, III.) 2 vols. Frankfort-on-the-Main: Joseph Baer and Co.; London: D. Nutt. 1913. 8vo. xv + 590 pp.

Following upon Miss Jessie Weston's successful labours on the intricate Perceval story (*The Legend of Sir Percival*, *Grimm Library*, vols. xvii and xix), Miss Gertrude Schoepperle undertakes in these two well-printed volumes to elucidate the sources of *Tristan*. Her work centres in the *estoire*, the extent and date of which she attempts to fix in Chapters III and IV of her first volume. By the *estoire*—the term is taken from a passage in Bérout's version (p. 8)—Miss Schoepperle understands the lost French poem which constitutes the source of the Bérout-Eilhart version, of Thomas and of the *Folie Tristan* of the Berne MS., but she is careful to add that the question of the source, or sources, of

the continuation of Bérout (cp. E. Muret, *Le Roman de Tristan par Bérout*, Paris, 1903, pp. ii-xxv, and p. xii of his new edition, Paris, 1913) and of the Prose Romance, which it would be hazardous to describe as a derivative of the *estoire*, must be left open. It cannot thus be proved that the *estoire* was the oldest French poem dealing at length with Tristan's adventures (pp. 82, 114 f.): in other words, an 'Ur-Tristan' cannot be reconstructed out of the materials at our disposal. Here Miss Schoepperle agrees with the view held by J. Kelemina in his *Untersuchungen zur Tristansage*, Leipzig, 1910, as against Bédier, Golther and others. As Bédier has covered the same ground (*Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas*, Paris, 1902, 1905), these chapters are in the main a criticism of his theory. So, to mention one important point, she rejects (pp. 75-84) his *y*, e.g., the special common source derived from the *estoire*, for Eilhart and Bérout, holding both to be directly modelled on the *estoire*¹. Thus the latter becomes enriched by several episodes attributed by Bédier to *y*. In her view the German poem of Eilhart is, with the possible exception of the fragment of Bérout, the most faithful representative of the *estoire*. She accordingly retells this poem (Lichtenstein's X, *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIX) in simple prose, dividing it into sections marked A to Z; at a later stage (Appendix I to vol. II, pp. 476 ff.) she considers its relations to the Czech verse-translation in the form of a not always convincing criticism of Kniesehek's treatise on that version; and finally (Appendix II, pp. 518-524) she tabulates the points in which Bédier's reconstruction differs from the version of Eilhart. Thus her book will also appeal to the special interests of the student of mediaeval German literature, but he should bear in mind that owing to the bad *Überlieferung* Eilhart's original poem cannot be restored and that there remain, at some points, difficulties and doubts even as to the authenticity of the reconstructed younger version. Miss Schoepperle's assertion on pp. 179-182 that Mathilda, daughter of Eleanor of Poitou and Henry II and wife of the Duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion, entrusted, on her return from the Anglo-Norman court in 1185, the Tristan Romance to Eilhart von Oberg, in order that he might put it into German verse is not, however, more than an interesting possibility.

Bédier is inclined to regard the early years of the twelfth century as the date of the composition of the *estoire*, with 1154 as a *terminus ad quem*. Miss Schoepperle devotes the whole of her fourth chapter (pp. 112-183) to this question, and puts the date considerably later, in fact, very shortly before the extant versions, none of which is earlier than the last decades of the twelfth century. Her argument is not, and indeed cannot be based on facts. She finds, for instance, courtly elements in the *estoire*, or rather in the later part of it after the lovers return from the forest, which recall the idealisation of unlawful love in Chrestien's *Cligès*

¹ The same view with a slight modification had already been expressed by W. Golther, *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 59, 100. Miss Schoepperle appears to have overlooked or misunderstood him. Cp. pp. 105-108, and 77, note 1.

and *La Charette*; again, Tristan's failure to consummate his marriage with the second Isolt and certain traits in the love-episodes of Kaherdin with Camille and Gargeolain savour of the *pastourelles* and the *chansons de mal mariée* of the latter part of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. She also notices a tendency to put a rational interpretation on traditional elements of the story such as the piece of bark or Tristan's boast about his distant mistress; these appear in an apparently fuller and more primitive form in the *Chievrefoil* and *Lanvol* lays of Marie de France.

Chapter v, pp. 184-261, deals with the popular traditions contained in the *estoire* and their treatment by the redactor. Miss Schoepperle regards the 'voyage for healing' and the 'quest of the bride' as two originally unconnected and independent popular stories which the redactor took over with but little modification; Eilhart took them over from him, while Thomas, with greater artistic feeling, linked them together. Further traditional elements are the 'wooing by proxy,' the motive of the 'forgotten bride' (Brangien; on this figure cp. also pp. 210 ff.), the murderers who have to bring back a proof of their deed, the 'blades at the bed,' the footprint on the floor, the 'master thief' theme skilfully adapted to the needs of the early French Arthurian Romance, and the fight with the dragon. Another group of incidents consists of stories universally current in mediaeval fiction, but which show no indication of being survivals from a primitive period. To this group belongs the 'ambiguous oath,' if that incident, which only occurs in Béroul and Thomas, belongs at all to the *estoire*; further, Tristan's various disguises (note the excursus on the German poem of *Tristan the Monk*, pp. 234-238), the magic pillow, the substituted sword: also the names and characteristics of some of Tristan's enemies, notably Audret and the dwarf. All these elements were, according to Miss Schoepperle, only slightly altered by the redactor of the *estoire*, who may or may not have been responsible for their introduction into the story; he shows, however, little originality (cp. p. 265 and especially pp. 195 f.). Where individual traits are introduced, they are drawn from the French courtly society of the twelfth century. It was left for poets like Thomas, Gottfried von Strassburg and the redactor of the French Prose Romance to remove the improbabilities inherent to the popular tradition or to harmonise them with the story of which they form part.

The sixth chapter deals with traits and motives to which Miss Schoepperle attributes a Celtic origin. These are, she believes, more numerous than Bédier thought, while some of those which he regarded as Celtic must be omitted. She finds the nucleus of the *Tristan* Romance in Celtic elopement tales (*Aitheda: Diarmaid and Grainne, Naisi and Deirdre*). The particular basis may have represented the lovers as lured back from the forest under promises from Mark, when Tristan is treacherously slain by the jealous king, much as in the end of the French

¹ On p. 106 Miss Schoepperle is disinclined to attribute this episode to the *estoire*, while later (p. 225) she considers it possible that it might have belonged to it. Cp. E. Windisch, *Das keltische Britannien*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 220.

Prose Romance (Miss Schoepperle compares, pp. 442 ff., the scene of the return from the forest in Bérout with that in *Naisi and Deirdre*). The story then passed through an intermediate, modernised stage, in the form of an older French Romance, to the redactor of the *estoire* who incorporated in it new material, possibly, for instance, a fuller account of the birth and childhood of Tristan, new episodes drawn from mediaeval fiction, and a new ending introducing the messenger sent to heal Isolt and the story of the sails. Many of the proper names in the *estoire* also point to Celtic influence (pp. 267–274, based principally on Bédier, Zimmer and J. Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des romans de la Table ronde*, Paris, 1912).

Miss Schoepperle is thus in agreement with the view (cp. Windisch, p. 219) that the love-story of Tristan and Isolt, with its inherent tragic beauty, was first conceived on Celtic soil; but that the infiltration of international folklore motives, the lifting of the whole Romance into the sphere of courtly love and of the courtly French literature of the twelfth century, a process that entailed much modification, was the work of successive French poets among whom the redactor of the *estoire* is of considerable importance. Two parts, which are but imperfectly fused, can still be distinguished in the *estoire*. The second of these comprising the incidents from the return of the lovers from the forest to the end of the Romance, where Tristan and Isolt are represented as the slaves of love—in the first part they are the irresponsible victims of the love potion—is the work of 'a very recent court-poet,' and Miss Schoepperle thinks it possible that Chrestien had a hand in its composition (pp. 473 f.). She rightly, however, does not press this point, nor does she arrive at a definite conclusion with regard to the relation of the lay of the *Chievre-foil* to the *estoire*. Finally, she considers it premature to pronounce on the question as to the particular channel by which the tradition passed from the Celts to the French. In this connection one might have expected to find some discussion of Loth's remarkable Cornish theory; the note on p. 267 does not do him justice.

There is not much really new matter in the book: nor was this to be expected in the absence of the discovery of new links in the tradition. But the author shows a great deal of skill and care in working out and adjusting the ideas and suggestions thrown out by others, to whose labours she gives ungrudging acknowledgement (Preface, pp. v f.). It is a common feature of investigations of this kind that they contain much of a purely speculative nature. We are ready to admit the possibility of this or that conclusion, but we do not feel compelled to see in it the one and only solution to the question at issue. For instance, the Old Irish elopement tales may have had some influence on the *Tristan* Romance, but is not, after all, the relation of Arthur, Gwanhumara and Modredus, as it is depicted in Galfred's *Historia*, sufficient to serve as a model¹? It is

¹ Cp. Windisch, *op. cit.*, p. 219. Golther appears still convinced that the whole love-story of Tristan and Isolt was added at a much later date, and possibly in Brittany, to the Celtic heroic saga of *Tristan*; cp. *Literaturbl. für germ. und rom. Phil.*, xxxv (1914), col. 116.

similarly interesting to read (pp. 326 ff.) that the tribute-story and the very name 'Morholt' (according to Loth, **mori-solto*, *mori-spolto*, from which comes the Welsh *-holtt*) may be connected with the Fomorians, who were perhaps originally monsters who had their abode beneath lakes and the sea; but it is no more than a possibility. This, however, is not Miss Schoepperle's fault; and she has abstained from mere wild guesses. Her book shows a sound method and surprisingly wide reading: it is written in a clear style, which cannot be said of all contributions to this subject in recent years; and we can heartily recommend it to all lovers of mediaeval Romance. They will find in it both information and entertainment.

ROBERT PRIEBSCH,

LONDON.

Crónica da Tomada de Ceuta por El Rei D. João I, composta por GOMES EANNES DE ZURARA. Publicada por ordem da Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa...por FRANCISCO MARIA ESTEVES PEREIRA. Lisboa [1916], fol. cxv + 341 pp.

To his edition of Zurara's Chronicle Dr Esteves Pereira has brought the thoroughness, clearness and scholarship which are characteristic of all his work, and his preface contains the most important account of the chronicler since Mr Edgar Prestage published his *The Life and Writings of Azurara* in 1896. Although that excellent work retains its authority some new facts have naturally come to light in the intervening twenty years, mainly owing to the keen researches of Dr Esteves Pereira himself, who prints with this edition an appendix of thirty-two documents. As to the name it would seem that we must definitely adopt Zurara, since that was formerly the spelling of the two Portuguese place-names later written Azurara. It is uncertain to which of these the name of the chronicler's father, Johanne Eannes de Zurara (= John Johnson of Zurara) refers, and the chronicler may have been born at Coimbra, where his father, like Sá de Miranda's, held a canonry. Dr Esteves Pereira adopts the form Gomes Eannes de Zurara, as being that used by the chronicler in 1456 and 1462. On the other hand those who write Gomez Eannez may plead the value of uniformity, since patronymics usually ended with *z* in Portugal as in Spain to the end of the sixteenth century, and even as late as 1631 the Portuguese grammarian Álvaro Ferreira de Vera says 'we write all Portuguese patronymics with a *z*' (*Orthographia*, f. 23). The date of Zurara's birth is unknown, but Dr Esteves Pereira fixes it between 1410 and 1420 and considers that it was probably nearer the former than the latter year. He died between December 19, 1473 and April 2, 1474. His chronicles were written between the years 1448 and 1474. Their value is rather historical than literary, although when he chooses his style can be as straightforward as his narrative is truthful and sincere. While we heartily welcome the definitive text and the first scholarly edition of

Zurara's earliest chronicle (1449-50), in which he records the beginning (1415) of the Portuguese overseas Empire, we cannot accept without challenge the editor's statement (p. v) that 'no other work written in Portuguese in the fifteenth century equals it in merit and æsthetic value,' since this was the century of King Duarte's *Leal Conselheiro*, and of Fernam Lopez' *Chronicles*, not to speak of Lopo de Almeida's letters or Frei João Alvarez' *Cronica do Infante Santo*. Yet it certainly, to continue the quotation, 'excels them all in the regular flow of the narrative and the eloquence of the speeches and reveals at times an epic inspiration.'

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL.

MINOR NOTICES.

The work covered by *Layamon's Brut, a Comparative study in Narrative Art* (University of California Publications, 1916) was worth doing once; and we are glad to think that Miss Frances Lytle Gillespy has done it thoroughly enough to obviate the necessity of its being attempted again for some time to come. Layamon's *Brut* is not a great piece of literature; but its relation to Wace and other possible sources needed full investigation; and (as might have been anticipated), the author of this study shows incidentally that a good deal has been written rather at random on this subject in publications which are often accepted as authoritative. Her monograph will be indispensable to the specialist in Middle English poetry.

G. G. C.

Mr Ernest P. Kuhl's thesis in *Chaucer's Burgesses* (reprinted from *Wisconsin Academy Transactions*, 1916) is that Chaucer had definite political reasons for singling out the Haberdasher, Carpenter, Dyer, Weaver, and Tapicer as representatives of the London Gilds. We cannot help feeling that Mr Kuhl shows more industry than logic, and that his argument will not carry general conviction. It is idle, for instance, to write in a footnote 'Prof. Frederick Tupper informs me that he has good evidence that the "Carpenter" is an afterthought' (p. 657). The Chaucerian student has enough to do with actual facts and deliberate arguments; to bring in mere *obiter dicta* is a waste of time and ink.

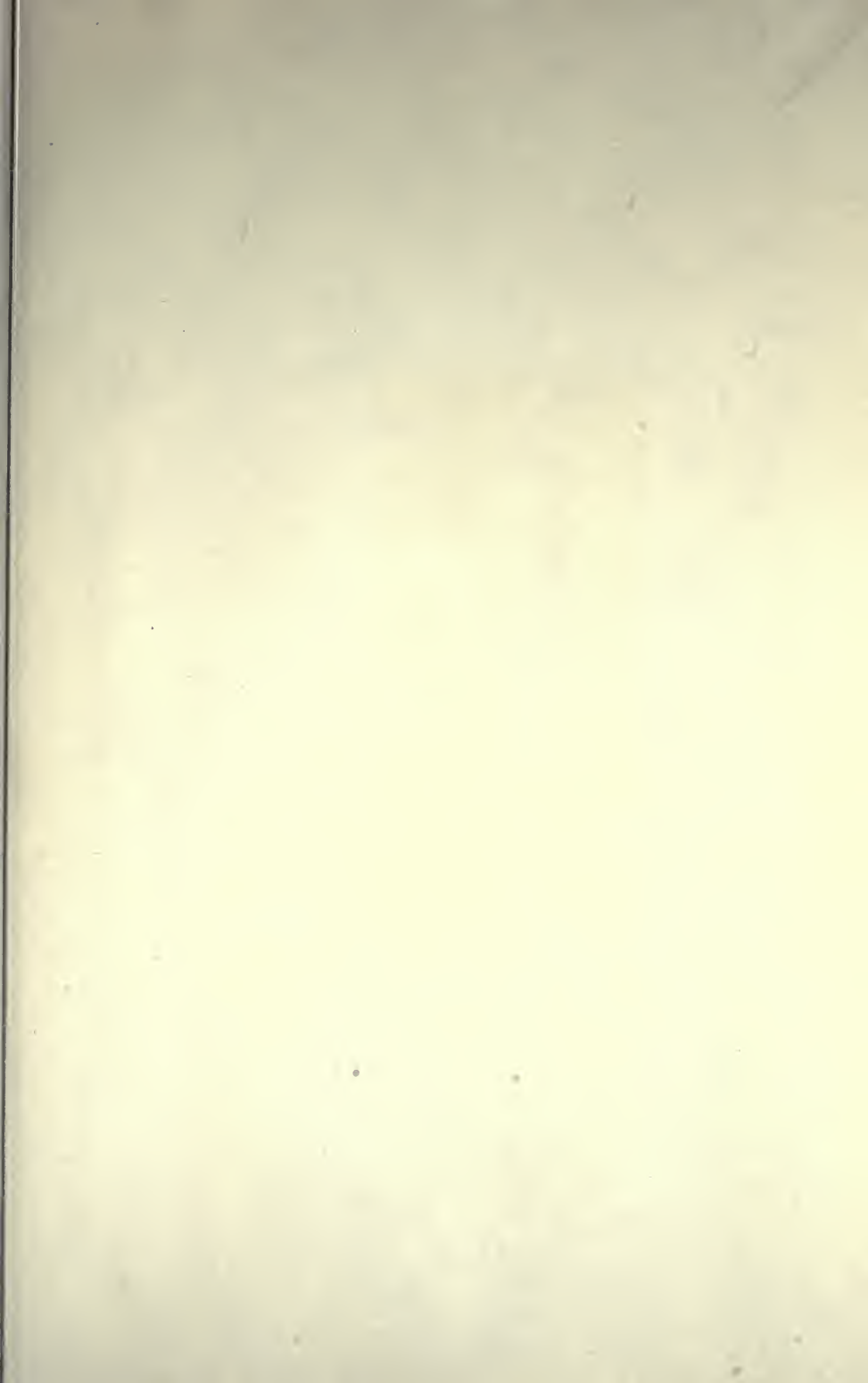
G. G. C.

ERRATUM.

The author of *The Rise of English Literary Prose* reviewed on page 85 above is Dr G. P. Krapp (not Knapp). We apologise to him for an editorial oversight.









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The Modern language review

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